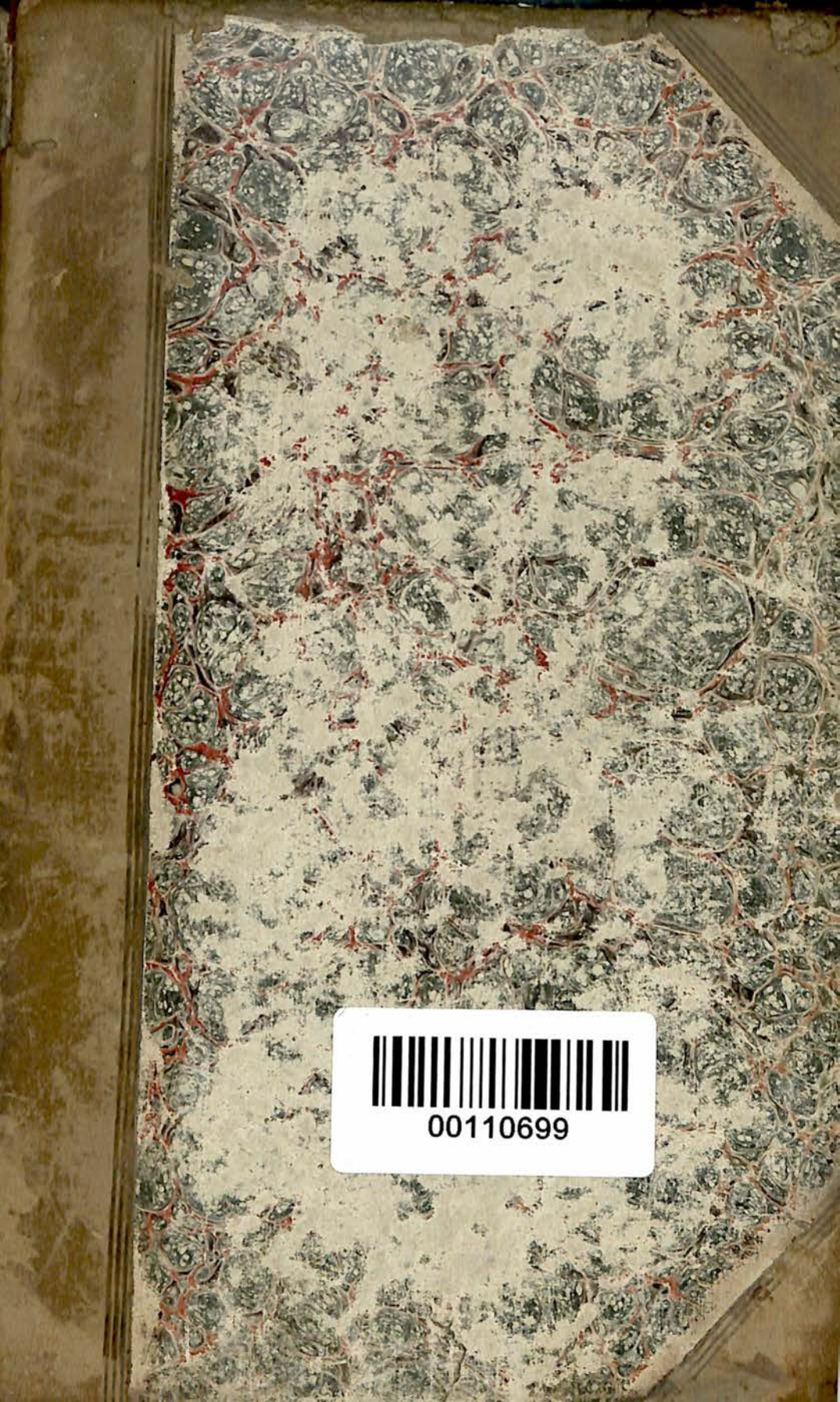
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INTRODUCTION

TO

THE OLD TESTAMENT.

AN

INTRODUCTION

TO

THE OLD TESTAMENT,

CRITICAL, HISTORICAL, AND THEOLOGICAL,

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CONTAINING

A DISCUSSION OF THE MOST IMPORTANT QUESTIONS BELONGING TO THE SEVERAL BOOKS.

BY

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ERRATA.

Page 34, line 16, the number "4" should be "III.," which necessarily causes "III.," page 59, to be "IV.," and so on.
„ 260, „ 5, before chap. v. 25-27 insert "IX."
„ 356, „ 22, for "TEXTS" read "TEXT."
„ 392, „ 25, dele "DATE."
„ 405, „ 21, insert a comma after "ORIGINAL LANGUAGE."

THE PROPHETICAL BOOKS.

ARRANGEMENT OF THE PROPHETIC BOOKS.—The prophets are divided by the Jews into great and lesser. The former are Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel; the latter consist of the twelve usually called *minor*. The order of the greater prophets differs in different sources. Thus Isaiah comes first, followed by Jeremiah and Ezekiel, among the Masoretes, and in Spanish MSS.; but in the Talmud, German and French MSS., the order is Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Isaiah. The cause of this last arrangement lies in the fact, that many later prophecies were ascribed to Isaiah, and incorporated with his. Hence it was felt that the first place was not due to him.

The minor prophets are arranged in the Hebrew: Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi. The Septuagint gives the first six thus: Hosea, Amos, Micah, Joel, Obadiah, Jonah. Both orders seem to have been based on the chronological principle, though neither is in that view correct. It is maintained indeed by Hengstenberg, Hävernick, and Caspari that the Hebrew arrangement is literally right, according to chronology; but the assertion cannot be made good; and the proofs are insufficient.[1]

The twelve were always reckoned *one* book by the Jews. Josephus, the Talmud, and the Rabbins count them so. They are called the twelve, שְׁנֵים עָשָׂר, *οἱ δώδεκα, το δωδεκαπρόφητον.* How early they were put together as one collection, it is impossible to discover. In the second century before Christ they were so, as is seen from Sirach xlix. 10. Bleek supposes that the collection was made by the same person who put together the second part of the canon, *i.e.*, the *nebiim*. This is probable. But it is not likely that he was Nehemiah, as the learned critic thinks.[2]

[1] Stähelin's Specielle Einleitung, pp. 194, 195. [2] Einleitung, u. s. w. p. 517.

BOOK OF THE PROPHET ISAIAH.

I. LIFE OF ISAIAH, AND DURATION OF HIS MINISTRY.—Few particulars are known of Isaiah's life. He was the son of Amoz, whom Rabbinical tradition makes the brother of king Amaziah. Some of the fathers, as Clement of Alexandria, identify Amoz with the prophet Amos, in ignorance of Hebrew orthography which writes the names differently, אָמוֹץ and עָמוֹס. In Greek the names coincide, *Ἀμώς*. Isaiah was married, and had three sons with symbolical names—*Shear-jashub*, *Maher-shalal-hash-baz*, and *Immanuel* (vii. 3, 14; viii. 3, 18). Like Elijah, he wore a garment of sackcloth (xx. 3); but does not seem to have lived an ascetic life. He dwelt in Jerusalem, not far from the temple; and prophesied under Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah (i. 1).

The year of Uzziah's reign which marks the beginning of his prophetic ministry cannot be discovered. Abarbanel thinks that he appeared early in that reign, or at least several years before Uzziah's death. The grounds on which this hypothesis rests are very slender, viz., 2 Chron. xxvi. 22, the position of the sixth chapter of Isaiah, and the sense attached to נִדְמֵיתִי (vi. 5), *I am struck dumb*. It is more likely that he began his ministry shortly before Uzziah's death; perhaps in the last year of his reign. How long his prophetic activity continued is equally uncertain; some supposing that he lived to see the reign of Manasseh, others not. Gesenius and Möller advocate the continuance of his prophesying till Manasseh; the former, because the nineteenth chapter points to that reign; the latter, because he conjectures that chapters xl.–lxvi. belong to the same time. But Gesenius allows of the uncertainty attaching to the opinion, even though he mentions that Isaiah's writing a life of Hezekiah appears favourable to it (2 Chron. xxxii. 32); and Möller's conjecture is erroneous.[1] Bleek agrees with Gesenius, relying more

[1] See Gesenius's Commentar ueber den Jesaia, vol. i., Einleitung, p. 9, et seqq.; and Moeller de Authentia Oraculorum Esai, c. xl.–lxvi., p. 121, et seqq.

than the Lexicographer on 2 Chron. xxxii. 32, and the old tradition of the prophet's martyrdom,[1] which the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews is supposed to refer to, viz., that he suffered martyrdom under Manasseh, by being sawn asunder. These considerations are not cogent, since he may have been Hezekiah's biographer to a certain point, not till his death. The Rabbinical tradition is uncertain. On the contrary the title of the book does not mention Manasseh. Hezekiah is the last king mentioned in it. Hence a valid reason should be given for extending the prophet's ministry beyond that monarch's life. As the inscription proceeded from Isaiah himself, it appears to us conclusive evidence that the reign of Hezekiah saw the termination of Isaiah's life on earth. The age assigned to the prophet, by extending it to Manasseh's reign, is too great. "Although," says Hengstenberg, "we were to suppose that Isaiah, as well as Jeremiah, was called to the prophetic office at an early age—perhaps in his twentieth year—yet in the fifteenth year of Hezekiah, up to which date we can prove his ministrations by existing documents, he would have reached quite or almost to his seventieth year, which is the usual duration of human life; consequently, at the time of the accession of Manasseh he would have been about eighty-four years old; and if, with the defenders of the tradition, we allow that he exercised the prophetic functions for about seven or eight years during the reign of Manasseh, he must at the period of his martyrdom have attained to the age of ninety-two. This indeed is quite possible."[2] It is, however, improbable. Hengstenberg himself maintains that Isaiah did not prophesy after Hezekiah. It is safest to adopt this view, which agrees best with the title. Little reliance can be placed on traditions respecting the death of prophets. They are usually alike in making the death a martyrdom.

We assume the year of Uzziah's death as the commencement of Isaiah's prophetic work, *i.e.*, 759 B.C. (vi. 1). Deducing from xxxix. 1 that he lived till 703, we suppose that he discharged the functions of his office during a period of fifty-five or fifty-six years. This is perhaps the utmost time that can be allowed.

II. ARRANGEMENT, PLAN, AND CONTENTS OF THE ENTIRE BOOK, WITH THE AUTHENTICITY OR OTHERWISE OF THE RESPECTIVE PROPHECIES.—The parts of the book are not arranged in chronological succession. How could they, when they proceed from different prophets of different times, and do not show the hand of one editor throughout. Neither have they been grouped

[1] Einleitung, p. 450.

[2] Kitto's Cyclopædia, article Isaiah.

together on the principle of similarity of contents. In fact no one principle has guided the arrangement and succession of the component parts. Drechsler's ingenious view of gradual development in the prophet's mission, and a corresponding plan in his discourses, is fanciful; besides taking for granted the authenticity of xl.–lxvi., and other non-Isaiah prophecies.[1] No definite well-ordered plan can possibly be discovered; though many critics have tried to find one.

The work, as it now stands, is most naturally divided into four books:

1. Containing chapters i–xii.
2. Chapters xiii.–xxiii.
3. Chapters xxiv.–xxxix.
4. Chapters xl.–lxvi.

In none of these groups is the purely chronological arrangement to be found; nor is any of them arranged solely according to subject. Both principles have influenced the grouping in part; neither, *solely*. Let us consider the books separately.

1. This contains authentic oracles of Isaiah, belonging to the first period of his prophetic office. Its subdivisions are these: chapter i., ii.–iv., v., vi., vii., viii.–ix. 6, ix. 7–x. 4, x. 5–xii. 6.

The contents of the first chapter are general. An invasion is referred to in it; but we cannot tell which, whether the Syrian one under Ahaz, or the Assyrian one under Hezekiah. The condition of Judah is described as desolate; judgments had fallen upon the kingdom, and true religion was at a low ebb notwithstanding the outward observance of its forms. Hence the contents of the chapter are not unsuitable to any of the four reigns in which the prophet lived. Perhaps they apply best to the times of Ahaz and Hezekiah, between which we are disposed to choose. Discarding therefore the opinion of Cocceius and Grotius, that the prophecy belongs to the reign of Uzziah; and that of Calvin, Lowth, and Hendewerk, who put it under Jotham; we are inclined to refer it to the reign of Ahaz. This is the view of Hensler, Gesenius, De Wette, Maurer, Movers, Knobel, Hävernick. Probably the idolatrous state of Jerusalem was not so great in the time of Hezekiah as the twenty-first verse represents: "How is the faithful city become an harlot." The description of the nation's moral state appears to suit Ahaz's reign best. Yet J. D. Michaelis, Paulus, Eichhorn, Hitzig, Umbreit, Ewald, Bleek, Alexander, put it under Hezekiah, at the time of Sennacherib's invasion.

Chaps. ii.–iv. These chapters form a connected prophecy. Mes-

[1] Der Prophet Jesaja uebersetzt und eklärt, Theil. I., p. 30, et seqq.

sianic hopes stand at their opening and close. The people are described as warlike, luxurious, corrupted by intercourse with the heathen, and therefore needing purification to be prepared for the peaceful state of the theocracy to which the prophet looks forward. Most critics refer the prophecy to the first years of Ahaz, relying mainly on the words of iii. 12, "As for my people, children are their oppressors and women rule over them. O my people, they which lead thee cause thee to err, and destroy the way of thy paths," which are thought to refer to Ahaz. The state of things described was that which existed after the invasion of Judah by the confederate Syrians and Israelites; when Judah had been strengthened by the help of the Assyrians. Hengstenberg, Drechsler, Caspari, and Keil place it in the first years of Jotham's reign, when he was regent for Uzziah.

The second, third, and fourth verses of the second chapter agree almost verbally with Micah iv. 1-3. Hence the similarity cannot be accidental. Either Isaiah borrowed from Micah, or *vice versâ*. A third hypothesis is, that both adopted an older prophecy. The close connection of the verses with their context in Micah is unfavourable to his borrowing from Isaiah; and if ii.-iv. of Isaiah were written in the reign of Jotham, as we suppose, Isaiah's text must be the older one, because Micah prophesied later than Jotham. Thus we cannot agree with Vitringa, Lowth, Beckhaus, and Umbreit. It is more probable that Isaiah quotes Micah, as Michaelis, Gesenius, Hengstenberg, Kleinert, Hendewerk, Drechsler, Keil, and Henderson suppose. Preferable is the view of those who think that both borrowed from an older prophet now unknown. Vogel, Hitzig, and Ewald conjecture that he was Joel, which is probable. Knobel objects that Joel confines the theocratic kingdom of the future to Judah instead of including all nations in its wide embrace (chapter iii.); and that the heathen are to be destroyed with a great slaughter, not converted, according to the son of Pethuel. But there was scarcely a prophet who did not think that the religion of Jehovah would be the universal one of all peoples. Joel's views need not be limited by what he says only in one place.

Chap. v. The prophecy contained in the fifth chapter has a parabolic form in the first part of it; which is subsequently explained and enlarged upon. The condition of the people it depicts is darker than it was in ii.-iv. The sins of Judah and their punishments form a fearful catalogue. There is no promise. All is threatening. Verses 26-30 refer to the Assyrians who must have appeared by this time as a formidable power; whereas the 13th verse alludes merely to the invasion of Judah by the combined forces of Syria and Israel. Hence the prophecy must be somewhat later than the last. It belongs to

the commencement of Ahaz's reign; not to Jotham's, as Vitringa, Michaelis, and Rosenmüller suppose.

Chap. vi. This chapter contains a vision and a prophecy. The latter conveys a divine message to the people, who are threatened with judicial blindness and removal from the desolated land, though a remnant should be saved. It refers to the inauguration of the prophet, but was not composed at the time; for he could not then know that his addresses would only tend to aggravate the guilt of the people, because they would be treated with neglect. The experience of the prophet in his intercourse with his fellow-countrymen had made him acquainted with their stubborn unbelief; and the reflection of such experience appears in the composition. Hence we must assume an interval of time between his induction into office and the writing of the prophecy; especially as it does not stand at the head of the first book (chapters i.–xii.) where Isaiah himself would probably have placed it. The composition of the piece belongs to the early part of Ahaz's reign; as indeed its position between the fifth and seventh chapters would lead us to suppose. It is too late to place it with Hitzig, in the invasion of Sennacherib, 714; or with Ewald, in the commencement of Hezekiah's reign.

Chap. vii. This prophecy plainly belongs to the time of Ahaz, for it relates to the invasion of Judah by the confederate kings of Syria and Israel, encouraging Ahaz with the assurance that in a short time their lands should be depopulated by the Assyrians, and consequently that he should be delivered from their yoke. It terminates, however, with the announcement of worse misfortunes to come upon Judah from the Assyrians in whom they trusted. The date of the piece is about 742, hardly later.

Chap. viii.-ix. 6. The subject of this oracle is the same as that of the last, probably a year or two later, as Bleek supposes. The prophet predicts the overthrow of Syria and Israel by the Assyrians, making the growth of his new-born son a sign of the event. But he threatens Judah also with punishment from the same enemies, on account of unfaithfulness to Jehovah and confidence in human aid. Yet he does not lose hope of deliverance at last, but glances at better times, when Israel and Judah should be united under a divine successor of David, the Messiah; and flourish for ever. The date of the prophecy is somewhat later than the preceding one, because the period of Judah's deliverance is here given as a year, whereas in the eighth chapter three years are meant; because a different son of Isaiah's appears; and because the progress of the invasion is more strongly marked, even hunger being predicted; though milk and honey appear as the ordinary food, in the seventh chapter. It would also seem, that the faint-hearted Ahaz was

thinking of a confederacy with the Assyrians (viii. 12). Hence we cannot be far wrong in dating the prophecy 741 B.C.

Chap. ix. 7-x. 4. In this prophecy the punishment of Israel by the Assyrians again, as well as by the Syrians and Philistines, is announced. The spoliation by Tiglath-pileser had not wrought a proper reformation upon the people, and therefore a severer visitation should befall them. All classes should feel the heavy stroke; and yet even that would be insufficient to bring them to repentance. Hence anarchy should come upon them. The kingdom should be rent with internal factions. The date of the piece is after Tiglath-pileser had annexed part of Israel to the Assyrian empire, *i.e.* 739.

Chap. x. 5-xii. 6. This prophecy relates to Assyria, who commissioned by God to execute his purposes against Judah, had become boastful and confident in success, aiming at universal conquest. His approaching overthrow is described under the figure of a forest consumed by fire. The people are exhorted not to be discouraged, because the Assyrian should be destroyed as Egypt at the Red Sea and Midian at Oreb. After these judgments a king is described of the race of David, filled with the spirit of God, who should collect the dispersed ones of his people, and reunite Judah and Israel into one body free from party animosities. For this glorious restoration the people sing a song of praise to Jehovah. The eleventh chapter is entirely Messianic, depicting the golden age or blessed future of Jewish hope. The date of the prophecy is after Samaria had been conquered by Shalmaneser (x. 9-11), and when Judah was still subject to Assyria (x. 27), *i.e.* in the reign of Hezekiah. Gesenius, Rosenmüller, Maurer, De Wette, and Knobel suppose it to have been written *soon* after the destruction of Samaria, perhaps in 722. This is preferable to the hypothesis of Lowth, Koppe, and Ewald, who date it at the time of Sennacherib's invasion, 714. In consequence of its incorporation with the collection of Isaiah's earlier prophecies belonging to the reigns of Uzziah, Jotham, and Ahaz, it should be carried as far back as is consistent with internal evidence. Ewald denies the authenticity of xii. 1-6 on the ground that the style and language differ widely from Isaiah's.[1] But Umbreit appropriately accounts for the diversity by supposing that the prophet adopts the general style which had been used for psalms from the time of David, because he meant to close his prophecy with a lyrical composition.[2] The idea in xi. 15, 16, is expanded into a song of praise.

2. Chap. xiii.-xiv. 23.—This prophecy refers to the fall of the Babylonian empire and the destruction of its metropolis.

[1] Die Propheten des alten Bundes, vol. i. pp. 288, 289.
[2] Commentar ueber den Jesaias, I. p. 117.

It did not proceed from Isaiah, but from a prophet living near the end of the Babylonian exile, as is proved by the following considerations.

a. The standpoint of the writer is in the time of the captivity, when the Chaldean empire was strong and flourishing. Babylon is "the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency," and its king is "the oppressor." By the fall of Babylon, Israel is to have rest from sorrow and fear, and from the hard bondage in which she was made to serve (xiv. 3). Isaiah lived during the supremacy of the Assyrian, not the Chaldean, empire. He could therefore refer to the future Chaldean one merely in its commencement. His historical standpoint could not be in it; nor, according to the analogy of prophecy, could he transfer his position at once into the distant future, disregarding the political horizon of his own day. In making this statement neither prophetic foresight nor inspiration is denied. The prophets *did* occasionally *predict* future events. *They did not, however, cease to make their own time their starting-point, out of which they surveyed the approaching future.* Thus the charge made by Alexander[1] and others against those who take our view of the nature of prophecy resolves itself, not into a denial of the possibility of prophetic inspiration, but a denial of *their opinion respecting* such inspiration. We do not reject *the thing*, but only *their hypothesis* which is an arbitrary and an erroneous one.

b. The tone and spirit of the prophecy are unlike Isaiah's. It is bitter, revengeful, taunting, sarcastic. Proceeding from one who had suffered under the oppression of the Babylonians, it is intelligible, but not from Isaiah. The hostile spirit breaks forth most fiercely in the prophets who were harshly treated by the enemies of Israel; not in such as had not experienced the cruelties of the oppressor. The thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth chapters of Isaiah's book may be compared in point of tone with the chapters before us. They are analogous in bitter hatred. Both belong to the same period of the captivity. The tone of the fourteenth chapter is rightly represented by Calvin and others as taunting and sarcastic. Alexander is alone in viewing it as *characterised by pathos!* The king over whom the seer exults is Nebuchadnezzar.

c. It is difficult to resist the impression that the thirty-second chapter of Ezekiel served as a kind of pattern for the prophet. In the thirteenth chapter imitations of Joel may be also detected, as xiii. 6 compared with Joel i. 15; xiii. 8 compared with Joel ii. 6; xiii. 10 compared with Joel xi. 10. See also xiii. 13. Traces of acquaintance with Zephaniah also appear in

[1] The prophecies of Isaiah earlier and later, p. 243, ed. Glasgow.

the thirteenth chapter. Compare xiii. 2 with Zeph. iii. 11. Is. xiv. 4 alludes to Hab. ii. 6. Between Jer. l. li. and the oracle before us there is considerable likeness, so that almost every verse of the thirteenth chapter has its parallel in the former. While the unknown author has made use of several prophets later than Isaiah, he has various points of contact with writers in or near the exile. He shares in the circumstances and feelings characteristic of his age. Whether the writer knew the prophecies in xl.-lxvi. is doubtful.

d. The style and diction are unlike those of Isaiah. The style is easier, the diction more polished. The characteristic features of Isaiah-authorship are wanting. Examples of later words are such as these: פְּצַח רִנָּה xiv. 7; רִגְזָן *disquiet*, xiv. 3; שָׁגַח *to look at*, xiv. 16; שָׁגַל *to ravish*, xiii. 16; דְּמוּת for כְּ xiii. 4, is a later usage. חַטָּאִים and רְשָׁעִים are applied to heathen oppressors, xiii. 9, xiv. 5. פָּתַח *to set free*, xiv. 17; שָׂעִיר *a satyr*, xiii. 21.

Yet it must not be supposed that the poetry is of an inferior kind. It is excellent both in form and matter. The author's compositions (xiii.-xiv. 23, and xxi. 1-10) bear the stamp of life. Not unfrequently they take a bold flight, with corresponding brevity, and a select diction, pure as well as beautiful.

The writer speaks of the total destruction of Babylon by the Medes. He affirms that it shall be a complete desert, uninhabited except by wild beasts (xiii.). We know, however, that the conquerors did not destroy the city. It was populous and flourishing after the time of the Persians. Thus the prophecy was not fulfilled, as it was announced. It is arbitrary to assume a gradual fulfilment which was not completed till the middle ages when Babylon first became a heap of ruins. This did not take place by means of the Medes, as the prophecy asserts.

In opposition to these considerations, Drechsler[1] and Hävernick[2] argue that the circle of images, ideas, and expressions in these chapters is that of Isaiah. Thus *the erection of a banner* as a signal to call distant nations together to fight the Lord's battle (xiii. 2, 5) appears also in v. 26, xi. 12, xviii. 3. But the fact of its occurrence in xlix. 22, lxii. 10, shews that the idea is not characteristic of Isaiah. *The shaking of the hand* (xiii. 2) appears also in x. 32, xi. 15, xix. 16, but occurs in Job xxxi. 21. The comparison *with Sodom and Gomorrah* (xiii. 19) is similar to i. 9, but is not peculiar to Isaiah. Both Zephaniah and Jeremiah have it (ii. 9 and Jer. xlix. 18). The figure of *breaking the staff* (xiv. 5) is usual in Isaiah (x. 24, xxx. 31); but it is not charac-

[1] Der Prophet Jesaia uebersetzt und erklaert, I. p. 43, et seqq.
[2] Einleitung II. 2, p. 104, et seqq.

teristic of him. *Felling the cedars of Lebanon* (xiv. 8, xxxvii. 24) is surely a very prosaic thing converted into a peculiarity of Isaiah. The bold personification of the *cypresses rejoicing* over one (xiv. 8), so far from being a characteristic of Isaiah's, belongs to the later prophets, having its parallel in xliv. 23 and lv. 12.

A few words are given as idioms of Isaiah, which they are not, as גְּאוֹן and תִּפְאֶרֶת together, xiii. 19, comp. iv. 2, xxviii. 1, 4, 5; זֶרַע in a bad sense, xiv. 20 and i. 4; סָרָה xiv. 6 and i. 5, xxxi. 6. There is nothing remarkable in these, except the last, which is not used in the same sense in xiv. 6 as in the other two passages, for it means *revolt* in the latter, but *cessation* in the former. A few other expressions which the same critics specify are irrelevant, because occurring in portions of the book not written by Isaiah.

Both Maurer and Ewald think that the author was identical with the writer of xxi. 1-10, which is probable. Hitzig opposes this view.[1] Gesenius unites xxi. 1-10 and xl.-lxvi. in the same authorship with these chapters; De Wette xl.-lxvi. only.

As to the exact time of the unknown prophet it seems to have been before Babylon was besieged by Cyrus, as xiii. 14 leads us to infer; for there the city is represented as being at the head of a confederacy of peoples. We may put the composition about 556 B.C.

The authenticity of xiv. 24-27 is unquestionable. These verses are the fragment of a longer prophecy, from which they were separated by the insertion of xiii.-xiv. 23. They belong to x. 5-xii. 6, to which they are at once an emphatic appendix and conclusion. The little piece contains Jehovah's solemn assurance that the Assyrian host should be destroyed and his yoke be removed from the shoulders of Israel. This agrees well with the twelfth chapter. Those who consider it a constituent part of the preceding oracle against Babylon find it difficult to account for the sudden recurrence to the destruction of Assyria from that of Babylon. They assume that one of these events is made to accredit the prediction of the other. In that case, however, the nearer should have been the pledge of the more remote. Jeremiah shews the method of connecting the two, according to that hypothesis. "Behold, I will punish the king of Babylon and his land, as I have punished the king of Assyria." Assyria should precede Babylon, especially as the one enemy was immediate and present; the other, unknown and remote.

Chap. xiv. 28-32. This is a prophecy against the Philis-

[1] Der Prophet Jesaias, p. 241.

tines. They are warned not to rejoice unduly in their deliverance from the yoke of Judah, because they are yet to suffer at the hands of a worse enemy from the north, the Assyrians. The title is not authentic, but proceeded from a compiler. The Philistines did not exult in their freedom from the power of Judah, in the last year of Ahaz, but early in his reign. The state of Judah is supposed to be a wretched one (ver. 30), and therefore it is best to refer the prophecy, with Knobel,[1] to the invasion under the confederate kings of Syria and Israel, about 740. Tiglath-pileser had subjugated Syria and Israel too in a measure. Judah was under Assyrian protection; but Philistia had to fear the victorious power in its ulterior schemes of conquest.

Chaps. xv. xvi. These chapters contain a prophecy against Moab, whose chief cities are taken, and their country laid waste. Though earnestly seeking protection from their enemies by entering into covenant with the Jewish king, and promising faithful obedience, their request is refused, and they are left to mourn the destruction of their fruitful country. The prophecy was to be fulfilled in a very short time.

It is commonly admitted that this oracle is older than Isaiah. It proceeded from a former prophet, and Isaiah appended the epilogue, "this is the word that the Lord hath spoken concerning Moab since that time, but now the Lord hath spoken, saying,

> Within three years, as the years of an hireling,
> And the glory of Moab shall be contemned,
> With all that great multitude;
> And the remnant shall be very small and feeble."

The reason why the oracle is assigned to an older writer is the very perceptible difference of manner, style, and diction. There is a peculiar idiosyncracy in the whole which places it by itself, apart from Isaiah's writings. The manner of description is stiff, heavy, and awkward, without ease or elegance. The connection of sentences is monotonous, in which the particles כִּי and עַל־כֵּן very often occur. The brevity is not accompanied with power or energy; it has a dry, antique air. The enumeration of places has a lameness totally unlike Isaiah's analogous inductions, as appears from comparing it with x. 28-32. It is surprising how many phrases and words are peculiar in so short a prophecy, as יֹרֵד בַּבֶּכִי *weeping abundantly* (xv. 3); צָרְעָר זַעֲקָה *to raise a cry* (xv. 5); מַיִם יִהְיוּ מִשְׁמוֹת *waters shall be desolate* (xv. 6); נַחַל הָעֲרָבִים *brook of the deserts* (xv. 7); הֵבִיאוּ עֵצָה

[1] Der Prophet Jesaia, p. 103, first edition.

bring counsel (xvi. 3); עֲשׂוּ פְלִילָה *make a decision* (xvi. 3); שִׁיתִי צִלֵּךְ *put thy shadow* (xvi. 3); הֵידַד נָפַל *a war cry has fallen* (xvi. 9); גְּאֹ *haughtiness* (xvi. 6); פְּקֻדָּה *precious store* (xv. 7); נוֹסָפוֹת *additions* (xv. 9); רֹמֵס *oppressor* (xvi. 4); מַעְבְּרוֹת *fords* (xvi. 2); נִלְאָה *to be weary of asking* (xvi. 12).

We also meet with peculiar ideas and tropes, such as *girding themselves with sackcloth in their streets* (xv. 2); *the cry is gone round about the borders* (xv. 8); *the vine-shoots of Sibmah reach far over tracts and the sea* (xvi. 8); *my bowels shall sound like an harp for Moab* (xvi. 11); *I will water with my tears Heshbon and Elealeh* (xvi. 9). The epilogue also favours the non-authenticity of the prophecy. *This is the word that the Lord hath spoken concerning Moab of old,* etc., which it is improbable that Isaiah himself would append to an oracle of his own. We admit that מֵאָז does not necessarily imply a remote period; for in 2 Sam. xv. 34 it does not. The words are equivalent to "Such is an old prophecy respecting Moab, but now the Lord has revealed it to me that her downfall will be accomplished within three years." The supposition of Henderson that this postscript is the work of an inspired writer in the century following Isaiah,[1] is contrary to internal evidence. The same holds equally good against Alexander's view, that it was added by divine command in the days of Nebuchadnezzar.[2]

Hitzig identifies the unknown prophet with Jonah.[3] This appears to be favoured by 2 Kings xiv. 25, where we find that Jonah had predicted the recovery of the coast of Israel *from the entering of Hamath unto the sea of the plain,* or Dead Sea, which was accomplished by Jeroboam II. That we have here the prophecy of Jonah referred to can scarcely be raised above the region of conjecture. The fugitive Moabites are described fleeing southwards (xv. 7, etc.). Hence the enemy is a northern power. Who that power is the prophet does not mention. The Assyrians may have been the victors. Perhaps it is better to assume Jeroboam as the conqueror, who drove back these intruding Moabites from Israelitish territory, stormed their two chief cities Ar and Kir by night, and probably pushed his frontier to Idumæa. It is remarkable that the name of Jehovah does not occur in the prophecy. It is difficult to tell *when* Isaiah repeated it. *He* had the Assyrians in view, who threatened to swallow up the Moabites. Hitzig and Credner suppose he repeated it in the time of Sargon, 717, in the reign of Hezekiah.

[1] The book of the prophet Isaiah, p. 148.
[2] The prophecies of Isaiah earlier and later, pp. 306, 307.
[3] Des Propheten Jonas Orakel ueber Moab, 1830.

Knobel dates it 745 or 744; and supposes it was not fulfilled. But the silence of history is no good argument against the verification of the prophecy in some unknown Syrian expedition. The final destruction of Moab was afterwards accomplished by Nebuchadnezzar. Here an earlier invasion is indicated.

The authenticity of the prophecy has not been wanting in defenders. Drechsler, Hävernick, Hendewerk, Kleinert, Keil and others maintain that it was written by Isaiah. The antique air is referred to the fact that it is based on the prophetic word in the Pentateuch respecting the Moabites (Num. xxiv. 17, etc., and xxi. 16-29); on that which proceeds from the Davidic age pertaining to Moab and Edom (Ps. lx. 10; lxxxiii. 7); and on Amos ii. 1, etc. The manner and form are scarcely copied from these or any other old prophetic sayings. *The matter may be* an explanation of what was already contained in the Pentateuch in germ, as Havernick and Drechsler suppose; yet that is improbable. The substance of the chapters before us is as old perhaps as the poetical fragments incorporated in Num. xxi. and xxiv. 15, etc. The dramatic character is also adduced for the Isaiah-authorship, as if that were not found in other prophets. Different speakers are often introduced into prophetic discourses, leaving it to be inferred from the connexion who they are. Other supposed similarities of manner and diction are the description of the vineyard and grapes in xvi. 7, etc., compared with v. 1. A glance shews how dissimilar they are. The word נִדָּחִים *outcasts* occurs in xxvii. 13, as well as xvi. 4. *Mountain of the daughter of Zion* appears in x. 32, as well as here (xvi. 1); הָלַם *to intoxicate* in xxviii. 1 as in xvi. 8. It is doubtful whether הלם in the latter place means *intoxicate*, though some so translate it: "its choice wines overcame (intoxicated) the lords of the nations." It is better to render: "the lords of the nations *broke down* (הָלְמוּ) its choice plants." Thus the verb is differently employed in the two instances. On the whole all the particulars that have been summoned together to shew that the tone, style, and language of this prophecy resemble those of Isaiah's authentic compositions, are trifles weighed against the palpable and thorough diversities.[1] The only thing worth mentioning in favour of the authenticity is the fact, that the insertion of so long a prophecy from another hand without the writer's own modification, has no analogy in the prophetic literature of the Old Testament.

Chap. xvii. 1-11. This prophecy refers to the kingdoms of Syria and Israel, shewing the desolation coming upon them, and

[1] See especially Keil's Einleitung, p. 223 et seqq., second edition.

the deportation of their inhabitants, especially Israel. Yet the people renounce their idols in the time of distress; and return to Jehovah whom they had forsaken. The period is that in which these two kingdoms were confederate, and the Assyrians under Tiglath-pileser threatened them. Perhaps the oracle was written *before* the confederates invaded Judah, rather than during the invasion. It belongs, therefore, to the reign of Ahaz.

Chap. xvii. 12-xviii. We connect xvii. 12-14 with what follows rather than the preceding context, because of the similarity between xvii. 12 and xviii. 1. The oracle relates to the destruction of Sennacherib's army. Judah was confederate with Egypt at the time; but their formidable enemy was to be annihilated by the interposition of Jehovah. Thus the oracle belongs to the reign of Hezekiah, about 715. It may be observed that the Ethiopians, whose attention is invited to the great catastrophe which evinces the power of Jehovah, are described as bringing presents to the true God at Jerusalem, and so taking the first step towards attaching themselves to His kingdom. This prediction was not fulfilled. The Ethiopians still remained apart from the theocracy. Whatever be the present state of Ethiopia, *that* cannot be the intended fulfilment. In xviii. 7 the gift brought to Jehovah is not Ethiopia itself: gifts are brought from a people to mount Zion.

Chap. xix. This is a prophecy respecting Egypt, consisting of two parts (1-15 and 16-25); the first containing threatenings, the second promises. Though doubts of Isaiah's having written some verses have been expressed, there is no good foundation for them. Both parts are closely connected; the second containing references to the first; as may be seen on comparing the sixteenth and seventeenth verses with the first and second. The nineteenth and twentieth form a contrast to the third and fourth; and the seventeenth refers back to the twelfth. Both ideas and diction bear the impress of Isaiah: for example, בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא *on that day* (16-18) occurs in Isaiah iv. 1, 2; vii. 18, 20, 21, 23, etc. תְּנוּפָה *shaking* (16) has its parallel in x. 32; xi. 15. The word only occurs besides in xxx. 32. יְעַץ עֵצָה עַל *to purpose a purpose against* (17) xiv. 26; xxiii. 8, 9. שׁוּב וְרָפָא *to return and be healed* (22) compare vi. 10.

It is difficult to point out a specific time for the origin of the prophecy, because the description is general and indefinite. Internal strife and anarchy seem to characterize Egypt; though the allusions to specific events can hardly be settled in such a way as Gesenius does, who places it in the last year of the Dodekarchy, when Psammetichus made war upon the Dodekarchy

who were bent on his oppression;[1] or as Knobel, who dates it 717, the year, according to him, in which Sevechus (So) ceased, and Tirhakah began, to reign.[2] An exact knowledge of Egyptian history and chronology, at the time Isaiah here refers to, cannot be had as yet. We are disposed to place the oracle in the reign of Hezekiah; not of Manasseh where Rosenmüller and Gesenius put it. The anticipations of the prophet are indefinite. But they are pervaded by an expansive charity towards Gentile enemies, which is equally rare and un-Jewish. Egypt, and even Assyria, the persevering foe of the covenant-people, are joined with Israel in being pronounced a blessing in the midst of the land. Thus the heart of the prophet expands with an evangelical charity towards the despised Gentiles, whom it was so common for the patriotic and pious Jews to hate and denounce. The conversion of the Egyptians is predicted. Having been brought, by the divine chastisements, to see the vanity of all they had trusted in, they submit themselves to his authority. In like manner Assyria will turn to Jehovah; so that Egypt, Assyria, and Israel are described as united in a covenant to serve the true God. Such statements respecting the conversion of these heathen nations are ideal.

Chap. xx. This prophecy refers to the overthrow of the Egyptians and Ethiopians by the Assyrians. When Tartan, general of King Sargon, attacked Ashdod, Isaiah appeared in public, barefoot and partly denuded, proclaiming that the Egyptians and Ethiopians should be taken captive by the Assyrians within three years, to the shame of those who relied upon the two peoples. The prophecy is of the same date as the last, but a little later, about 714. From 2 Kings xviii. 17, it would appear that Tartan was a general under Sennacherib, who succeeded Sargon. The latter reigned but a short time, and therefore the fact of his being general under both kings is very probable. Layard says that the inscriptions show Tartan to have been merely the common title of the commander of the Assyrian armies.[3]

Chap. xxi. 1–10. This oracle relates to the conquest of Babylon by the Medes and Persians under Cyrus. It seems to have been communicated to the prophet by Jehovah, when Cyrus began the siege of Babylon. The last verse contains a consolatory intimation to the Jews, who had been in captivity at Babylon for many years.

The prophecy was written by an unknown author, living towards the close of the Babylonian exile. It does not belong,

[1] Commentar ueber den Jesaia, II., p. 593, et seqq.
[2] Der Prophet Jesaia, p. 126, et seqq.
[3] See Nineveh and Babylon, p. 148, note.

therefore, to Isaiah himself. By this interpretation prophetic foresight is not denied; because the oracle was delivered *before the event took place.* "That which I have heard of the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel," says the prophet, "have I declared unto you." Some expositors, however, are not satisfied with this. Armed, in their own opinion, with the only infallible faith on all religious topics, they mistake the genius of prophetic vision, and violate the analogy of prophecy, by making seers predict far distant historical events with exactness. "There is nothing," says Alexander, "in the reasoning of such writers (Germans, of course) to shake the faith of any who do not hold their fundamental principle of *unbelief.*"[1] Dogmatism, ignorance, and uncharitableness usually go hand in hand, compensating for the absence of argument by *railing.* The author is the same as in xiii. 1–xiv. 23; but probably this piece was later than the other, about 538.

The critics who advocate the authenticity of every part of Isaiah's book, maintain that Isaiah himself wrote this piece. They adduce in argument that both the ideas and modes of expression are characteristic of the great prophet; that there are reminiscences and imitations of the prophecy in some succeeding seers; and that the difference of style is insufficient to overthrow positive arguments, because it is slight in itself. Hävernick, Kleinert, Drechsler, Kueper, and Keil reason in this manner. Thus the repetition of the verb בָּגַד (xxi. 2) occurs in xxxi. 1, and xxiv. 16; חָזוּת for חָזוֹן (xxi. 2), see xx. 11, the agreement of xxi. 7–9 with xxii. 6, 7. בּוֹגְדִים in Hab. ii. 5, as a designation of the Chaldees, is from xxi. 2. Hab. ii. 1 is an imitation of xxi. 6, 8. Nah. ii. 11 is from xxi. 3. The use of the prophecy by Jeremiah is observable (Jer. l. and li.)

As far as any correspondence between Habakkuk, Nahum, and the present prophecy appears, the former are the original, not *vice versâ.* But the resemblance is uncertain. Nothing can be built upon the last two chapters of Jeremiah, because they were not written by that prophet in their present state. There is considerable similarity between xxi. 1–10 and the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters, because they were written by the same person. *That* is a valid argument *against* their non-authenticity.

Chap. xxi. 11, 12. The title prefixed shews that this is a new prophecy. It refers to Dumah, an Israelite race in Arabia; and contains an anxious inquiry addressed to Judah respecting the Assyrian enemy. If the Assyrian expedition of Tiglath-pileser against Egypt be the dreaded thing, the prophecy belongs to the reign of Jotham, 745; but this date cannot be relied on.

[1] The Prophecies of Isaiah, etc., etc., p. 345.

Chap. xxi. 13–17, is an oracle against the Arabians, probably belonging to the same time as the last. Hitzig and Hendewerk look upon these verses as a part of the preceding oracle. This may be allowed, for the title is not (like that prefixed to xxi. 11, 12), authentic, but was taken from the thirteenth verse (בַּעֲרֹב). Alexander's answer to this, that ב is often interposed between words most closely connected, a combination for which he refers to Zech. ix. 1, is irrelevant.

The language of 11–15 conveys the impression that it belongs to an older poet than Isaiah. The latter seems to have taken it in order to append his own words in the sixteenth and seventeenth verses.

Chap. xxii. It is difficult to determine whether this chapter consists of two distinct prophecies, or of one connected composition. The first part, 1-14, applies to the inhabitants of Jerusalem; the second to Shebna, steward of the royal household, 15-25. The city is described as full of stir, tumult, and joy; whereas weeping and mourning would be appropriate in the circumstances of impending captivity and famine. The city is about to be besieged. The inhabitants take prompt measures of defence, without trusting in Jehovah. Hence they suffer severely, and many die. The prophet announces to the royal treasurer Shebna that he should be put out of his office and removed to another land. In his place should be installed the pious Eliakim, who should act discreetly, and bring honour to his family. The former part belongs to the time of the invasion of Sennacherib in the reign of Hezekiah, when an attempt to take Jerusalem might be anticipated. When the Assyrians appeared before Jerusalem, Shebna was still there, but was merely *scribe*. He had been removed from his office, according to the prediction (Is. xxxvi. 3, 22; xxxvii. 2). Though Isaiah predicted that the city should be taken, that princes and people should be carried into captivity, and Shebna himself at the head of the unpatriotic party be made prisoner, the prophecy was not fulfilled. The Assyrians did not take the city. Shebna and the nobles were not carried away. The prophet merely uttered what he expected to happen. The predictions of the prophet were partially unfulfilled. As both parts of the chapter allude to the same time, we take the whole as a continuous prophecy. Some apply the first part to the siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. But verses 9-11 are too exact a description of the measures taken by Hezekiah (2 Chron. xxxii. 3-5). Still more arbitrary is it to assume a reference to both sieges by Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar. Neither can the allusion be to the taking of Jerusalem by the king of Assyria in the days of Manasseh; because that was too distant. Alexander has recourse to his not

unusual hypothesis of a "generic prediction," a picture of the conduct of the Jews in a certain conjuncture of affairs which happened more than once. This is a convenient subterfuge under the pressure of difficulties like the present; when the actual sufferings experienced by the inhabitants of Jerusalem in Sennacherib's invasion were far less severe than the language employed. But the principles of historical interpretation must not be violated from a morbidly-pious motive to uphold the exact fulfilment of every prophetic anticipation.

Chap. xxiii. This chapter contains a prophecy relating to Tyre, whose fall by the instrumentality of the Chaldees is foretold. After seventy years she shall flourish again, and consecrate of her wealth to the Lord. The authenticity of the prophecy has been questioned by Eichhorn, Rosenmüller, Movers, and Hitzig. Ewald ascribes it to a younger contemporary or disciple of Isaiah. The style is weak and tiresome. It wants force. The repetitions are far more numerous than Isaiah's. In height and pregnant brevity the inferiority of the composition is evident. Isaiah was master of a style elevated and majestic; here it is lame, and the ideas loosely connected. Yet it cannot be denied that there are various points of similarity between the piece and Isaiah's authentic prophecies. Both ideas and words belonging to the son of Amoz appear. Knobel, who vindicates the authenticity, adduces the following: מֵרָחוֹק *afar off*, used of *direction towards* (7). See xxii. 3, xvii. 13, etc.; גֹּדֶל and רוֹמֵם ver. 4, as in i. 2; רָעַץ applied to Jehovah, viii. 9, and in xix. 12, xiv. 24, 27; נְטָה יָדוֹ of Jehovah, with רָגַז following, 11, and in v. 25; בַּחִין ver. 13, and בַּחַן xxxii. 14. הָקֵל in the ninth verse, occurs in viii. 23. מַפֵּלָה ver. 13 and xvii. 1; שִׁיָּרָה ver. 15 and v. 1; יֹשְׁבֵי אִי *inhabitants of the coast* (Phœnicians), ii. 6, occurring in xx. 6, in a somewhat similar sense. On the other hand, we find later words: מִכְסֶה (18), comp. xiv. 11; זָנָה (15-17) means *to have commercial intercourse*, comp. Nahum iii. 4. Ver. 7 seems a reminiscence of Zeph. ii. 15. שִׁחוֹר applied to the Nile (ver. 3), Josh. xiii. 3, 1 Chron. xiii. 5, Jer. ii. 18; מְעַשְּׁקָה (ver. 12), see Ezek. xvi. 37, xxiii. 10. The word does not occur in Nahum iii. 5, 6, but is later. The unknown writer was well acquainted with Isaiah's prophecies. Hence he has so much resemblance to him in ideas and words. With his manner he seems to have been imbued to a very large degree; but he failed in an equal command of style. And he could not rise above the harsher spirit which

prevailed in his time towards the heathen generally. The extensiveness of her commerce is the sin charged against Tyre. In the spirit of a narrow jealousy, aided by an exclusive moral principle, the merchandise of the city is stigmatised as *harlotry*. Her wealth, however, is regarded as rightly spent in feeding and clothing the priests of Jehovah. "Her merchandise shall be for them that dwell before the Lord, to eat sufficiently, and for durable clothing" (ver. 18). This sentiment is mean and unworthy of Isaiah. Knobel reminds us that *aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus;* but Isaiah had a high and divine inspiration which lifted him beyond great inequalities. He was a many-sided prophet, gifted beyond his contemporaries both in receiving revelations and communicating them to the world. The inferiority here is too marked to be attributed to a less happy mood. Our opinion of the non-authenticity of the piece is strengthened by the mention of the Chaldees in the thirteenth verse. A Chaldean power could not be spoken of till 625, as Hitzig rightly remarks; and the genius of prophetic inspiration does not comport with prediction of the distant future. Yet Gesenius, Knobel, Hendewerk, and others maintain that Isaiah himself was the writer.

The *integrity*, as well as the *authenticity*, has been doubted. Eichhorn and Ewald look upon verses 15-18 as a late appendix belonging to the Persian period. This hypothesis cannot be sustained. The relation of 15-18 to 1-17 is much the same as that of xix. 18-25 to xix. 1-17. The seventy years are put for a round number, and need not have been borrowed from the seventy years exile in Babylon.

Assuming the non-authenticity of the chapter (which we do after some hesitation), as also its integrity, the question now is, to what siege of Tyre does it allude? The choice lies between two invasions of Phœnicia, that of Shalmaneser in the reign of Hezekiah of Judah, and Nebuchadnezzar's, 585.

The principal objections to the view of those who refer it to the former are, that the Chaldees are mentioned in the thirteenth verse, and that the attempt of Shalmaneser to take Tyre was unsuccessful, though Phœnicia was subjugated and new Tyre blockaded for five years. To this it is answered, that the Chaldeans appear not as independent conquerors, as they do in the time of Habakkuk and Jeremiah, but as auxiliaries to the Assyrians. This answer is unsatisfactory, for the phrase applied to the Chaldeans, עַם לֹא הָיָה *a people that was not*, points to their independent existence and power. The thirteenth verse is difficult of explanation. It runs thus:

Behold the land of the Chaldeans,
This people was not,
(The Assyrian founded it for dwellers in the wilderness;
They set up her [Tyre's] watch-towers,
They rouse up her [Tyre's] palaces);
He [the Chaldean] makes her [Tyre] a heap of ruins.

Here the utter destruction of Tyre is plainly asserted—as plainly as it is by Ezekiel.

The recent origin of the Chaldeans may be noticed, to shew the ignominious nature of the Tyrian conquest, but they appear as the conquerors, and the Assyrians are put in the back-ground. We dare not alter *Chaldeans*, as Ewald does; else the difficulty could be obviated. The unsuccessfulness of Shalmaneser's attempt to reduce Tyre need not be a stumbling-block; for *all* predictions and anticipations of the prophets did not receive their entire accomplishment. If it be an objection, it applies to Nebuchadnezzar's blockade. The date of the prophecy is about 584, during Nebuchadnezzar's protracted siege of Tyre. Tyre was not completely destroyed till the middle ages. The whole difficulty is evaded by Alexander, who regards the prophecy as generic, not specific—a panoramic picture of the downfall of Tyre, from the beginning to the end of the destroying process, with particular allusion to the siege by Nebuchadnezzar. The true nature of prophetic vision is opposed to this view. Mr. Grote speaks of insular Tyre capitulating to Nebuchadnezzar,[1] because we read of Tyrian princes captive in Babylonia. This is no valid proof. We admit that it *did* capitulate, as Movers has shewn. Duncker and Niebuhr assent. Certainly Nebuchadnezzar was disappointed at the result of his thirteen years' siege. He did not get the treasures he expected, for they had been conveyed away. After everything that has been written on both sides—by Gesenius and Hitzig on the one, and Hengstenberg with Movers on the other—all that can be elicited is Tyre's capitulation, an event which does not strictly fulfil the conditions of the prophecy. We refer the prophecy to the siege by Nebuchadnezzar, and the reign of Jehoiakim (perhaps his fourth year), both because it bears the marks of a later writer than Isaiah, and also mentions the Chaldeans as the besieging party. The unknown prophet exults over the downfall of Tyre, in a spirit hardly consonant with Isaiah's. The fact of its having been a commercial city, trading with the then known world, was disliked. The Jews were a pastoral people, engaged in an employment regarded as the most honourable. They despised commerce.

Movers[2] and Bleek[3] have endeavoured to shew that the writer ..

[1] History of Greece, vol. iii., p. 439.
[2] Theol. Quartalschrift for 1837, p. 506–537.
[3] Einleitung, pp. 461, 462.

was Jeremiah. Of course their arguments in favour of this are only *presumptions*. The former afterwards modified his view, making it much more improbable; for he attributed the oracle's utterance to Isaiah, and its subsequent moulding in the Chaldean period to Jeremiah.[1]

3. Chaps. xxiv.–xxvii.—The interpretation of this prophecy is difficult, because the description is very general. It is not, however, without such marks as lead to its probable subject and date. It begins with a representation of the holy land desolated and distressed, and the mournful fate of the inhabitants on account of their sins. A remnant scattered among the nations praise Jehovah. The prophet then threatens judgments on the enemy, and foretells Jehovah's exaltation in Jerusalem. At the commencement of the twenty-fifth chapter there is a thanksgiving to God for the destruction of the Chaldean empire and the deliverance of the Jews. Jehovah is again enthroned on Zion, protecting and blessing his people, along with the Gentiles who have turned to Him. But ruin is threatened to Moab. The twenty-sixth chapter contains a song of praise to be sung by Israel after deliverance from Babylonian bondage. The writer resumes for a little his lamentation for the present distress, exhorting his countrymen to patience, because the Lord would soon punish their enemies. After the chastisements of Israel, moderated for the purpose of leading them to repentance, Jehovah gathers his dispersed children, and restores them to their own land, where they worship Him in peace and security in the holy mount, at Jerusalem.

One great and oppressive enemy, the Chaldeans, appear throughout the whole oracle. And as the land is desolate and in confusion, ravages had been committed. The picture of Judah, given in the twenty-fourth chapter, is evidently by an eye-witness. It is from one in Judea not Babylon. That all the Jews were not removed out of the land appears from xxiv. 7–12. In xxvii. 13, the outcasts in Assyria and Egypt, not in Babylon, are spoken of, which does not shew, as Mr. Newman supposes,[2] that Assyria was the power who had inflicted exile on the people; for, if it proved this, it would also and equally prove that Egypt too was the power which had carried them away at the time of Isaiah. The exiles of Israel in Assyria are meant, who are elsewhere described as being gathered and restored in the Messianic deliverance. Babylon's exiles are not mentioned in xxvii. 13, because their captivity was not yet fully accomplished; but the captivities of Assyria and Egypt had already taken place. Such notices, and others that might be

[1] Die Phönizier, II., 1, p. 396.
[2] History of the Hebrew Monarchy, p. 239, second edition.

given, point to the commencement of the Babylonian conquest, before the enemy had left Judea and taken the people captive along with them, about 588. We are thus brought to the conclusion that the prophet lived at the commencement of the Chaldean captivity; and that he depicts the scenes of desolation he witnessed, with promises of deliverance from the conqueror, and predictions of destruction by another power he does not name, because it was too remote in time.

a. The prophecy was not written by Isaiah, because the historical standpoint is in the Babylonian captivity. There are other reasons against its authenticity.

b. The author has well-defined peculiarities which separate him from other prophets. These consist both in ideas and expressions; in the entire style, as well as in single words and forms. His idiosyncracy is deeply imprinted. We shall give some examples. Peculiar conceptions are, the life-giving influence of dew upon the dead (xxvi. 19), which lies in the verse quoted, in whatever way it is translated, though we prefer to render:

> May thy dead live,
> My corpses arise!
> (Awake and sing ye inhabitants of the dust)
> For thy dew is a dew of life,
> And the earth will bring forth the shades.

The figures of *the earth reeling like a drunken man* and *being shaken like a hammock* (xxiv. 20), *the moon confounded and the sun ashamed* (xxiv. 23), *the vail spread over all nations* (xxv. 7), *Moab being trodden upon like straw in the puddle and spreading out his arms in it to swim* (xxv. 11); *Jehovah as the keeper of a vineyard* (xxvii. 3), *the blowing of the great trumpet* (xxvii. 18), *blowing the trumpet in Zion* (Joel ii. 1, etc., is very different), are also peculiar. The expressions, the earth *under* its inhabitants (xxiv. 5), *the new wine mourning* (xxiv. 7), *strong drink tastes bitter* (xxiv. 9), *to remove all the ends of the land* (xxvi. 15), are unusual. Characteristic too are the words שְׁאִיָּה (xxiv. 12), רָזִי (xxiv. 16), אֲסִפָּה (xxiv. 22), מָחָה (xxv. 6), אֲרֻבָּה (xxv. 11), גֵּר (xxvii. 9). Others have uncommon senses, as מָרוֹם *the high place* applied to Babylon (xxvi. 5), תֵּבֵל applied to Palestine (xxiv. 4, and elsewhere), אוֹבְדִים *the wandering exiles* (xxvii. 13), לָחַשׁ used of *prayer* (xxvi. 16), צוֹק *to pour out* in prayer (xxvi. 16), עָרַב applied to the *quenching* or *extinction of joy* (xxiv. 11), נָפַל *to be born* (xxvi. 18), with the Hiphil הֵפִיל *to bear* (xxvi. 19), בָּאִים *the future* (xxvii. 6) without יָמִים.

A very favourite thing with the author is the use of parono-

masia, which he employs more frequently than any other prophet (xxiv. 4, 6, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22; xxv. 6, 10; xxvi. 3; xxvii. 7). He even makes unusual forms for the sake of assonance; and forms often rhyme (xxiv. 1, 3, 8, 16; xxv. 1, 6, 7; xxvi. 2, 12, 13, 20, 21; xxvii. 3, 5). Synonymous expressions are accumulated, forming a sort of gradational parallelism; words are repeated for emphasis' sake, some new turn being given along with the repetition (xxvi. 3-11).

Later ideas and representations appear in xxiv. 21, where guardian deities of kingdoms are referred to; in xxv. 8, where the cessation of death in the golden or Messianic age is intimated. There is also an obscure allusion to the resurrection of the dead in xxvi. 19. The Babylonian empire is compared to a huge monster (xxvii. 1, etc.).

A number of parallels to passages in later writings occur, as *the treacherous dealers have dealt treacherously* (xxiv. 16), compared with xxi. 2; *the removing of the earth out of its place* (xxiv. 19), compared with xiii. 13; *the placing of salvation as walls* (xxvi. 1), compared with lx. 18. Compare also xxvii. 9 with xl. 2; xxiv. 17 with Jer. xlviii. 43.

Later words and forms are חֲבִי for חֲבָה (xxvi. 20), צְוָחָה (xxiv. 11), שְׁפַת (xxvi. 12), אוֹרָה (xxvi. 19), הֵאִיר *to set on fire* (xxvii. 11). Judah is called *the land of right* (xxvi. 10). Words and figures shew an acquaintance with earlier writings from which they are taken; as the figures respecting wine and mirth in xxiv. 4-7 from the first chapter of Joel. מְלוּנָה (xxiv. 20) is taken from i. 8 and applied in a sense somewhat different. נִקְפָּה (xxiv. 13) and xvii. 6; צִיּוֹן (xxv. 5) and xxxii. 2; מַסֵּכָה (xxv. 7) and xxviii. 20; הוּשׁ (xxv. 10) and Micah iv. 13; בָּלַק (xxiv. 1) and Nahum ii. 11. xxvii. 2-5 is a reminiscence of v. 6, etc.; xxvii. 1 is from Ezekiel xxix. 3. The diction is tolerably free from Aramaeism because the prophet was so familiar with the earlier writers, especially Isaiah, as to have imbibed much of their spirit and reproduced it. Yet there is a stiff and awkward air about the diction. His reminiscences of older prophets formed and moulded his *words;* though *his whole manner* is peculiar, reminding one of Hosea, by the frequent and rapid transitions to new ideas. Inferior he assuredly is in vigour, majesty, beauty, conciseness, and originality. His fondness for the music of composition leads occasionally to prolixity and weakness. There is also a sameness of tone, especially in the twenty-fourth chapter, reminding the reader of Jeremiah's manner. Indeed Herzfeld supposes Jeremiah to have been the author of that chapter. That the prophet has taste, originality,

and beauty, we do not deny. It is only in comparison with Isaiah that his inferiority appears.

The authenticity of the chapters is maintained by those who claim the whole book for Isaiah. Hävernick, Kleinert, Drechsler, Keil, Alexander, and Henderson uphold it. They adduce images, phrases, and expressions found in Isaiah; and various expressions alleged to be characteristic of the son of Amoz. But not a few are irrelevant, as the comparison with *a drunken man* (xxiv. 20 and xix. 14); for the former is peculiar. *The earth reeling like a drunkard* (xxiv. 20) differs greatly from xix. 14, where Egypt staggers like a drunkard in his vomit. A material diversity also appears in the comparison of a hammock in xxiv. 20 and i. 8. In the former *the earth* is compared to a hammock which is shaken; in the latter *Jerusalem* resembles a watch-shed in a garden of melons. The figure of storming, beating rain is differently applied in xxv. 4 and iv. 6; xxviii. 2. The comparison in xxvi. 17, 18 and xxxiii. 2 is different. Nothing can be built on the comparison of the theocratic people to a vineyard; because it is so natural and common (xxvii. 2, etc., like v. 7; iii. 14). The phrase *for the Lord hath spoken* (xxiv. 3; xxv. 8) is *not* characteristic of Isaiah; it occurs in xl. 5; lviii. 14. בְּקֶרֶב הָאָרֶץ (xxiv. 13) is certainly found in Isaiah v. 8; vi. 12; vii. 22; x. 23; but he exchanges it with בְּתוֹךְ אֶרֶץ in xix. 19; and therefore it is scarcely one of his peculiarities. The union of שְׁמִיר שָׁיִת (xxvii. 4) v. 6; vii. 23, etc.; ix. 17; x. 17: חֲמָה and לְבָנָה (xxiv. 23) xxx. 26: יָהּ connected with יְהוָה occurs in xxvi. 4, as well as xii. 2; but in the latter it is spurious and should be expunged. Even in the former it is suspicious. מְזֻעָר (xxiv. 6) x. 25; xvi. 14; xxix. 17. This is an older word than Isaiah, and was probably taken by him in xvi. 14 from a more ancient source. הוֹמִיָּה (xxiv. 10) occurs in xxxiv. 11 in the same sense, and therefore it does not characterize Isaiah. עֶלְיוֹן (xxiv. 8) is in the later xiii. 3 as well as xxii. 2 and xxxii. 13. It is a genuine Isaiah-term; but this does not prevent succeeding writers from adopting it. In like manner צָהֵל (xxiv. 14) is in liv. 1 as well as x. 30 and xii. 6.

Chap. xxviii. In this chapter it is prophesied that the luxurious Samaria shall be overthrown by a sudden invasion. But Judah also is sensual and indulgent, casting off the authority of God, and refusing the prophet's teaching. Hence they are to be visited by Israel's enemies. Yet a remnant who trust in Jehovah shall be saved. The delay in the divine judgments does not prove that they will never come. When it is the right time, they will appear.

The prophecy belongs to Hezekiah's reign. The Assyrians threatened Samaria about 722. Hence it must be dated *before* that year, perhaps in 724. Shalmaneser, not Sennacherib, was the leader of the enemy. The prophet expected that after destroying Israel the Assyrians would march against Egypt, through Judah; so that the southern kingdom would be visited with violence, as well as the northern.

Chap. xxix. In this prophecy Isaiah announces that Jerusalem shall be besieged by enemies who shall be suddenly scattered and vanish like a dream. Turning to the people themselves he charges them with spiritual insensibility and hypocrisy, as the cause of the punishment threatened. By means of judgments the fancied wisdom of the people will be confounded, and a change wrought upon them. While the incorrigibly wicked shall perish, the rest will be brought to a better state of mind; and a marvellous transformation of Israel take place.

The siege of Jerusalem by Sennacherib is the event referred to at the commencement. The prophecy must therefore be dated in the reign of Hezekiah, about 715. The description in the second part is applied in the New Testament to the Jews then living, not because it was intended to predict their state, but by way of accommodation. What applied to their ancestors applied to the Jews contemporary with Christ.

Chap. xxx.–xxxii. In this prophecy Isaiah reproves the people for their reliance on Egypt, a power that should not profit them. He then describes their disobedience to Jehovah, their restlessness and unwillingness to receive instruction, and the overthrow of the state. Yet the Lord would not utterly forsake them on their crying to him, but hear them in distress and give them a glorious deliverance, after they had been purified by his judgments. The Assyrian power should be broken by the immediate interposition of God. In the thirty-first chapter the writer again censures them for trusting in Egypt, affirming that both the helper and the helped should be destroyed. Jehovah himself should scatter the Assyrians with an ignominious flight, and protect Jerusalem. Blessings are then promised to Israel—the blessings of righteous and benign government, of spiritual enlightenment, and the maintenance of moral distinctions. The last part of the prophecy contains an address to the women of Jerusalem, predicting to them the desolation of the land and great mourning, followed by an entire change for the better—a religious transformation wrought by the Holy Spirit.

The time of the prophecy is at the commencement of Sennacherib's invasion of Judah, about 715.

Chap. xxxiii. This chapter contains a threatening against

the enemies of Judah, who should be put to flight before the holy city. Then should Jehovah be exalted, judgment and righteousness prevail in the kingdom, safety and peace. After describing the state of desolation and alarm in the land, he promises deliverance. At this sudden stroke the sinners in Jerusalem are terrified, but the pious have nothing to fear. The judgments of Jehovah on his enemies are followed by a time of peaceful security. Zion is protected by God, and nothing shall harm her; while her enemy is like a disabled vessel abandoned to its fate.

This prophecy refers to the same events and period as the last,—the Assyrian invasion under Sennacherib. Perhaps it is somewhat later than that in xxx.–xxxii.; about 714. Its position favours this hypothesis. Hävernick erroneously dates it at the same time as the prophecy in the thirty-eighth chapter. It is certainly several years later. The desolation of the land by the Assyrians had already begun, and Jerusalem was threatened with siege. Ambassadors had gone with proposals of peace to Sennacherib, but returned sorrowing (7, 8).

Chap. xxxiv.–xxxv. The prophecy contained in these two chapters (for they should not be separated), contains threatenings and promises. The former relate to the nations in general, and to Edom in particular. For their enmity to Judah, the Edomites are described as a great sacrifice of slaughter offered up to Jehovah; and their land is made a waste howling wilderness for ever, where man dwells no more, but wild beasts and satyrs. A great change takes place. The exiles set free return home; Jehovah conducting them in safety through all dangers to Zion, where they shall rejoice for ever.

It is commonly admitted that the prophecy was not written by Isaiah, but is of later date. Internal evidence shews this satisfactorily, for in the *first* place:

a. The spirit of bitter hatred against the Edomites implies the priority of the time at which they manifested peculiar enmity to Judah. When this kingdom was destroyed by the Chaldeans, the Edomites evinced great hatred to the Jews. Their hostility on that occasion sank deep into the souls of Judah's inhabitants, calling forth a similar spirit, but certainly more excusable, because full of intense patriotism as well as passionate enmity. The wrongs of Judah's neighbour had entered into her soul. The picture drawn of Edom is fearful. Passion has exaggerated it.

b. The same spirit of hatred to the heathen generally argues a later period. This is a remarkable fact. Yet it is easily explained. As the Jewish people sunk more and more under the power of other nations, and their spirit of independence

decayed, they could not but feel the national degradation acutely. As others became stronger, and they themselves oppressed or scattered among the heathen, the purity of their religion suffered a corresponding deterioration. External influences affected it injuriously. The chosen people of the Most High, trodden down by the empires of the world,—decaying while they flourished: —the idea was bitter. They fell back upon the narrow exclusiveness of their national creed with the more intense earnestness, conceiving that heathen empires were the enemies of God because they were the enemies of the theocracy. So also they were *in a sense*, not exactly in *their sense*, to justify envious and malignant emotions. The theology of the feelings does not necessarily grow in proportion to the theology of the intellect. Often are they sadly out of harmony. These remarks are exemplified by lxiii. 1–6, written by so evangelical a prophet too. Although the strain of this great prophet is elsewhere exalted and benevolent, yet when he touches upon Edom, the tone grates harshly on the ear, as if the finely-strung instrument suddenly lost its tune. So also in the twenty-third chapter, the writer glories over Tyre, adducing her commercial greatness:

> Whose merchants are princes,
> Whose traffickers are the honorable of the earth.

Surely her merchandise was hardly a just cause for the prophet's reproach and exultation at her downfall.

> 2. The indignation of the Lord is upon all nations,
> And his fury upon all their armies:
> He hath utterly destroyed them,
> He hath delivered them to the slaughter.
> 3. Their slain also shall be cast out,
> And their stink shall come up out of their carcases,
> And the mountains shall be melted with their blood.
> * * * * * * *
> 5. For my sword shall be bathed in heaven, etc. (xxxiv.)

c. The exaggerated and extravagant declarations both of punishment and redemption are not in the manner of Isaiah and the older prophets. They are forced and unnatural. Allowing for the hyperbolical strains of Oriental poetry, the figures here exceed anything to be found in Isaiah or his age. Specimens of the extravagant in threatening may be seen in the language already quoted; and the hopes expressed in xxxv. 6, 7, 8, are a specimen of the extravagant in promising.

d. There are peculiar ideas and representations foreign to the older prophets, such as, *the heavenly host being dissolved, the heavens being rolled together as a scroll, the sword of Jehovah being bathed in heaven* with the blood of His enemies as by anticipation,

nocturnal hobgoblins, the extended description of animals real or fictitious inhabiting the desert, and the representation of Edom's punishment as a *huge slaughter-offering to the Lord.* All these savour of later times and writers.

Thus the spirit, tone, and character of the prophecy combine to shew an origin after Isaiah. The figures are indeed striking and bold. But they are carried out to an extent which makes them unnatural. They are overstretched.

6. The language also betrays a late period. Words and forms peculiar to the writer are generally of the exile type. Others he has in common with authors posterior to Isaiah. The following are examples:— חֹרִים *nobles* (xxxiv. 12), found only in the first book of Kings, Jeremiah, and Nehemiah besides; מָלַט *to lay eggs,* a signification of the verb peculiar to this writer (xxxiv. 15); בָּקַע *to hatch,* also peculiar (xxxiv. 15); דָּגַר *to brood,* applied to the arrow-snake brooding its young, but in Jeremiah (xvii. 11) to the eggs of the partridge (xxxiv. 15); מַבּוּעַ (xxxv. 7) *a fountain,* only once in Ecclesiastes (xii. 6) and the deutero-Isaiah (xlix. 10); מְסִלּוּל *a high-way* (xxxv. 8); חָצִיר for חָצֵר *a court* or *habitation* (xxxiv. 13 and xxxv. 7) only here in this sense; נְצָחִים *eternities,* in the plural number (xxxiv. 10), never elsewhere; רָוָה intransitive, *to be drunk* or *drenched* (xxxiv. 5, 7), which agrees with the same verb in the Syriac; פָּרַח *to blossom* (xxxv. 2) applied to a place, elsewhere to trees or Aaron's rod; נִמְהַרֵי לֵב *timid* (xxxv. 4), only here; קָרָא עַל *to cry to,* applied to persons (xxxiv. 14); פְּרִיץ חַיּוֹת *a ravenous beast* (xxxv. 9); שִׂמְחָה עַל רֹאשׁ *joy upon the head* (xxxv. 10 and also li. 11); מִדּוֹר לְדוֹר from *generation to generation* (xxxiv. 10), a phrase found no where else.

The references to Babylon's destruction are general, being implied in the second and third verses of the thirty-fourth chapter. The return from Babylon is also plainly intimated in the third and following verses of the thirty-fifth chapter. But the conquerors of the Chaldean metropolis are not mentioned, nor is there any special rejoicing over its downfall. The prophet confines himself, for the most part, to general outlines and metaphors, without historical details or names. All that can be discovered respecting him is, that he lived during the Babylonish captivity, probably about the middle of it. There are many points of resemblance between him and the author of xl.-lxvi., though it is evident that they were different persons. Indeed it is not improbable that he was acquainted with xl.-lxvi.

The style has a strong resemblance. What he utters against Edom is like an expansion of lxiii. 1-6. Compare xxxv. 1, 2, with lv. 12, 13, lx. 1; xxxv. 4, compare xl. 10, lxii. 11; xxxv. 5, compare xlii. 16; xxxv. 6, compare xlviii. 21; xxxv. 8, compare xl. 3, etc., xlix. 11, lxii. 10; xxxv. 10, compare li. 11. In like manner the passage in xl. 1-5 appears to have floated before the mind of the prophet in writing xxxv. 5-10. The images applied to Babylon in xiii. 2-xiv. 23, are transferred to Edom, shewing that the ideas expressed in that piece were in the writer's memory. Compare xxxiv. 4 with xiii. 10; xxxiv. 11-15 with xiii. 20-22. Occasional verbal coincidences between xxxv. and Isaiah xxxii. also shew the writer's acquaintance with the latter chapter. Compare xxxv. 2 with xxxii. 9; xxxv. 4 with xxxii. 4-6. Reminiscences of Jeremiah and Ezekiel may be also discovered by comparing xxxiv. 5-7 with Jer. xlvi. 10, Ezek. xxxix. 17-19; xxxiv. 3 with Ezek. xxxii. 5, 6, and xxxix. 11; Is. xxxiv. 6 with Jer. xxv. 31. Compare also xxxiv. 6, 11, with Zeph. i. 7, 8. Thus the mind of the prophet before us was full of the ideas, and sometimes the diction, of Is. xl.-lxvi., xiii. 2-xiv., and portions of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. We date the oracle about 555 B.C.

Here again the authenticity has been defended by Hävernick and Keil. Caspari too has written copiously on the same side.[1] They allege that Edom is not to be understood as a distinct nation. It is representative of the church's enemies—the anti-christian powers of the world generally. The prophet, it is said, points out the fearful destruction which awaits all powers and peoples that perseveringly oppose Jehovah and His people. Thus the prophecy is not restricted to one subject. It is *generic* not *specific*, including many particular events.

These remarks are so far correct as that the unknown writer employs indefinite language. He gives forth the anticipations and foreshadowings of a mind intensely alive to the feeling of wrong done to the chosen people, whose enemies are also God's enemies. Still there is a historical foreground to his picture. This is indispensable; for no prophet throws himself absolutely, ideally, and at once into a later period than his own. Ideal visions reaching into the far distant, shadowy future, always rise out of a surrounding temporal horizon. The Old Testament seers could not have projected a historical picture of the distant future, apart from allusions to the realities of their own time or one at hand. Neither could they have projected an ideal picture of remote events without ascending from things present or approaching. The Babylonians, and Edom especially, are alluded to. This is the prophet's starting-point and main subject—the

[1] Beiträge zur Einleit. in d. B. Jesaia und zur Geschichte der jesaian. Zeit. 1848.

complete overthrow of these powers. As a natural sequence the glorious deliverance and restoration of Judah are described. From such topics which are not so shadowy as to escape notice, the prophet rises into general images and expectations which are poetical hyperbole in part. The sense given to Edom by which it stands for the whole class of the church's enemies—the inveterate antichristian powers of the world generally—is unauthorised. To a Jew, Edom meant Edom, and nothing more. Here *all nations* are expressly mentioned besides Edom. The Babylonians are indicated, and the heathen generally. If Edom were the representative of all foes, why mention others expressly in the same context. Historical interpretation refuses to allow of this generalising process applied to Edom in the Old Testament. It is contrary to the writer's purpose, as far as we can gather that purpose from his language. Christian expositors and preachers may indeed make such an *application* of Edom and the present prophecy as to extend it both to past and future; the inveterate foe of ancient Israel may be *employed to symbolise* the collective enemies of God's kingdom; but that is a mere *accommodation* of the language, not its *exposition*. The *original meaning* of a passage is a different thing from a homiletic or practical use of it. Some verses in the prophecy furnish a sufficient proof of the folly of seeking an exact prediction of distant future events in the inspired strains of prophetic oracles, or in the intense desires and anticipations of patriotic Hebrew seers. Thus we read in xxxiv. 10: "It [Idumea] shall not be quenched night nor day; the smoke thereof shall go up for ever: from generation to generation it shall lie waste; *none shall pass through it for ever and ever.*" Stephens the American traveller was the first, as he himself states, who *passed through* Edom. He speaks of this prophecy, saying that he was rather afraid of the malediction of Heaven; yet he did *pass through* the country notwithstanding. In the thirty-sixth edition of Keith's "Evidence of the Truth of the Christian Religion derived from the literal fulfilment of Prophecy," that writer excluded the illustration of the prediction from the text of his work, though he had given it in preceding editions. Since Stephens and others had falsified the prophet's words as *a literal prediction*, Keith thought it necessary to say nothing about them. He has recourse instead to the assumption that the time of their complete fulfilment is yet to come. But the difficulty is not removed by that. From the opposition of facts to the literal words, he should have seen that his method of literal interpretation is fallacious. Being based on a wrong hypothesis, viz. *exact prediction of distant future events*, it is unfounded.[1]

[1] See the thirty-sixth edition, Appendix No. IV., pp. 583, etc.

It has been denied that the ideas, diction, and manner of description are such as harmonise with a comparatively late period, or coincide with later writers than Isaiah. But in vain. The fact is too well attested by the circle of images, ideas, and language characteristic of a time subsequent to Isaiah's by at least a century; and by reminiscences of Isaiah himself, as well as of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. It is alleged that the diction in xxxiv. 1 reminds us of i. 2; that in צָאצָאֵיהֶם xxxiv. 1, there is a well known idiom of Isaiah, comp. xxii. 4; that הָהָרִים xxxiv. 2, appears in xi. 15; that יָרַד is used in the sense of *to be struck down*, as in xxxii. 19; and that images are borrowed from the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah (xxxiv. 9, 10) which resemble i. 9, 10, iii. 9, xiii. 19. In addition to these trifling examples, which are also incorrect in part, points of verbal agreement between the thirty-fifth chapter and xxxii. xxxiii. are adduced—a fact *against* the authenticity of xxxv. We rely on the spirit, tone, and general character of the chapters throughout—the ideas as well as the mode in which they are communicated—as proof of their later origin. They do not bear the stamp of Isaiah or of the earlier prophets.

Chap. xxxvi.–xxxix. These chapters form a historical appendix to the discourses of Isaiah. They contain an account of Sennacherib's expedition against Judah and Egypt, of king Hezekiah's sickness and recovery, and the message of the Babylonian monarch Merodach-Baladan to him. We have the same narrative, with the exception of Hezekiah's song of praise, in 2 Kings xviii. 13–xx. 19. It is also in a condensed form in 2 Chron. xxxii.

In 2 Chron. xxxii. 32, we read that the acts of Hezekiah's life were written in the vision of Isaiah the prophet, in the book of the kings of Judah and Israel. The vision of Isaiah containing a biography of Hezekiah was incorporated with the book of the Chronicles of Judah and Israel, often quoted in our canonical books of Kings and Chronicles. Thus Isaiah wrote a biography of king Hezekiah, which passed into the public annals of the kingdom of Judah. The first question which suggests itself is the relation of the present chapters to this biography. Do they give the identical narrative? or, Did Isaiah write these chapters as they stand at present in the book bearing his name? The prophet here gives a part of the biography inserted in the national chronicles, just as he wrote it. That is one supposition. Or, when his prophecies were being collected and arranged, he took a portion of his previous production and adapted it to the purpose in question, giving it such form and shape as were thought suitable; that is, he gave another *edition* of it, as we

now say. We believe that the prophet did not write the account of Hezekiah and his times which is exhibited in the present chapters. Taking the text and narrative as they are, in xxxvii.–xxxix., we infer that Isaiah himself did not so write them. This follows:

a. From the account of Sennacherib's murder by his sons. The death of the Assyrian monarch happened as nearly as possible 696 B.C., which comes into the reign of Manasseh. And probabilities are against Isaiah's having lived to see the reign of that king.

b. The use of יְהוּדִית in xxxvi. 11-13, *the Jew's language*, shews an author later than Isaiah; for the word could not have been current till long after the dispersion of the ten tribes, when the kingdom of Judah alone survived. It is a mere evasion of this to assert that the *spoken* as different from the *written* language is referred to; *the former* having diverged from that of the kingdom of Israel so as to receive a new name; *the latter*, not.

c. Some mythic and marvellous things would not have been written by Isaiah; but the plain facts as they occurred. Thus it is related in xxxvii. 36 that *the angel of the Lord* went forth and smote in the camp of the Assyrians 185,000, which were all found dead corpses early in the morning. Here the influence of tradition is visible in giving a particular form to natural events.

d. Such definite prediction of future events as we find in xxxvii. 7, "Behold I will send a blast upon him, and he shall hear a rumour, and return to his own land; and I will cause him to fall by the sword in his own land," and the announcement *of fifteen years* being added to the days of Hezekiah (xxxviii. 5) are contrary to the nature of prophetic foresight. They are too exact and precise to be predicted; and must therefore have been written after the things mentioned were known and past.

The chapters before us were not composed as they are, by Isaiah himself.

The narrative in 2 Kings is professedly different from Isaiah's biography contained in the chronicles of Judah. It seems to have been taken from or founded upon it. It is a compilation or abstract based on the prophetic document. It was not taken from these chapters in Isaiah, because it has various particulars not found there—particulars got by the compiler from some credible source; such as that Hezekiah sent to Sennacherib, at Lachish, a message of submission; that Tartan and Rabsaris came with Rabshakeh against Jerusalem; and other particulars. In the same way it is shewn that the narrative in Isaiah xxxvi–xxxix. was not taken from that in the second book of Kings; because it has more particulars, such as the thanksgiving song of Hezekiah. When the two texts are compared, that in 2

Kings is the more original and correct. Its critical goodness is much superior to that in Isaiah; the latter bearing marks of omission, elaboration, the substitution of forms and structures agreeable to the usage of Isaiah, the removal of grammatical peculiarities and such like. Examples might be given in abundance, as "I have digged and drunk water" (Isaiah xxxvii. 25); whereas 2 Kings xix. 24 has *strange* wafers. In Is. xxxvii. 24 is בְּרֹב רִכְבִּי. The corresponding בְּרֶכֶב רִכְבִּי is more original and difficult. Is. xxxvii. 27 substitutes שְׁדֵמָה for the form שְׁדֵפָה 2 Kings xix. 26. כִּי, which merely introduces a direct address in Is. xxxix. 8, is substituted for הֲלֹא אִם in 2 Kings xx. 19. For the simple יְהוָה in 2 Kings, יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת, which is usual in Isaiah, is put. The *scriptio plena* also stands for the *scriptio defectiva* in 2 Kings. Knobel observes that it occurs fifteen times in Isaiah's text, where the corresponding text of 2 Kings has the *defectiva* orthography. The reverse is found only three times.[1] Yet it should be observed that the preference does not always belong to the text of 2 Kings. Sometimes that in Isaiah is more original and correct. Thus וַיִּשְׂמַח *was glad* (Is. xxxix. 2), is appropriate; whereas the corresponding וַיִּשְׁמַע (2 Kings xx. 13) is incorrect. Things too are omitted in 2 Kings which are given in Isaiah, such as the message of Hezekiah to Isaiah by Eliakim, Shebna, and the elders of the priests (xxxvii. 2). In Is. xxxvii. 36 it is merely said that the angel of the Lord went forth and smote in the camp, etc., while 2 Kings xix. 35 has, "And it came to pass *that night* that the angel," etc. Here the insertion of "that night" is incorrect.

Thus a comparison of the two texts leads to the conclusion that neither is original. It can only be inferred that both were derived from a common source; the narrative in 2 Kings being nearer the original in form and diction than that in Isaiah, where greater freedom has been used. Not that liberties of alteration and abridgment were not taken by the compiler in 2 Kings. They were not taken *so extensively*.

The source of both was *the vision of Isaiah*, which included a biography of Uzziah and Hezekiah (2 Chron. xxvi. 22). From it the writer of the books of Kings took freely, but not literally, what seemed appropriate. Sometimes he added to it by tradition; sometimes he omitted portions. From it also was drawn the substance of these chapters in Isaiah, not by himself as we have seen, for internal evidence is adverse. It would not have been necessary for the prophet himself to use his own text freely by modifying, altering, making words and constructions easier;

[1] Der Prophet Jesaia, p. 265.

performing, in short, the functions of an *editor*. He would not have left a text occasionally inferior to that in 2 Kings as well as incorrect, as in xxxvi. 5, where אָמַרְתִּי *I said*, should be אָמַרְתָּ *thou saidst*, as in 2 Kings; for the words immediately following, as far לְמִלְחָמָה, are those of Hezekiah.

If these observations be correct, the hypothesis of Grotius, Vitringa, Paulus, and Hendewerk, that the text in Isaiah is *more original* than that of 2 Kings, and the source of it, must be erroneous. It does not require a minute acquaintance with the Hebrew language to see that. Eichhorn, Gesenius, Maurer, with greater probability think that the text in 2 Kings was the source of the other. But the true view is that of Koppe, Rosenmüller, Hitzig, Umbreit, Ewald, Hävernick, Keil, Knobel, De Wette, that neither is original, but that both drew from a third source.

4. Chap. xl.–lxvi.—These chapters have a different aspect from the preceding. They form the second part of the book, and appear to have a different authorship. The point, however, is greatly contested, some holding fast the ancient tradition which ascribes them to Isaiah, others refusing them to that prophet. On both sides much may be said. The question is intimately connected with the view taken of prophecy itself. The nature of prophetic intuition largely affects it. Doctrinal prepossessions too have had to do with its discussion, and will interfere for a long time, it is to be feared, with a calm and impartial examination of the whole paragraph. Even theological passions have brought their baneful influence into it; and instead of a right inquiry conducted in the spirit of scholarly criticism, abuse has been copiously employed. "If it be natural for poets to speak of an ideal future, why may not prophets of a real one? The only answer is, *because they cannot know it;* and to this point all the tortuous evasions of the more reserved neologists as surely tend as the positive averments of their bolder brethren. In every form, this argument against the genuineness of the book before us is at bottom a denial of prophetic inspiration as impossible." "The fundamental principle of the higher critics is the impossibility of inspiration or prophetic foresight."[1] Language like this shews the *odium theologicum* very plainly; and effectually proves the inability of some to look fairly at the question. We only repeat a plain truth in saying, inspiration is not confined to the writers of Scripture. It does not *mainly* consist in receiving or recording miraculous communications from God; as if the prophet were a mechanical instrument acted upon by the Holy Spirit. It con-

[1] Alexander on Isaiah.

sists in the perpetual presence and indwelling of the Spirit in the church, and in every member of that spiritual body. We must not therefore divest the prophecies of their national and human interest; since it is this aspect of them which stands out most prominently, including in it *the deeper and religious* interest which places the men in contact with all times. Those who look for *predictions* of future events as *the chief element* of these prophecies, must suppose that God suspended, in some measure, the laws of the human mind, which is equally unphilosophical and unscriptural. Infallible predictions do not enter into the essence of prophecy. It is *the moral* element, not *the historical*, which distinguishes the discourses of these inspired men. Infallibility was not bestowed upon them, because it was unnecessary for their great mission into the world. Indeed such a miraculous gift must have impaired their thoroughly human sympathies, and so far unfitted them for their work as the advocates of truth, righteousness, and justice,—God's true men, to uphold His cause and inculcate the principles of His government in the world. "Sacred Scripture," says Philo, "assigns prophecy to every good man." The arguments against the authenticity may be reduced to the following:

a. It is a first principle in prophecy, that the historical horizon of the prophet belongs to his own time. He takes his stand in his own generation, and looks onward and upward from that. His starting-point lies in the character and circumstances of the age he himself lives in. "Prophecy," says Davison, "takes the visible or the temporal subject as the ὁρμητήριον (if I may borrow the word) of its enlarged revelation; and yet by that subject it governs its course."[1] This analogy of the prophetic structure is violated by such as attribute these chapters to Isaiah, because the writer's historical and visible horizon is evidently the time of the Babylonish exile.

b. Even if the historical standpoint were in Isaiah's time, he could not have taken such a bound as to predict a far distant personal Messiah, consistently with the analogy of prophecy. Such leaps into the future are unknown. The prophetic spirit is subject to the great law of gradual development.

c. The prophet indicates very clearly his own position historically and geographically:

> "For thus saith the Lord God,
> My people went down aforetime into Egypt to sojourn there,
> And the Assyrian oppressed them without cause.
> Now therefore what have I here, saith the Lord,
> That my people is taken away for nought?
> They that rule over them make them to howl, saith the Lord;
> And my name continually every day is blasphemed."—(lii. 4, 5.)

[1] Discourses on Prophecy, p. 339, second edition.

These verses contain an argument for the captivity of Israel not continuing. Of old the people were taken down into Egypt, not to remain there as slaves for ever, but merely to sojourn for a season. Subsequently the Assyrians oppressed them; not because they had any right to do so, but because the Lord willed it; and they were delivered by His mercy. "Now, therefore, what advantage or honour have I here (in Babylonia) that my people have been carried away for nought?" In the case of the Babylonian captivity, so far from Jehovah's name getting glory or advantage, it is despised by the tyrant's triumphing over Israel; and therefore the disaster should not be allowed to continue for ever, but His people should be delivered as before. If *the former* oppressions were only permitted for a while, much more should *the present* one be but temporary. Whether *here* be referred to *place* (Babylon), or mean *in the present case* (which is less probable), the prophet alludes to the Chaldean exile as a present thing.

All historical allusions to the state of the people assume the same period—viz., that of the captivity, not the time of Isaiah. Thus it is implied in various places that Jerusalem is depopulated and decayed: "That saith to Jerusalem, thou shalt be inhabited, etc. . . . . even saying to Jerusalem thou shalt be built; and to the temple thy foundation shall be laid" (xliv. 26–28). "For the Lord shall comfort Zion: he will comfort all her waste places; and he will make her wilderness like Eden, and her desert like the garden of the Lord," etc. (li. 3.) "Break forth into joy, sing together, ye waste places of Jerusalem," etc. (lii. 9.) "And they that shall be of thee shall build the old waste places: thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations; and thou shalt be called, The repairer of the breach, The restorer of paths to dwell in" (lviii. 12). The land is represented as forsaken and desolate: "Thou shalt no more be termed, Forsaken; neither shall thy land any more be termed Desolate," etc. (lxii. 4.) In like manner the holy cities and temple are in a state of destruction: "Thy holy cities are a wilderness, Zion is a wilderness, Jerusalem a desolation. Our holy and our beautiful house where our fathers praised thee, is burned up with fire: and all our pleasant things are laid waste" (lxiv. 10, 11). But it is affirmed that they shall be rebuilt: "even saying to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be built; and to the temple, Thy foundation shall be laid" (xliv. 28, see also lviii. 12). "And they shall build the old wastes, they shall raise up the former desolations, and they shall repair the waste cities, the desolations of many generations" (lxi. 4). The people are described as robbed, spoiled, and imprisoned: "But this is a people robbed and spoiled; they are all of them snared in holes,

and they are hid in prison houses: they are for a prey, and none delivereth; for a spoil, and none saith, Restore" (xlii. 22, comp. also 24). But their time of deliverance is nigh: "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith the Lord. Speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem and cry unto her, that her warfare is accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned: for she hath received of the Lord's hand double for all her sins" (xl. 1, 2).

d. In consistency with these historical allusions to the circumstances of Jerusalem and its inhabitants are the references to other peoples. The writer shews an exact and minute acquaintance with the relations of the Oriental world in his day. The Chaldean empire is depicted in the height of its splendour and prosperity; but its fall is near (xlvi. 47). The prophet refers to the intestine wars and mutual destruction of the Babylonians in xlxix. 26. Evil-merodach had been murdered by Neriglissar; Laborosoarchod, son of the latter, was also put to death, and two generals of the king of Babylon went over to Cyrus, before the capture of the city. Cyrus, the conqueror of the Babylonians, is called by his name (xliv. 28, xlv. 1); his conquests of the nations are referred to (xli. 2, 3, 25); he comes from the north and east, in allusion to the kingdoms of Media and Persia over which he reigned; his designs against Egypt are pointed at, which his successor Cambyses carried out; the Persians being rewarded for liberating the Jews from Babylon by the gift of Egypt, Ethiopia, and Meröe (xliii. 3); the nations of the west who were leagued with the Babylonians against Cyrus, under Croesus their leader, are represented as concerned at the rapid successes of the conqueror, increasing their national devotions, and coming together to oppose his progress (xli. 5, lix. 18). Such specific details of history could only proceed from one living near the end of the captivity, when Babylon's fall was at hand. Had they been revealed in vision to Isaiah long before the exile, they would form an exception to the general analogy of revelation. It is not so much historical and political events as *religious truth* that is revealed beforehand.

e. The prophet invites the exiles to come forth from Babylon, leaving its uncleannesses behind: "Go ye forth of Babylon, flee ye from the Chaldeans, with a voice of singing, declare ye, tell this, utter it even to the end of the earth; say ye, The Lord hath redeemed his servant Jacob" (xlviii. 20); "Depart ye, depart ye, go ye out from thence, touch no unclean thing; go ye out of the midst of her; be ye clean that bear the vessels of the Lord" (lii. 11). And the nations of the earth are summoned to help the returning Israelites and prepare the way for them: "Go through, go through the gates; prepare ye the way of the people; cast up, cast up the highway; gather out the stones;

lift up a standard for the people" (lxii. 10). To address such exhortations to the exiles in Babylon, encouraging them to return, or to the Gentiles to facilitate their restoration, would be an anomaly in the case of one like Isaiah living in the Assyrian period when the exile itself was unknown and unpredicted by any prophet of the time; by Amos, Hosea, Micah, and Nahum. Our prophet takes his standpoint in the captivity. He does not *predict* that time with its desolation and misery; on the contrary he appears as belonging to it himself, and comforting his countrymen with release—a return to their own land, the restoration of their city and temple—with prospects of a more glorious future, when the Lord should comfort Zion and make Israel a light to the Gentiles. In the time of Isaiah the Medo-Persian empire had no existence. The Medes were then subject to the Assyrians. The Chaldean empire had scarcely arisen, and therefore the Jews could be in no danger from it.

f. After taking a retrospective view of God's compassion towards his people and their unfaithfulness to Him, the prophet offers up a long and earnest supplication for deliverance from their affliction (lxiii. 7–lxiv. 12). What he prays for appears from lxiii. 17, 18: "Return, for thy servant's sake, the tribes of thine inheritance. The people of thy holiness have possessed it but a little while: our adversaries have trodden down thy sanctuary;" and lxiv. 10, 11, 12: "Thy holy cities are a wilderness, Zion is a wilderness, Jerusalem a desolation. Our holy and our beautiful house, where our fathers praised thee, is burned up with fire: and all our pleasant things are laid waste. *Wilt thou refrain thyself for these things, O Lord? wilt thou hold thy peace, and afflict us very sore?*" A similar intercession, but much briefer, occurs before in li. 9, 10, 11: "Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of the Lord; awake, as in the ancient days, in the generations of old. Art thou not it that hath cut Rahab, and wounded the dragon? Art thou not it which hath dried the sea, the waters of the great deep, that hath made the depths of the sea a way for the ransomed to pass over? Therefore the redeemed of the Lord shall return, and come with singing unto Zion; and everlasting joy shall be upon their head: they shall obtain gladness and joy; and sorrow and mourning shall flee away." Here Jehovah is appealed to that he may put forth His power again, as He did of old, to effect the deliverance of His people, and bring them back to Zion from captivity. It is incongruous for one living 150 years before the exile to implore redemption from a state of suffering which was yet to come. The incongruity is increased by the fact that the prophet does not *predict* the exile, but always supposes it *a present thing.*

g. The writer often appeals to old announcements as now in

the course of fulfilment. He refers to them as familiar to his readers. The earlier prophets, in speaking of God's chastisements of his people because of their sins, at the hand of heathen powers, always foretold the destruction of the latter as the proud oppressors of the covenant-nation. Thus we read in xlii. 9: "Behold the former things are come to pass, and new things do I declare," etc. In xlviii. 3 it is said: "I have declared the former things from the beginning, and they went forth out of my mouth, and I shewed them; I do them suddenly and they come to pass." Compare also xli. 22, xliii. 9.

h. The people seem to be without the external ordinances of worship, for the sacrifices and services of the temple are never referred to. They only keep fast-days and sabbaths (lvi. 2, lviii. 1–14). Yet fasting is not magnified by the prophet; nor is the sabbath day enjoined in a tone of formalism. Moral duties are put above the ceremonies of religion.

i. The writer describes the theocracy of the future in splendid poetry, but without a visible king. On the other hand, Isaiah always associates a king with the flourishing theocracy (ix. 5, xi. 1, xxxii. 1).

j. Favourite topics of the unknown prophet do not appear in Isaiah; such as his delineation of the "servant of god." *Vicarious* suffering also is a thing unknown to the authentic parts of the book. Idols are combated with arguments; and a defence of Jehovah as the only true God is conducted; while a proof of Jehovah's godhead is founded on *his declaring beforehand things future*; a fact which shews the heathen deities to be nothing because it is beyond their power (comp. chapters xl., xli., xliii., xlv., xlvi.)

k. The tone is tenderer and more uniformly evangelical than that of Isaiah. The ideal hopes and preludings of the theocracy take a higher, wider, purer range. Political relations enter into them far less than into Isaiah's. The Gentile nations are little regarded; and their destruction is not dwelt upon with fierce rejoicings over it. Accordingly the heart of the Christian more nearly sympathises with the poetic strains in which the unknown seer expatiates on the trials and hopes of Zion, and the promises of divine aid to her, than it does with the sublimest descriptions of Isaiah. It responds to them almost instinctively.

l. Jeremiah, a much later prophet than Isaiah, suffered ill treatment and persecution for predicting the captivity. None believed him when he prophesied such a disaster. Had these prophecies been current in the name of a prophet so celebrated as Isaiah, Jeremiah would doubtless have appealed to them for confirmation. Such a predecessor he could scarcely have overlooked, especially as his defenders similarly appealed to an inde-

finite oracle of Micah's (iii. 12). See Jer. xxvi. 17, 18. The discourses before us did not therefore exist in Jeremiah's day, and are not Isaiah's.

m. The style and diction are different, as every reader feels at once. The diction of Isaiah is forcible, concise, compressed, nervous. The thoughts and images are rich, pure, and earnest. Sometimes there is an apparent hardness in the connexion of single propositions, but even there the whole is animated by a graceful spirit. He occupies the same place among prophets as the author of Job does among the poets. A lofty inspiration carries him forward from picture to picture with energy and power. But in the latter part of the book, the diction is clear, light, flowing, rounded, and easy; yet at the same time lively, impressive, and even lyrical occasionally. Sometimes it is diffuse and almost drawling, with repetitions and tautologies. These repetitions, however, are owing to the manner of composition. The author wrote the pieces singly, and at considerable intervals. Thus the last chapter (lxvi.) is considerably later than the preceding. The beginning of it refers even to the building of a temple—*the* temple, as we suppose—not one in Babylon for the wealthy and heathen-minded Jews that did not wish to return to Judea, as Hitzig conjectures. The diction generally is more polished, but less powerful, than that of Isaiah, of whom Ewald says appropriately: "We cannot state that Isaiah had a peculiar colouring of style. He is neither the especially lyrical, nor the especially elegiacal, nor the especially oratorical and admonitory prophet, something like Joel, Hosea, Micah, in whom a particular colouring more prevails; but, as the subject demands, every kind of discourse and every interchange of representation is ready at his service. In this consists his greatness, as well as one of his most prominent excellences. His fundamental peculiarity is merely the high majestic repose of discourse, arising from a full and sure mastery of the subject."[1] Such a description is certainly inapplicable to xl.–lxvi. An easier and more flowing language is one of the criteria of a later time. The earlier is harder and more concise, as the authentic Isaiah's is. A comparison of Jeremiah with Hosea, or of the later with the earlier psalms, exemplifies the like difference resulting from age.

n. In this second part certain formulas often occur, as *I am the Lord, there is none else* (xlv. 5, 6, 18, 22; xlvi. 9); *I am the first and the last* (xli. 4; xliv. 6; xlviii. 12), *to whom will ye liken me* (xl. 18, 25; xlvi. 5), *who declared it* or *these things from the beginning*, or some such words (xli. 26; xliii. 9; xliv. 7;

[1] Die Propheten des alten Bundes, vol. i., p. 173.

xlv. 21; xlviii. 14); *I have declared* or *shewed from the beginning* (xliii. 12; xliv. 8; xlvi. 10; xlviii. 3, 5); *fear not*, or *fear not I am with thee* or *I will help thee* (xli. 10, 13, 14; xliii. 1, 5; xliv. 2; liv. 4). Numerous appositions occur, such as, *the Lord that created the heavens, that spread forth the earth*, etc. (xlii. 5; xliii. 15, etc.; xliv. 24; xlv. 18, etc.); *he that created, formed Israel* (xliii. 1; xliv. 2, 24; xlix. 5); *my servant Jacob, whom I have chosen, made, called*, etc. (xli. 8; xliv. 1, 2; xlv. 4). Jehovah is often designated as *Israel's* or *Jacob's* בֹּרֵא *creator* (xliii. 1, 15); יֹצֵר *former* (xliii. 1; xliv. 2, 24; xlv. 11; lxiv. 8; comp. xlix. 5, 8; xliii. 21; xliv. 21); גֹּאֵל *Redeemer* (xli. 14; xliii. 14; xliv. 6, 24; xlvii. 4; xlviii. 17; xlix. 7, 26; liv. 5, 8; lix. 20; lx. 16; lxiii. 16; comp. xliii. 1; xliv. 23; xlviii. 20; lii. 3, 9; lxiii. 9); מוֹשִׁיעַ *Saviour* (xliii. 3, 11; xlv. 15, 21; xlvii. 15; xlix. 26; lx. 16; lxiii. 8); מְרַחֵם *he that hath mercy* (xlix. 10; liv. 10); מְנַחֵם *he that comforteth* (li. 12). These epithets are applied to Jehovah only in this part of the book. It is peculiar to the writer to represent the Lord as the *Father of the Israelites* (lxiii. 16; lxiv. 8); to double the same word for emphasis' sake, as, *behold, behold; I, I; comfort, comfort; awake, awake*, etc. (xl. 1; xli. 27; xliii. 11, 25; xlviii. 11, 15; li. 9, 12, 17; lii. 1, 11; lvii. 6, 14, 19; lxii. 10; lxv. 1). He also uses *personification and prosopopoeia* very frequently (xl. 9; xliii. 6, 20; xliv. 23; xlix. 13; li. 9; lii. 9; lv. 12; lvi. 9; lxiii. 5), in a manner foreign to Isaiah. The description of Israel's whorish idolatry in lvii. 7–9, is such as Isaiah himself would not have written, because his images are never drawn out distastefully so as to suggest loathsome ideas. The passage is in the manner of Ezekiel (comp. Ezek. xxiii.)

Peculiarities of diction separating the author from Isaiah, are הֵשִׁיב עַל־לֵב *to lay to heart* (xlvi. 8); שׂוּם עַל־לֵב the same (xlvii. 7; lvii. 1, 11). The phrase עָלָה עַל־לֵב *to come up to mind* (lxv. 17) is once used. It occurs in Jeremiah, but never in Isaiah. מִשְׁפָּט *the true religion* (xlii. 1, 3, 4; li. 4); צָמַח to *sprout* or *germinate*, applied to the origin of events (xlii. 9; xliii. 19; lviii. 8); קָרָא used absolutely, in the sense *of preaching* or *prophesying* (xl. 2, 6; xliv. 7, lviii. 1); פָּצַח רִנָּה *to break forth into joy* (xliv. 23; xlix. 13; liv. 1; lv. 12). It occurs once besides in xiv. 7, which is not Isaiah's. צֶדֶק and צְדָקָה *deliverance, prosperity, happiness* (xli. 2, 10; xlv. 8; li. 5; lxi. 3; xlv. 8; xlvi. 13; xlviii. 18; li. 6, 8; liv. 17; lvi. 1; lvii. 12; lix. 9, 17; lxi. 10, 11). הָעַם in a wide sense for *the inhabitants of the earth* (xl. 7; xlii. 5). כְּאַיִן

as nothing (xl. 17; xli. 11, 12). כָּל־בָּשָׂר or הַבָּשָׂר *all flesh* (xl. 5, 6; xlix. 26; lxvi. 16, 23, 24). שֹׁד וְשֶׁבֶר or with the article prefixed to both, *wasting and destruction* (li. 19; lix. 7; lx. 18). Jeremiah uses the phrase once, but not Isaiah. The writer often uses adjectives and participles as neuter nouns, in the feminine plural, as קַדְמֹנִיּוֹת *things of old* (xliii. 18); רִאשֹׁנוֹת *former things* (xli. 22; xlii. 9; xliii. 18; xlvi. 9; xlviii. 3; lxv. 17); רַבּוֹת *great things* (xlii. 20); נִצְרוֹת *hidden things* (xlviii. 6); חֲדָשׁוֹת *new things* (xlii. 9; xlviii. 6); אֹתִיּוֹת *things to come* (xli. 23, xliv. 7, xlv. 11); בָּאוֹת *things to come* (xli. 22).

There are also many words and expressions belonging to a later period of Hebrew, which are either peculiar to the author, or are common to him and other late writers. Of course they have an Aramaean colouring and character in part. Thus the verb גָּאַל *to be defiled* (lix. 3; lxiii. 3). The first passage has נְגֹאָל a mixture of the niphal and pual; the last אֶגְאַלְתִּי the hiphil, a Syriac form for הִגְאַלְתִּי. The first occurs besides in Lam. iv. 14. טָפַח *to stretch out* (xlviii. 13). It is only in Lamentations besides, signifying *to carry in the arms* (ii. 22). סָגַד *to fall down in adoration* (xliv. 15, 17, 19; xlvi. 6). כָּנָה *to address one soothingly* (xliv. 5; xlv. 4), occurring only in Job besides (xxxii. 21, 22). מָתַח *to stretch out* (xl. 22). נָשַׁק *to kindle* (xliv. 15), found also in Ezek. xxxix. 9, and Ps. lxxviii. 21, which is of late origin. פָּעָה *to cry out* (xlii. 14). צָוַח *to shout* (xlii. 11). צָעָה *to bow* or *bend* (li. 14; lxiii. 1), found only in Jeremiah besides. קָדַח *to kindle* (l. 11; lxiv. 1), occurring also in Jeremiah and Deuteronomy. חֵצֶן *the bosom* (xlix. 22); and Nehem. v. 13. צִיר *an idol* (xlv. 16). שׁוֹבָב *rebellious* (lvii. 17), in Jer. iii. 14, 22. *People and tongues* (lxvi. 18); comp. Dan. iii. 4, 7, 31; v. 19; vi. 26; vii. 14. סְגָנִים *Babylonian prefects* (xli. 25) is from the Persian. The word occurs in Jeremiah and Ezekiel in the same acceptation. בָּחַר *to prove, try, purify*, which is the primary meaning (xlviii. 10), used only in 2 Chronicles and Job. חִדֵּשׁ *to rebuild* or *repair* (lxi. 4), as in 2 Chron. xv. 8; xxiv. 4. כָּהֵן *to deck in priestly fashion* (lxi. 10). כּוּל *to measure* (xl. 12). הִמְלִיט *to bring forth* (lxvi. 7). עָמַד *to rise up*, equivalent to קוּם (xlvii. 13); comp. Dan. viii. 23; xi. 2, 3, 20; xii. 1, 13; Eccles. iv. 15; 2 Chron. xx. 5; xxiv. 20, etc. לְאָחוֹר *hereafter* (xli. 23; xlii. 23). בּוּל *stock* or *trunk* (xliv. 19); comp. Job xl. 20. זָר *a strange god* (xliii. 12).

חֵפֶץ *affair, business, cause* (xliv. 28; liii. 10; lviii. 3, 13); comp. Eccles. iii. 1, 17; v. 7, 8; viii. 6; and Job xxi. 22; xxii. 3. מֶלְיִין *messenger, prophet* (xliii. 27); comp. 2 Chron. xxxii. 31. מִסְכֵּן *poor* (xl. 20). פֶּסֶל *a molten image* (xl. 19; xliv. 10); comp. Jer. x. 14; li. 17. הֵן *if* (liv. 15); comp. 2 Chron. vii. 13, and Dan. ii. 5, 6; iii. 15, 18. יָתֵר adverbially, *abundantly,* (lvi. 12); comp. Dan. viii. 9. כְּעַל a preposition, *according to* (lix. 18; lxiii. 7); comp. 2 Chron. xxx. 18. Aramæising or later *forms* of words, are אֶגְאַלְתִּי and הֶחֱלִי (lxiii. 3; liii. 10); אוֹתִי for אֹתִי (liv. 15); and אוֹתָם for אֶתְכֶם (lix. 21). This interchange occurs also in the books of Kings and Jeremiah, but not in the older prophets. The pihel of פָּאַר (lv. 5; lx. 7, 13); comp. Ezra vii. 27; Ps. cxlix. 4. The author alone uses the hithpael of the verbs יָמַר, פָּתַח, and שָׁעָה (xli. 10, 23; lii. 2; lxi. 6). Forms of nouns peculiar to him are the plural אֲפֵלוֹת (lix. 9); מַעֲצֵבָה (l. 11); מַעֲרָבָה (xlv. 6); נְגֹהָה (lix. 9); and תִּלְבֹּשֶׁת (lix. 17). קָרָא in pual (xlviii. 8, 12; lviii. 12; lxi. 3; lxii. 2; lxv. 1); used only once besides by Ezek. x. 13. שִׁיחַ in pilel (liii. 8); comp. Ps. cxliii. 5. נֶסֶךְ *a molten image,* for מַמֵּכָה (xli. 29; xlviii. 5); Jer. x. 14; li. 17. מַעֲרָב (xliii. 5; lix. 19); and Ps. lxxv. 7; ciii. 12; cvii. 3. מוֹתִים in the plural (liii. 9); and Ezek. xxviii. 10. Some words are to be explained by the Arabic, which influenced the Hebrew of the exiles, through the intercourse of the Arabians with the Babylonians, as גַּלְמוּד *hard, barren* (xlix. 21); הֲדוּרִים *swelling places* (xlv. 2); הָזָה *to dream* (lvi. 10); הָבַר *to divide the heavens, be an astrologer* (xlvii. 13); חָטַם *to close the mouth* or *refrain* (xlviii. 9); חַרְצֻבוֹת *tight bands* (lviii. 6); נִצָּה *juice* (lxiii. 3, 6); עוֹת *to help* (l. 4); צָרַח *to cry aloud* (xlii. 13); שֹׁבֶל *the skirt of a robe* (xlvii. 2).

On one point a good deal of incorrect assertion has been made. Thus Hengstenberg says,[1] that only the decided prevalence of Chaldaisms, or a Chaldee tincture of the whole style, can prove that a book has been written after the exile. This is by no means the case. A book written in the exile may be comparatively free from Chaldaism, as we know from various psalms. Hirzel[2] mentions that there are only four real Chaldaisms in all Isaiah, viz. vii. 14, xxix. 1, xviii. 7, xxi. 12. This is repeated and endorsed by Hengstenberg. It is too glaringly incorrect to

[1] Kitto's Cyclopædia, article Isaiah. [2] De Chaldaismi Biblici Origine, p. 9.

need comment, for אֻנְאַלְתִּי alone in lxiii. 3 contradicts it. In like manner Jahn affirms,[1] that after repeated perusals he has only found two younger words in Isaiah xl.–lxvi., viz. צֵעָה (li. 14; lxiii. 1), and סְגָנִים (xli. 25), which he denies, after all, to be Aramæan. Surely the learned writer was determined to make out a case of authenticity, when he hazarded this observation. It were superfluous to allude to these attempts at expelling everything Aramæan from the chapters in question, were they not eagerly caught at by English theologians who do not know Hebrew.

The great subject of the prophet in these chapters is the deliverance of the Israelites from thraldom in Babylon, and their approaching return to their own land. Such is his historical basis. He takes his position in Babylon among his countrymen, whom he addresses in various strains at different times, according to the class which was immediately before his view. In all his descriptions the language of encouragement and consolation predominates. Amid some specific details, the discourses, however, are tolerably broad and general in their outline. There are few historical details of the downfall of Babylon, because it had not yet taken place. The return is not described in definite traits, before its accomplishment. Indeed the contents of the prophecy are largely ideal, because they are animated by a pious patriotism which deals in splendid images. What is prophesied of Israel's redemption from Babylon, and their return to Zion, the restoration of Jerusalem and the cities of Judah, partakes of an ideal character, because the writer was *a poet* in whom the Spirit of God dwelt, transporting him into scenes highly spiritual and vaguely anticipatory of future times. He had foreshadowings of the future belonging to the kingdom of God. The important event which forms the historical subject is enveloped with ideal hopes of a better condition of the theocracy, and a brighter manifestation of the divine power than was seen in any past deliverance. The spirit within him led him to employ very indefinite language, whose full force he did not perceive. Israel is idealised; their sufferings atone for sin; foreshadowing the great Antitype in whom the prophet's gropings after the future were amply fulfilled.

The discourses are not connected or consecutive. They move onward, without advancing much beyond where they commenced. The theme is the same, treated somewhat variously in different parts. It does not receive a gradual or progressive development, because various pieces were written at different

[1] Einleitung, Theil ii., p. 485.

times, and the whole is poetical, not historical. We date them from 542 and onward till the eve of Babylon's conquest.

Let us now briefly glance at the arguments adduced for the authenticity of the chapters in question:—

1. They are repeatedly ascribed to Isaiah as their author in the New Testament. Thus we read in John i. 23, *as said the prophet Esaias* appended to a quotation from xl. 3: in Mat. xii. 17, *that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Esaias the prophet, saying,* prefixed to Is. xlii. 1; in Mat. iii. 3, *this is he that was spoken of by the prophet Esaias, saying,* prefixed to Is. xl. 3; in John xii. 38, *that the saying of Esaias the prophet might be fulfilled, which he spake,* prefixed to liii. 1. Here it will be observed, that either the apostles or John the Baptist speak of Isaiah as the author of the passages quoted. Christ does not say so. The former shared the prevalent belief of their day respecting the authorship of Is. xl.–lxvi. It was no part of their mission to correct erroneous opinions on critical subjects.

2. The words of Jesus Sirach, in the book called Ecclesiasticus, are a testimony to the authenticity of the portion in question (xlviii. 22–25). Here the writer refers particularly to no one part of the prophecies of Isaiah more than another. His language is general.

3. Cyrus was induced by the prophecies of Isaiah respecting him, to give permission to the Jews to return and rebuild their temple. In the edict issued by that king, it is announced that the Lord God of heaven had given him all the kingdoms of the earth, and had charged him to build him an house at Jerusalem (Ezra i.)

We do not rely much on Josephus's testimony,[1] which is often unworthy of credit. And it is as probable that the prophecies of a Jew in exile influenced the king as those of an older prophet. The fact mentioned by Josephus is more than doubtful, though Kleinert[2] unhesitatingly assumes it.

4. In other kinds of composition a writer may assume a standpoint different from his own, and personate those earlier and later than himself. If it be natural for poets to speak of an ideal future, why may not prophets of a real one? Such is the argument urged by Alexander.[3]

In answer to it we observe, that the cases of a *real* and *ideal* future are very different. It is illogical to argue from the one to the other. Facts alone can determine the point in dispute, not such reasoning as is here offered. A wide induction of

[1] Antiqq., xi., 1.
[2] Ueber die Echtheit sämmtlicher in dem Buche Jesaia enthaltenen Weissagungen, p. 134, et seqq.
[3] The Earlier and Later Prophecies of Isaiah, p. 573.

phenomena shews that the usage of the prophets was to make their own times their standpoint; and an unbiassed exegesis finds no exception in the present case. In saying so, we do not deny the possibility of prophetic inspiration. Prophetic inspiration does not consist in projecting the spiritual vision far into time, amid real scenes and circumstances, overleaping both the present and the immediate future. Our reply then to the argument in question is not that which Alexander calls the *only* one —viz., *because the prophets cannot know a real future;* but because God did not see fit to bestow upon the prophets the gift of looking at *the distant* future in its historical details. And how do we know that such gift was not granted them? By what they have written, and nothing else.

In connexion with this topic we may observe the misconception of Alexander in asserting that such as deny the authenticity of xl.-lxvi. make the Babylonish exile the subject of the whole book.[1] It is the *chief* topic and starting-point. But the prophet reaches far beyond. He takes a higher flight than the approaching deliverance from Babylon, depicting the future of God's kingdom on earth, and the mission of the theocratic people to the Gentiles at large. He dwells upon idealised Israel in the Messianic age. To patriotic hopes and aspirations are linked sublimer ideas inspired by the Spirit of God and penetrating almost into the essence of christianity, though vaguely and unconsciously to the mind of the seer.

5. The title in i. 1, is an old testimony for the authenticity of these prophecies. There is no weight in this argument. The inscription does not suit the whole book, because it is said, "which he saw *concerning Judah and Jerusalem*," words inapplicable to chapters xiii.-xxiii. Hence it refers to an original collection of Isaiah's prophecies, to chapters i.-xii., and may have proceeded from the prophet himself.

6. The use of these prophecies by other writers shews their existence prior to the exile. Jeremiah makes use of them. Thus in the tenth chapter of Jeremiah, where the nothingness of the heathen gods is described, the language is copied from Isaiah. Compare also Jer. xlviii. 18–22, 26, with Is. xlvii. 1–3; Jer. xii. 14 with Is. lvi. 9; Jer. xii. 11 with Is. lvii. 1; Jer. v. 25 with Is. lix. 1, 2; Jer. xiii. 16 with Is. lix. 9–11; Jer. xiv. 7 with Is. lix. 12; Jer. l. li. with Is. xlviii. 20; xliv. 23; lxvi. 6. In like manner Ezekiel has made use of the chapters in question, as is seen by comparing Ezek. xxiii. 40, 41 with Is. lvii. 9; Ezek. xxxiv. with Is. lvii. 9, etc. Zephaniah has also copied ii. 15 from Is. xlvii. 8; iii. 10 from Is. lxvi. 19, 20. Nahum has done the same, ii. 1 from Is. lii. 1, 7; iii. 7 from li. 19. This argument

[1] The Earlier and Later Prophecies of Isaiah, p. 572.

is drawn out by Kueper;[1] enlarged as far as respects Isaiah by Caspari;[2] and repeated by Keil.[3] It is made up of slender grounds, for Jer. x. is not from Is. xl. etc., but the reverse, as Ewald has perceived. (Compare the fortieth chapter with Jer. x. 15, 20, etc.; xvi. 19, etc.) Jeremiah is the text which is expanded and carried out into details. There is no imitation of Jeremiah in Is. xlvii. 1–3, xii. 14, xii. 11, lix. 1, 2, lix. 9–11, lix. 12. The chapters now in Jeremiah's book l., li., were not written by that prophet in their present state. They were either composed by another, or strongly interpolated and edited by a later writer. Nothing can be built upon them in favour of the Isaiah-authorship of xl.–lxvi.

The alleged imitations of Isaiah by Ezekiel are equally futile, for Ezek. xxiii. 40, 41 and xxxiv., are not copied from Is. lvii. 9, etc.; on the contrary lviii. 7 has reference to Ezek. xviii. 7, and lix. 16, etc., to Ezek. xxii. 30, etc. The same is true of Zephaniah and Nahum.

7. The writer intimates that he lived long before the exile, asserting that the knowledge of future events such as the downfall of Babylon and deliverance of Israel, had been revealed to him before their fulfilment. Such things are represented as *new, not heard of before,* which Jehovah had caused to be announced before they sprung forth or germinated, *i.e.* before the first traces of their commencement appeared (xli. 21–27, xlii. 9, xliii. 9–13, xlv. 21, xlvi. 10, xlviii. 3, 5). Such declarations, it is argued by Hävernick, throw the date of composition back to a period before Cyrus appeared. This is Hävernick's argument,[4] adopted as usual by Keil. But it is more plausible than valid, depending on a certain interpretation of the phraseology in these passages which cannot be sustained. The idea generally expressed in them is, that as former things announced by Jehovah through the mouth of his prophets had come to pass, new things unheard before were now proclaimed. The language relates chiefly to Cyrus and his doings. That monarch had appeared against the Babylonians; but he had not taken their city. Former prophecies of Isaiah had come to pass; therefore those now uttered should be likewise verified. The older prophecies referred simply to the punishment of Babylon by a hero raised up and divinely commissioned—the new ones to its complete overthrow. These further events of Cyrus's history could not have been foreseen by an observer of unusual sagacity. The Jews did not expect their complete deliverance in consequence of the destruction of the Chaldean empire. The

[1] Jeremias Librorum Sacrorum interpres atque vindex, cap. iii., p. 132, et seqq.
[2] In Rudelbach's and Guericke's Zeitschrift for 1843, ii. 2, and 48 seqq.
[3] Einleitung, p. 247.
[4] Einleitung ii. 2, p. 184, et seqq.

verb צָמַח is used tropically, and should not be literally pressed as if it meant *while the seed is in the earth before it begins to germinate.* It simply denotes, *to develop itself* or *arise.*

8. It is affirmed by Keil and Hengstenberg that ideas similar to those enunciated by the prophet respecting the future of the theocracy, were current in Isaiah's time. The son of Amos had only to link his own anticipations to such as already existed among the pious of the people. To throw himself into the far-distant future and make it his standpoint was not a psychological impossibility. Thus Micah addresses the Jewish people in the Babylonian exile (iv. 10). In vii. 7, 11, the same position is assumed by the prophet. Hosea describes the distant future as present in xiv. 2, etc. The very mode in which Isaiah announces to king Hezekiah the transportation of his treasures and sons to Babylon, as well as that in which the monarch receives the information (xxxix. 6–8), shews the idea of the Babylonish exile not to be new.

Here two statements are made—viz., that the Babylonish captivity was not a new idea promulgated by Isaiah for the first time; and that other prophets as well as he transported themselves into the distant future, viewing it in spirit as present. It was their ideal *present* standpoint. The passages adduced in evidence must be examined. Is. xxxix. 6–8 must at once be set aside, because Isaiah did not write the thirty-ninth chapter and preceding ones connected with it, in their present form. In iv. 10, Micah says: "thou [daughter of Zion] shalt go even to Babylon; there shalt thou be delivered; there the Lord shall redeem thee from the hand of thine enemies." In these words the reference is not to the so-called Babylonian exile. The prophet alludes to Judah or the greater part of the people being carried away into Babylon *by the Assyrians.* Babylon belonged at that time to the Assyrian empire. It was the older and more celebrated metropolis. The prediction in question may not have been fulfilled.[1] The Assyrians are represented as putting the captive Jews there. In vii. 7 the people are described as waiting for God's deliverance of them from their state of oppression; and in the eleventh verse we read: "it is a day to build thy walls—that day; distant is the set time of that day." The prophet sees that the sufferings and dangers of the kingdom of Judah must increase and multiply—that the destruction of the city and even of the temple are necessary before the longed-for Messianic restoration takes place. Not that he saw specifically in vision the Babylonian oppression and exile, with the return of the people and rebuilding of the desolated city. The Assyrians were the still dreaded foe, whom, as they had ravaged Israel, he expected to

[1] See vol. ii. pp. 461, 462.

fall upon Judah. In the divine spirit, the seer looks forward to the culmination of Judah's troubles and trials in the ruined city and temple, before the blessed age of hope should set in. Great punishments for national sins should precede the Messianic age. It is evident that if Micah thought of any one power who should effect the overthrow of Judah, it was the Assyrians. But it is probable that his description of suffering was only the sagacious forecasting of the future; and that to heighten its severity he introduced ruin to the city and exile to its inhabitants without any confident assurance that they would really happen. And they did *not* take place, as he thought of them, from the Assyrians. The description is subordinate to the prophet's Messianic picture, which it elevates by contrast. It is preparatory to that, and as such must have been prompted by vague forebodings. Hosea xiv. 2, etc., does not predict the distant future specifically. It contains a general exhortation, followed by a promise. Thus Micah and Hosea do not foretell the Babylonish captivity. Neither prophet transports himself into its midst, to speak out of it to his countrymen. Whatever distinctness belonged to their perception of the future—and it was not much—the Assyrians were the instruments to them of Jehovah's judgments on Judea: not the Chaldeans. There is no true example of the prophets placing themselves in the circumstances of the distant future to describe external things.

9. Hävernick argues that the speaker lived in Jerusalem or Judah before the downfall of Judah and the destruction of the metropolis, because he addresses Jerusalem and the cities of Judah (xl. 2, 9; comp. xli. 27; li. 16; lxii. 1, etc). This does not follow, for Jerusalem means *its former inhabitants*, and the cities of Judah should be understood in the same manner (their former inhabitants). Neither does the condition of the people described shew that the prophet lived in Judah *before* the captivity. His reproofs of prevailing sins, the neglect of sacrifice to Jehovah (xliii. 22, etc.), the practice of all kinds of idolatry (lvii. 3, etc.), seeking the favour of foreign rulers (lvii. 9, etc.), apply, it is said, to the time of Isaiah and the Jews in Palestine. Some of these things, however, are adduced to shew the causes of their present calamities; while others apply more appropriately to the exiles in Babylon than to the people in Isaiah's age, as we shall shew in our next answer. Here therefore the validity of Hävernick's reasoning may be well questioned. The same critic also reminds us that Egypt, Ethiopia, and Seba (Meroe) are mentioned as the leading nations of the time (xliii. 3; xlv. 14). So were they also in Cyrus's time. They are spoken of in connexion with Cyrus, who probably intended to subdue them. His successor Cambyses did so. In lii. 4 it is argued that the

Assyrian oppression of Israel, as *the last* which had befallen the people, is contrasted with the like oppression on the part of Egypt *in the beginning;* and therefore the time of Isaiah is what it is alone suited to. The very opposite is the fact, as the next verse shews: "Now therefore what have I here, saith the Lord, that my people is taken away for nought?" The two oppressions of Israel by Egypt and Assyria are coupled together, and contrasted with the present condition of the people "taken away."[1]

In maintaining Babylon to be the writer's locality, we are aware that Ewald holds another opinion. He makes it Egypt, because the northern parts of the Chaldean empire are spoken of as the remote end of the earth (xli. 25; comp. xxiv. 16); because the author seems to take an interest in Egypt (xliii. 3; xlv. 13, etc.); and the Sinim, *i.e.* those dwelling in Pelusium, the north-eastern Egyptians, are spoken of as his countrymen, while eastern countries are simply the *distant* ones (xlix. 11). In like manner swine's flesh is mentioned as offered in sacrifice to idols (lxv. 4); which Herodotus informs us was done in the case of certain mysteries; and those who go through the mysteries themselves with foolish pride are also referred to (lxv. 4, etc.)[2] These are no real proof that the writer was a descendant of those who were carried down with Jeremiah to Egypt.

10. Some passages are most suitable to the times and position of Isaiah, and some directly allude to them. Such are the comparison of Zion to a bride whose name shall be Hephzibah, which was the name of Hezekiah's wife (lxii. 4); the words of comfort to the eunuchs compared with the prediction of the lot of the royal family (lvi. 3); the argument from the ritual sacrifices, which has no meaning if addressed to those to whom it was no longer possible to perform the temple service because there was no temple (xliii. 22-28); and the description of Zion whose watchmen are dumb and drunken, and her righteous men taken away by death; while she, the sorceress and harlot, sends her messengers and presents to the kings afar off, and debases herself to hell (lvi. 9; lvii. 11). This argument, which is partly the same as the last, is so adduced by Strachey.[3] It appears to us of no force. The name Hephzibah is symbolically applied to the holy city. It was the name of a woman, and as so happens, of Hezekiah's wife; but it may have been usual. The word is chosen because of its meaning, not in relation to Hezekiah. That eunuchs should not be excluded from the blessings of the restored church, is a trait intended to set forth the

[1] Hävernick, Einleitung ii. 2, p. 186, et seqq.
[2] Die Propheten des alten Bundes, vol. ii. p. 409, et seqq.
[3] Hebrew politics in the times of Sargon and Sennacherib, pp. 312, 313.

comprehensive nature of the spiritual Israel in the future. The passage respecting the ritual sacrifices represents the conduct of the Jews who had brought the calamities of the captivity upon them, and the anger of Jehovah, by neglect of Jehovah's worship in their own land. It is the *past*, not the *present*, conduct of the exiles which is censured. In lvi. 9, lvii. 11, some passages do suit either the time of Isaiah or the later reign of Manasseh. The paragraph bears considerable similarity in manner and contents to Jeremiah and Ezekiel; especially Jer. xxiii. 1, 2, and Ezek. xxxiv. We may therefore conclude that the author followed some older prophet. The style, however, is unmistakeably the same as usual; and the subsequent verses (lvii. 12, etc.) shew the author's position in the exile.

11. It has been affirmed, that the general method of description is analogous to that of Isaiah. Thus xi. 7-9 is repeated in lxv. 25. The circle of images is similar, as the *melting of metals* (i. 22; xlviii. 10); *the closing of the eyes* (vi. 10; xliv. 18); *night and morning dawn* (viii. 20; lviii. 8; xlvii. 11); *sitting in darkness* (ix. 1; xlvii. 5); *taking off the veil* (xxii. 8; xlvii. 2); *a crown* for cities (xxviii. 1; lxii. 3); *tent and tent-pins* (xxxiii. 20; liv. 2); *drunken* or *reeling* (xxviii. 7, etc.; xlix. 26; li. 17, etc.) Visions are seldom related, or symbolical actions performed, though these are frequent in the later prophets. Lyrical pieces are interspersed, as v. 1, etc.; xii. 1, etc.; lxi. 10; lxiii. 7–lxiv. 11. Paronomasia and antithesis are frequently employed (xxx. 16, and xliii. 23; lxvi. 3, 4). A word is frequently repeated in the parallel members of a verse (xi. 5; xv. 1, 8; lix. 10, etc.) Objects are accumulated in narration.[1]

All this amounts to nothing. Any two prophets, such as Jeremiah and Ezekiel, present as many points of analogy. It is highly probable that the unknown author of xl.–lxvi. was familiar with the prophecies of Isaiah, and partially influenced by them both in ideas and expression. That such writings should be either unknown to him, or without influence upon his thoughts and feelings, is very improbable.

12. The diction and linguistic colouring are favourable to the authorship of Isaiah. Peculiar expressions of Isaiah in the first part of the book recur in the second. Thus *the holy one of Israel* occurs fourteen times in xl.–lxvi., eleven times in i.–xxxix. No other prophet has the same idiom; nor is it found anywhere else except three times in the Psalms. The use of נִקְרָא

[1] See Kleinert, Ueber die Echtheit sämmtlicher in dem Buche Jesaia, u. s. w. § 10, p. 268, et seqq.

to be called, for *to be*, occurs in both parts (xlvii. 1, 4, 5; xlviii. 8, etc.; liv. 5; lvi. 7, etc.) Another idiom peculiar to Isaiah is, יֹאמַר לְ *shall be said to, called*, which is in both parts (iv. 3; xix. 18; lxi. 6; xlii. 4); אֲבִיר *mighty*, spoken of God (i. 24; xlix. 26; lx. 16). The poetical word צֶאֱצָאִים *offspring* (xlii. 5; xliv. 3; xlviii. 19; lxi. 9; lxv. 23). רַהַב *Egypt* (xxx. 7; li. 9). גֶּזַע *a trunk* (xi. 1; xl. 24). חָרוּץ *threshing-machine* (xxviii. 27; xli. 15). יִבְלֵי מַיִם *streams of water*, occurs only in Isaiah (xxx. 25; xliv. 4). נַעֲצוּץ *thicket of thorns* (vii. 19; lv. 13). מֵאָז *heretofore* (xvi. 13; xliv. 8; xlv. 11; xlviii. 3, 5, 7). The union of the words רָם וְנִשָּׂא *high and lifted up* (ii. 13; vi. 1; lvii. 15). נָשַׁת applied to the *drying up of water* (xix. 5; xli. 17). הָיָה לְבָעֵר *to become a burning* (v. 5; vi. 13; xliv. 15). שָׁרַשׁ *shoot* (xi. 10; liii. 2). זֶרַע *brood* in contempt (i. 4; lvii. 3).[1]

The idiom *holy one of Israel* in xl.–lxvi. is borrowed from Isaiah. A few of the other expressions may be similarly accounted for. That one writer should sometimes use a term employed by another is neither strange nor uncommon. It does not prove identity of authorship. The whole list so industriously gathered is insignificant, being made up of unimportant particulars. As a counterpart to the idiomatic peculiarities of language belonging to xl.–lxvi., which separate this portion widely from i.–xxxix., the argument before us is trifling.

Much has been written by apologists to account for the difference of style and manner between Isaiah and the great unknown who wrote xl.–lxvi. It is so strongly marked, however, as not to be explained on any other ground than diversity of authorship. The whole cast of thought and mode of expression are different. Difference of subject is not sufficient to account for the diversity, as Keil argues.[2] Various *phrases* and *words* might be attributed to this cause; but not *the texture* of the whole. When it is affirmed that the first part contains discourses whose character is usually threatening, referring to judgments and desolations rather than coming good, to which brevity and energy of expression are best fitted, the fact may be admitted in part, without allowing that a compressed form has been given to the prophecies to make them more striking and effective. The eleventh chapter of Isaiah, which is Messianic and consolatory, is unlike the delineations of the future theocracy given by the author of xl.–lxvi. Yet the subject is the

[1] Kleinert, § 10.

[2] Einleitung, p. 245.

same. Each writer has his own point of view, sufficiently marked and distinct. The easy flow and fullness of diction which we find in xl.–lxvi. *accords with* the announcement of plenteous salvation, but *arises from* the idiosyncracy of the writer more than from adaptation to the theme. Besides, his discourse does not always flow easy and smooth. Sometimes it is entangled and difficult, owing to the superabundant fullness of fresh thoughts, streaming forth in too rapid succession to wait for polished utterance. The prophet who appears in xl.–lxvi. has a strong individuality of his own. His mind is creative, peculiar, original; and therefore his language sometimes breathes a very high inspiration, and carries away the enraptured reader with its wonderful charm. Even where he leans upon older prophecies almost verbally, his idiosyncracy appears. How different this is from Isaiah is apparent to the critic who possesses good perception and taste.

Equally insufficient is it to explain the diversity of i.–xxxix. and xl.–lxvi. either in part or whole by *assuming* a considerable interval of time between. How can any one *know* that the latter discourses were written towards the close of the prophet's life, when he had time and leisure to elaborate the higher views of the theocracy which his spirit aspired to reach; while the former were uttered publicly before the people in agitating circumstances? Whatever the prophet wrote was not written as he spoke it. It was enlarged, elaborated, expanded, improved. Without wishing in the least to detract from the largeness of mind and gifts possessed by Isaiah, or the various endowments with which the Spirit of God enriched his soul in no common measure, we may be permitted to say, that he could not have had that enlightened image of *the servant of God, the true Israel*, which occupied the chief place in the inner vision of the Deutero-Isaiah, and floated before his eye in life-like form *almost* as a person. Doubtless Isaiah was a many-sided man, who could employ more than one method, if needful, and diversify his style according to his subject. He ought not to be shut up to one uniform mood. But a *fundamental peculiarity* in the mind and style of every gifted writer, underlying all his modes of thought and expression, is still perceptible. He cannot divest himself of his mental or spiritual idiosyncracy. Hence it is that we disbelieve the Isaiah-authorship of xl.–lxvi. No diversities of theme, age, circumstances; no unusual combination of qualities in one person, can persuade us that the entire book of Isaiah as it now exists proceeded from one and the same prophet. It is true that with God all things are possible. But we must judge of his gifts to men by their actual nature and distribution, instead of an ideal standard.

The later diction or occasional Chaldaisms cannot be explained away by the remark that some such may be found in writers earlier than Isaiah, even in the Pentateuch. Nor are Hirzel's four examples of Chaldaism the only real ones in the entire book of Isaiah (vii. 14; xxix. 1; xviii. 7; xxi. 12). There are true instances of later Chaldaising expressions in the last twenty-seven chapters, such as אֲנִאַלְתִּי (lxiii. 3), and הֻחֳלִי (liii. 10), which were not selected because they are more poetical, as Keil supposes. And when Jahn affirms that, after repeated perusals, he can find only two words of a later age than Isaiah's in chapters xl.–lxvi., viz. צֵעָה (li. 14; lxiii. 1), and סְגָנִים (xli. 25), which, after all, are not, as he thinks, Chaldaising or modern, he is egregiously mistaken, as has been already stated. We are ready to admit that the diction of the second part of Isaiah is tolerably pure and free from Chaldaisms. It is not necessary that a prophet in the captivity should employ a strongly Aramæan style. Much depends on his natural and spiritual endowments. Zechariah, Haggai, and Malachi have a diction almost free from Chaldaisms; not so much because they leaned upon an earlier prophetic literature and so abstained artificially from the language of their time, as on account of their mental tendencies. And if they were penetrated with the spirit of former prophetic writings, the Deutero-Isaiah was also influenced by the authentic Isaiah. That he could write good and pure Hebrew even in Babylon, shews an original and independent genius rising above surrounding circumstances. The spirit of God was given him in large measure, enabling him to throw himself out of the temporal into the ideal and spiritual; lofty ideas and exalted hopes creating for themselves a dress of befitting purity and elevation,—a higher costume than that of the age, because the conceptions bodied forth naturally gave birth to it. Had such a prophet as the great unknown expressed his ideas in the Chaldaising language common among his fellow-exiles in Babylon, he would have been guilty of incongruity. A magnificent soul would have marred and clogged its own manifestations. There is not enough evidence in the style and diction to shew their later origin than Isaiah; yet enough to shew the independent genius of a prophet soaring far above his own age and not detracting from the value of his ideas by investing them with an inferior garb.

The term כֹּרֶשׁ Cyrus, a minute trait contrary to the analogy of prediction (xliv. 28; xlv. 1), is a great stumbling-block in the way of such as advocate the authenticity of xl.–lxvi.; and therefore they try to explain it away or resolve it into the

general. Hävernick[1] says that it is used in an *appellative* signification, as a name of dignity, a kind of apotheosis. Explaining it with the Greeks to mean *the sun*, it is assumed that Cyrus is not described according to his historical appearance as king of Persia, but as an oriental hero raised up by Jehovah to execute his will against the Chaldeans, with *ideal* traits corresponding to the prophet's *ideal* standpoint. This meaning of Coresh, adopted by the Greeks, who identified it with the Sanscrit *Surya*, is now ascertained to be erroneous, as the old Persian *k* never replaces the Sanscrit *s*. It is better to compare the name with *Kuru*, a popular title among the Aryan race. Still more unlikely is Möller's conjecture that כֹּרֶשׁ has been transposed from the participle of כָּשַׁר *to be right*, the same as יָשָׁר *upright* or *righteous*, applied to Israel.[2] It did not belong to the writer's purpose to describe Cyrus particularly. The rapidity of his conquests is glanced at. The hopes which the pious part of the nation centred on him as the breaker of their yoke are sufficiently distinct, though poetically expressed. In reply to the assertion of Keil, that historical details respecting the downfall of Babylon (such as appear in Jer. l., li.) or the return from exile are wanting, it is sufficient to remark, that the prophet wrote *before* these events took place. Hence he could only speak of them in general terms, poetic and hyperbolical it is true, because coloured by an enthusiastic patriotism, yet sufficiently definite for the genius of prophetic foresight. Had they been more specific or minute, they would have violated the analogy of *prediction*.

The *position* which xl.–lxvi. occupies has been a great impediment to a proper estimate of their authorship and age. So largely are men influenced by the external. Had the chapters in question been separate from Isaiah, and formed an independent book, they would not have been assigned to the son of Amoz. Their diversity of authorship would have struck a common reader. Coming to us, however, as a component part of the book which goes by Isaiah's name, they create a strong presumption in favour of their apparent authenticity. Outward place has procured them an adventitious credit which honours neither them nor the persons who rely on it. They stand apart in their own inherent dignity, essentially distinguished from their associated discourses. Proceeding from a gifted spirit in miraculous concealment, like the book of Job, they rebuke the ignorance of such as vindicate for them a known authorship *under the plea of doing them honour*. A zeal not according to knowledge *dis*honours them.

[1] Einleitung, zweyter Theil, zweyter Abtheilung, p. 163, et seqq.
[2] De Authentia Oraculorum Esaiae, p. 230, et seqq.

It is unfortunate that the portion we have been considering should have been attributed to *a pseudo-Isaiah*—a name highly objectionable. He was no impostor. The unknown prophet had no wish to deceive. Nothing can be more unfair to affirm of such as hold the non-Isaiah-authorship of xl.–lxvi., that they brand the writer as an impostor. He was a true prophet, inspired by God in a remarkable degree. A later age put his discourses along with those of Isaiah. The present book of Isaiah consists of several collections of prophecies, and was not made up till after the captivity. We are unable to tell what motives led to the incorporation of xl.–lxvi. with the preceding portions. Everything concurs in shewing that whoever did it was actuated by no improper feeling. He was not acquainted with the prophet's name, which had passed into oblivion amid the circumstances of the times; though other prophets of the exile are well known. Writers of the highest genius are not always recognized as such by their contemporaries. Indeed their transcendent abilities help to put them beyond such appreciation for a time. It is left for posterity to admire their productions, when their very name perhaps has been lost. The reason of the difference between Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Haggai, Zechariah, the contemporaries of the unknown prophet and himself, lies partly in the fact that they were men of action, identified with the public events of their day; while the great unknown seems to have been more a writer than actor, whose discourses were not pronounced in public. And if their prophecies exhibit chronological specifications, while these do not, what can that prove except the dissimilarity of their mental characteristics? Broad strokes of genius, general outlines of thought and diction, attest higher powers of mind and a higher inspiration. These produce a more powerful and permanent result than the minuter details congenial to prophets of lower inspiration. Had the author of xl.–lxvi. been a man of less genius and divine inspiration, who confined himself more to the circumstances of his own nation during the age he lived in, incapable of soaring away on the wings of imagination into the future of God's people, we should probably have known both his name and history as fully as those of any prophets of the exile; but the fact of his peculiar inspiration isolated him as a man of flesh and blood from his countrymen, though the sympathies of his soul were intensely in unison with theirs. His preludings reached so far *above* and *beyond* theirs as to lift him into a region where the multitude lost sight of the sublime prophet, carried out of present and prospective scenes into the Messianic future.

In assigning the second part of the book which now bears

Isaiah's name to a later prophet than Isaiah, we are fortified by the authority of the highest names in Hebrew literature. Such eminent judges of Hebrew diction as Gesenius, Hitzig, Ewald, Hupfeld, Roediger, De Wette, Maurer, Umbreit, Knobel, Luzzatto, Herzfeld, Bleek, and others, men as truth-loving and honest as any on the opposite side of the question, are not likely to be wrong on a question within their peculiar province. It is almost presumptuous to dispute their opinion, unless it were as *true* as it is *false* that they were enemies to religion and the Bible. Even Tholuck has seen fit to follow the great Hebraists in admitting the Deutero-Isaiah. A sorry list in comparison do we find against them: Beckhaus, Greve, Möller, Jahn, Dereser, Kleinert, Hengstenberg, Hävernick, Keil, Lee, Henderson, Pye Smith, Alexander. Not that these are men who dislike the truth. They too are conscientious. Yet in capacity for deciding such a question they are immensely inferior. In railing vituperation and grievous sinning against christian charity some of them are certainly superior.

Before the time of Gesenius it was common to assign different writers to various parts of xl.–lxvi. Koppe, Martini, Augusti, and Bertholdt adopted that view. But the distinguished lexicographer and commentator entered into an elaborate refutation of it, maintaining that the whole proceeded from *one* prophet.[1] Since then few have ventured to separate different portions in authorship. Ewald, however, with his usual ingenuity, has divided it into first and second books (xl.–xlviii., and xlix.–lx.), with a short interval of time between, and lxi. 1–lxiii. 6 as a postcript; and the much later appendix lxiii. 7–lxvi. He also supposes that lvi. 9–lvii. 11, and probably liii. 1–12, were repeated almost verbally out of older prophecies.[2] The best division of the whole is that of Rückert,[3] adopted by Hävernick and Hitzig, and in part by Rüetschi,[4] viz., xl.–xlviii., xlix.–lvii., lviii.–lxvi. The close of the first two is the same: "There is no peace, saith the Lord, unto the wicked." According to Hävernick, the first section describes the relation of Israel to heathenism; the second, Israel as the centre of salvation to the world; the third, the completion of the theocracy in splendour. Alexander justly remarks that Rückert's division is rather poetical than critical.[5] It appears to us a very difficult problem to discover a chronological succession of parts or sections, as Hitzig, Ewald, Hendewerk, and Bleek have done. The entire

[1] Commentar ueber den Jesaia, zweyter Theil, p. 3, et seqq.
[2] Die Propheten des alten Bundes, vol. ii., p. 403, et seqq.
[3] Hebräische Propheten, p. 1.
[4] Studien und Kritiken for 1851, p. 261, et seqq.
[5] Earlier and Later Prophecies, p. 585.

piece is continuous, with some progression throughout, but desultory, because interrupted by repetitions and retrocessions. Neither formal division nor logical sequence can be clearly traced. The prophet was guided by the association of ideas. A poet writing in sublime and hyperbolical strains is not confined by exact method. It is certain that all the parts were not written at one and the same time. It is also probable that they now lie in the chronological succession given them by the one writer. The paragraph lvi. 9–lvii. 11*a*., was originally composed before the captivity. It supposes that the kingdom of Judah was still in existence. The language also is obviously different from the surrounding context, as every attentive reader perceives. The piece begins with an address to the enemies of the Jewish people to come and devour them—a thing which they would find it easy to do because their watchmen were asleep and blind, without ability or inclination to warn the people of their danger. The few righteous ones were taken away from the prevailing evil without being regarded, or without any troubling themselves with an examination of the causes of the national misfortunes. The people are then apostrophised as the most shameful and lying adherents of idolatry, who indulged in impudent scoffs against truth and the prophets. Harlotry is practised by them in the most open manner. They carry on adultery with idols, and abandon themselves to the worship of Moloch. This does not suit the time of captivity, during which idols were turned into ridicule, not earnestly combated with the bitter but well-merited reproofs found in the pre-exile prophets. The allusion to Moloch is pretty clear in lvii. 9, "thou wentest *to the king* with ointment," or rather "with oil;" but there is no evidence that the Israelites were addicted to the worship of Moloch at the time of the captivity. It is also observable that the introduction of the piece is sudden, and unexpected in tone. Who can suppose that after the glowing promises of prosperity to the people, and the assurances of their safety, in which even the stranger was to participate (lv. 1–lvi. 8), an apostrophe should be abruptly directed to the strangers to come and devour the prophet's countrymen? These and other considerations leave no doubt on the mind that the paragraph was written before the captivity, while the Jewish state and metropolis still stood, by a different person from the great unknown. Ewald and Bleek[1] have rightly arrived at the same conclusion. The latter supposes that it may have proceeded from Isaiah himself, which is improbable. The earlier portions were written before the taking of Babylon by Cyrus,

[1] Die Propheten des alten Bundes, vol. ii., p. 459, et seqq.; Bleek's Einleitung, pp. 454, 455.

perhaps xl.–xlviii. inclusive. From xlix.–lvii. seem to have been composed after the Chaldean capital was taken. The remainder, viz. lix.–lxvi., belong to the time when a part of the people, and the prophet himself along with them, had returned to Palestine. In lxiv. 10 the destroyed temple is described as a house "where our fathers praised thee," without an intimation of the writer being in captivity. In lxvi. 6, 20 it is pre-supposed that sacrifices were again being offered, and *the house of the Lord* is spoken of as if it were no longer in ruins. The rebuilding of it would seem to have already commenced.

The prominent object presented to the prophet's view is Israel, his sinfulness and corruption, deliverance and restoration, expanding into ideal and far-reaching images of the future theocracy. The picture swells out into a splendid panorama, a new heavens and a new earth, God's people becoming glorious and bright, enlightening the world. Those who try to point out a number of different subjects, as Alexander and Henderson do, introduce a speciality of delineation which the prophet himself never dreamt of. They forget the hyperbolical and ideal element of the poet, his wondrous personification of Israel in relation to the future on Old Testament ground, which cannot be reduced within the cramping limits of their exegesis, or christianised with *the historical advent* of Messiah.

Among all the prophetic writings, the first place in many respects is due to those of the younger Isaiah. They exhibit the marvellous elevation of a spirit looking at the present and stretching into the future. None has announced in such strains as his the downfall of all earthly powers; or unfolded to the view of the afflicted the transcendent glory and fullness of Jehovah's salvation which should arise upon the remnant of Israel, forsaken and persecuted. None has penetrated so far into the essence of the new dispensation. Hence he may be called *the evangelist* of the Old Testament. The form of his oracles corresponds to their contents. As the latter are rich and full, so is the manner of their presentation. Isaiah himself is energetic, dignified, sublime; but he is not so copious or polished as the great unknown. There is majesty in his sentiments, beauty and force in his language, propriety and elegance in his imagery. He, too, is a master prophet, exhibiting varied and transcendent excellences.

III. REDACTION OF THE WORK.—If the preceding remarks be correct, Isaiah himself could not be the editor of the whole. There is no chronological arrangement throughout. Neither has the subject-matter been a constant guide to the compilers. Besides we have not all Isaiah's prophecies. Some are lost. Not one which can be clearly assigned to the reign of Jotham

is extant. Here there is a gap of sixteen years. Is it likely that the prophet was silent, or wrote nothing, for so long a time? He uttered no prophecy during so many years which he thought proper to preserve; so Hengstenberg asserts. The prophets did not write all they uttered. But would it not be a singular thing if, during the entire reign of Jotham *alone*, Isaiah spoke nothing worth preservation? We are not disposed to receive Hengstenberg's affirmation that the prophetic addresses in the days of Uzziah *represented* the days of Jotham also. Equally adverse to the final redaction by Isaiah himself are various *headings to oracles*, such as, xvii. 1, *the burden of Damascus*. Here the title is not very exact. It should rather be *the burden of Samaria*. In like manner, Isaiah himself would not have selected titles from single words in the oracles themselves, as xxi. 1, *the burden of the desert of the sea* (מַשָּׂא מִדְבַּר־יָם) where מִדְבָּר is taken from what follows. Examples of the same thing occur in xxi. 13 and xxii. 1.

As to the *redaction* of the work, or the way in which it grew into the shape and form it now possesses, all is uncertain. The book is a collection of oracles belonging to different times, and proceeding from various prophets. Isaiah himself probably put together the first group or collection, consisting of the first twelve chapters, with the title prefixed, as we have already observed. The second collection or book (xiii.-xxiii.) was not put into its present shape till after the Babylonian captivity. It contains a series of prophecies against foreign nations, with the exception of the twenty-second chapter. These prophecies are partly authentic, partly not. They are not chronologically arranged, and almost all have titles; generally מַשָּׂא a word never used by Isaiah himself. The third group, xxiv.-xxxix., is pervaded by no principle of arrangement. The original nucleus of it consisted of xxviii.-xxxiii., a small collection made by Isaiah himself, to which was prefixed by some later person, xxiv.-xxvii. The remaining parts were appended afterwards. The absence of the favourite מַשָּׂא as a title to the pieces, is adverse to the hypothesis that he who put together the second group, collected this also. The inscription *massa* occurs only in xxx. 6, where it ought not to stand, because a new prophecy does not begin there. We place the origin of this collection earlier than the last, at the end of the exile. The fourth part, xl.-lxvi. was not appended to the preceding till a subsequent period. It seems to have existed by itself for a while, during which time the name of the prophet gradually passed into oblivion. *When the general canon was made up*, it was annexed to the preceding books, and so passed under the appellation of

Isaiah, although it was not considered his. Indeed the first book alone was intended for Isaiah's authentic productions. The prophet left other oracles not included in i.-xii., which were afterwards disposed of in an arbitrary way. Thus the present book of Isaiah is a growth. It is *an aggregate* of authentic and unauthentic pieces, accumulating by degrees to its present extent and disposition. Like the books of Psalms and Proverbs, it is *an anthology*. Isaiah's name, illustrious for the sublimest prophetic discourses, and especially for his poetical pictures of the golden age, became, in a manner, the representative of the Messianic prophets; as the names of David and Solomon represented the *lyrical* and *gnomic* respectively. Hence various poems of the same kind, written by unknown authors, were afterwards attached to his extant oracles. Nothing can be farther from the truth than the assertion sometimes made, that the book proceeded, as it were, from one gush of inspiration. The prophecies were called forth by various circumstances, even though it be assumed that Isaiah uttered them all. That he spent the eve of his life in committing the whole to writing, or arranging them after they were all written, is highly improbable; else he would not have left them without an observable plan, chronological or otherwise. No organic unity can be pointed out in them, which is unlikely, had Isaiah himself been their final editor. No principle of arrangement appears. Drechsler's ingenious attempt to point out an organic unity by tracing a principle running throughout and corresponding to the gradual development of Isaiah's prophetic activity is baseless. And is it likely that the prophet would revise his own composition in xxxvi.-xxxviii.? Will the believers in an infallible inspiration maintain this? *Infallibility revising itself!* The idea is absurd, for infallibility does not admit of degrees. Did Isaiah prefix titles to some of the oracles, which are unsuitable, as in xvii.? In short, the hypothesis is clogged with insuperable difficulties. It is opposed to internal evidence. It may harmonise with the traditional evidence which holds fast by every thing as it now is, on the pretence of honouring Isaiah, as if a superstitious reverence which ignores critical research by shutting out the light, could do honour to the prophet. The inspired seers were men of truth, loving light and hating darkness. They stood forth boldly before the world, strong in the might of Jehovah, whose message they bore. The highest honour is done them by such as use all legitimate appliances to ascertain the character of their messages as they have come down to modern times, how those messages were left by themselves, and how their successors disposed of them. We must take the oracles with their present setting, and judge how they

were before they received it. Both prophecy and setting need not have come directly from the seers themselves, unless it be assumed that the one was an inseparable accompaniment and illustrator of the other; an assumption which is thoroughly groundless.

IV. THE SERVANT OF GOD IN CHAPTERS XL.–LXVI.—The following is a new translation of Is. lii. 13–liii. 12:—

Behold, my servant shall prosper;
He shall mount up, be exalted, and be very high.
As many were astonished at thee,—
So disfigured as if not human was his look,
And his form not that of the sons of men,—
So shall many nations leap for joy on account of him;
Kings shall shut their mouths before him;
For what had not been told them they shall see,
And what they had not heard, shall they perceive.
Who believed our announcement,
And the arm of Jehovah, to whom was it revealed?
For he grew up before him [Jehovah] as a shoot;
As a root out of dry ground;
He had neither form nor comeliness that we should have looked upon him [with pleasure],
And no aspect [of attraction] that we should have desired him.
He was despised, and the least of men,
A man of sorrows, and familiar with sickness,
Like one before whom the face is veiled,
Despised, we esteemed him not.
But he bore our diseases,
And our pains which he took upon himself;
Yet we regarded him punished,
Smitten by God, and afflicted [for his own sin].
But he was wounded by our sins;
Bruised by our iniquities;
The chastisement of our salvation was upon him,
And by his stripes we are healed.
All we, like sheep, went astray;
We turned every one to his own way;
But Jehovah made the guilt of us all to fall upon him.
He was sore pressed, he was even bowed down,
Yet he opened not his mouth;
Like the lamb which is led to the slaughter,
Like the sheep which is dumb before its shearers,
So he opened not his mouth.
By oppression and judicial punishment was he snatched away,
And which of his contemporaries considered it;
For he was cut off from the land of the living,
For the transgression of my people was he stricken.
And they made his grave with the wicked,
And his sepulchre with the godless,
Though he had done no wrong,
Neither was deceit in his mouth.
Yet it pleased Jehovah to bruise him; He made it [the bruising] severe;
When thou [Jehovah] hast made his life an offering for sin,
He shall see his seed, live long,
And Jehovah's pleasure prospers by his hand.
By reason of the travail of his soul he shall see and be satisfied;
By his knowledge shall he, my righteous servant, lead many to righteousness,
And he bears their iniquities.

Therefore do I give him a portion in many [many for his portion],
And he shall have heroes for spoil,
Because he poured out his life unto death,
And was numbered with the transgressors;
And he bare the sin of many,
And made intercession for transgressors.

Such is the most correct version of this passage we are able to present. After so many scholars have translated and explained it, another attempt may be thought presumptuous. The difficulties are considerable.

The names of Luther, Calvin, Le Clerc, Vitringa, Lowth, Koppe, Dathe, Michaelis, Steudel, Martini, Seiler, Rosenmüller, Doederlein, Maurer, Jahn, Eichhorn, Storr, Hensler, Koester, Gesenius, De Wette, Umbreit, Hofmann, Hengstenberg, Hitzig, Ewald, Rückert, Knobel, Reinke, Hahn, Noyes, Alexander, Henderson, Stier, Bleek, are all connected more or less closely with the exposition of the paragraph. Most importance belongs to the versions of Gesenius, De Wette, Hitzig, Ewald, Knobel, and Bleek. Whoever is acquainted with their sentiments may dispense with the trouble of reading the rest.[1]

The passages which treat particularly of *the servant of God* (עֶבֶד יְהוָה) are the following: xlii. 1-7, xlix. 1-9, l. 4-11, lii. 13-liii.

Who is the *servant of God?*

The answer to this question involves very different views, which are all reducible to three, viz., *the people of Israel, the Messiah,* or *some other individual.* That a collective character belongs to the servant appears from various places, as from xliv. 26—

That confirmeth the word of *his servant,*
And performeth the counsel of *his messengers,*

where מַלְאָכָיו in the latter clause is equivalent to *servant* in the former. In like manner we find the suffix לָמוֹ which is properly plural, referring to *the servant of God* (liii. 8). So Gesenius takes the suffix, regarding it as abbreviated from לָם, לָהֶם, with ו enclitic. It is a poetical form of the suffix, of rare occurrence. Both Gesenius and Roediger maintain that it always retains its plural sense.[2] But Ewald holds that it is occasionally used by some poets in the singular, giving as examples, Ps. xi. 7; Job. xxii. 2; Deut. xxxiii. 2; Is. xliv. 15.[3] The original and proper signification is certainly plural. Perhaps,

[1] See Bleek in the Studien und Kritiken for 1861, zweites Heft.
[2] Hebräische Grammatik by Roediger, seventeenth edition, p. 198, note.
[3] Ausführliches Lehrbuch, fifth edition, p. 459.

however, in one or two instances it is misapplied, so as to become singular, as in Is. xliv. 15. The plural of the noun in בְּמֹתַי points in the same direction (liii. 9). *The servant* is expressly identified with Israel or Jacob: "But thou, Israel, art my servant, Jacob whom I have chosen, the seed of Abraham my friend. Thou whom I have taken from the ends of the earth, and called thee from the chief men thereof, and said unto thee, Thou art my servant; I have chosen thee, and not cast thee away" (xli. 8, 9). "Thou art my servant, O Israel, in whom I will be glorified" (xlix. 3). "Yet now hear, O Jacob, my servant; and Israel, whom I have chosen. Thus saith the Lord that made thee, and formed thee from the womb, which will help thee. Fear not, O Jacob, my servant; and thou Jesurun whom I have chosen" (xliv. 1, 2). "Who is blind but my servant, or deaf as my messenger that I sent? Who is blind as he that is perfect, and blind as the Lord's servant?" (xlii. 19). This sense is corroborated by the fact that the phrases applied to Jehovah in connection with *the servant* suit Israel alone, "he that *created thee*," "he that *formed thee*," "I *have redeemed thee*," "I *have called thee* by thy name," etc. Most frequently is Jehovah termed "the Redeemer, גֹּאֵל, of Israel," which is appropriate and conformable to analogy.[1] Having thus a guide to the meaning of the phrase, in the book itself, it is natural to adopt it. *Israel* or *Jacob*, the *collective people*, are the servant of Jehovah. Various difficulties, however, lie against this—difficulties strongly urged by such as apply the phrase to Messiah.

Another hypothesis interprets the servant of Messiah. In favour of it the following considerations are adduced:—

1. The tradition of the Jewish church. The Targum has it. It was the opinion of the older Jews.

2. The great majority of Christian writers entertained the same opinion till near the end of the eighteenth century, when it was abandoned in Germany.

3. In xlix. 5 Jacob or Israel is distinguished from the servant of God. "And now saith the Lord that formed me from the womb to be his servant, to bring Jacob again to him, though Israel be not gathered, yet shall I be glorious in the eyes of the Lord," etc.

4. The sufferings of the servant are represented as vicarious and expiatory.

5. "The servant of God," says Hengstenberg, "has assumed his sufferings voluntarily; himself innocent, he bears the sins of others; his sufferings are the efficient cause of the justification of the many; he suffers quietly and patiently. Not one of these

[1] Kleinert, Studien und Kritiken, 1862, p. 703.

four particulars or marks can be obtained for the Israelitish people."[1]

6. Different passages in the New Testament refer the servant to Jesus Christ—Matt. iii. 17; xii. 17-21; xvii. 5; Mark ix. 7; Luke ii. 32; ix. 35; to Is. xlii. 1, etc. Matt. viii. 17; Mark xv. 28; Luke xxii. 37; John i. 29; xii. 38, 41; Acts viii. 30-35; Rom. x. 16; 1 Pet. ii. 21-25; to Is. lii. 13-53.

On these arguments we remark:—

1 and 2. That it is useless to *count* testimonies. They ought rather to be weighed. It is right to abandon old interpretations as soon as they appear untenable. Later Jews, who are far more competent critics than the older ones, have abandoned the Messianic application. Salomon Jarchi, Abenesra, Abarbanel, with the most recent scholars of their nation, have done so. A motive for this is indeed suggested by the so-called orthodox—viz., because the later Jews do not wish to acknowledge Christ as the Messiah of their Scriptures. An uncharitable assertion is no argument. And why might not German theologians be the first to adopt a Jewish interpretation of the Old Testament without being charged with a sinister motive? Is every exposition of a passage maintained by the great majority of christians for eighteen centuries, infallible? Has none the right to question their views of a paragraph? We have been wont to think that philology has thrown considerable light on the Bible within the last sixty years, and we shall continue to believe it, undeterred by the stereotypers of exegesis.

3. This appears a difficulty at first sight. Let us look at it more closely. Israel is often idealised. Now the ideal body may be distinguished from the individuals composing it, just as *the Church* is often separated, as a sort of impalpable thing, from the actual members composing it.

4. It is certainly without a strict analogy in the Old Testament to represent either the Jewish nation or a part of it as suffering *instead of* others. Substitutionary or vicarious suffering appears here for the first time. But though the idea of atonement in this sense be novel, it need not be rejected on that account, unless it be *absolutely* new. The prophet takes a more comprehensive and spiritual view of the theocracy than any of his order. Why then should it be thought strange that he should body forth a conception entertained by none other of them. *Idealised Israel* suffering for others to bring them to repentance and faith in Jehovah, is the seer's high theme in lii. 13–liii. Among the old Hebrews sufferings were counted as punishments. So the sufferings of Jacob are spoken of as

[1] Christology translated, vol. ii. p. 336.

sufferings on account of the sins of others. This notion of atonement is only the manifestation of a universal law with which all are acquainted in some measure in its lower operations. "The soft answer which restores good humour in a casual conversation; the forbearance with which the statesman meets the ignorances and prejudices, the censures and the slanders, of those to whom he only sues for leave to do them good; the work of the minister of the Gospel, of which St. Paul, among other hardly less strong expressions, asserts that 'he fills up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ;' are but instances of an universal law of man's constitution, discoverable in all human relationships, and which enacts that men can, and do, endure the evil doings of their brethren, in such sort that, through that endurance on the part of the innocent, the guilty are freed from the power—from both the guilt and the punishment—of their ill deeds. And if these instances seem insignificant or foreign, there is one which, in some form or other, must have come to the heart of every one not deficient in the commonest observation and sympathies. There is hardly any one but has known some household in which, year after year, selfishness and worldliness, and want of family affection, have been apparent enough; and yet, instead of the moral break-up which might have been expected, and the final moral ruin of the various members, the original bond of union has held together: there has plainly been some counteracting, redeeming power at work; and at last it has turned out that, not only has the course of that household not been downward to ruin, but has taken a new and upward direction, when some outward event, a death, or a marriage, brought to a crisis the elements of a change long maturing in secret. This, I say, is the commonest of all stories; and when we look again to see what is that redeeming power, ever at work for those who know and care nothing about it, we always find that there is some member of that family—oftenest the wife or mother—who is silently bearing all things, believing all things, hoping all things for them, but for her or himself expecting little or nothing in this world but the rest of the grave. Such a one is really bearing the sins of that household, and thus saving them from the guilt as well as punishment of sin: it is no dogma, no forensic phrase transferred from the practice of the law courts, but a fact, a vital formation, actually taking place, here, under our very eyes."[1] We remark, besides, that whenever expositors forget the highly figurative character of the poet's descriptions, and turn oriental poetry into western prose, ideal description into theology, they

[1] Strachey's Hebrew Politics in the Times of Sargon and Sennacherib, pp. 344, 345.

miss the true import. How can it be otherwise? Their logic applied to the prophetic page is out of place.

5. We do not apply the marks specified by Hengstenberg to the Jews in Babylon, except partially. Hence the argument loses its force. For it is *idealised* Israel which the prophet mainly depicts in highly poetical language. Allowance must be made both for the hyperbolical nature of eastern poetry, and the ideal character which is attributed, in a great degree, to the theocratic people—the object of his patriotic hopes and preludings. There is a basis of truth in his picture derived from the Jews in Babylon. That is all. He looks upon them as pious sufferers, which many doubtless were. That they made some heathen righteous may be probably inferred. In so doing they bore away their sins. But we must not press individual features, nor look for a precise fulfilment of splendid hopes respecting the Israel of the prophet's vision; else ideal images are converted into *definite prediction*.

6. These delineations of the servant of God belong to the Messianic circle. The ideal hopes and anticipations of a coming time when God's spiritual kingdom should be set up on the earth in higher power than before, are properly Messianic. Hence the passages come under that head. The elevated forebodings of the God-consciousness in man has here projected a vivid image of the law of self-sacrifice for others. These, however, were only *preludings*. The unknown prophet took Israel as his starting-point and basis, to project upon it the image of a great moral fact in the divine government. In Israel, a light to others, as well as a meek example of suffering in their room, he had got a transient but clear perception of the central truth belonging to a theocracy. He did not, however, see Messiah the king *as a person*. Neither did he behold *him* as a teacher of the Gentiles. Much less did he think of him as *a suffering Mediator*. The two last are New Testament ideas, of which the old Jews had hardly a glimpse. The preludings of the prophet, as far as they reached, were fulfilled in Christ. In him the undefined spiritual longings of the divinity that stirred within the prophet were realised to the full. What was groped after under the Old Testament, became manifest to the apostles and primitive Christians, when their spiritual eye was opened to discern Jesus in his true character.

Let us now glance at some of the New Testament passages more particularly.

Hengstenberg allows that John xii. 38 and Rom. x. 16 do not of themselves amount to proof. But he relies on Luke xxii. 37 as furnishing decided testimony. There Christ says of himself, that the prophecies relating to him are about to be accom-

plished; and, it is consequently argued, the expression "he was numbered with the transgressors" must have been also fulfilled in him. Let us examine the passage in Luke. A literal rendering of it is, "For I say to you that this which is written must be accomplished in me: and he was numbered with transgressors: for the things also relating to me have an end." The words state that what is written in Is. liii. 12 must be fulfilled in Christ; implying that the historical subject was not himself, but another, of whom he was the antitype.[1]

Another passage much relied upon is Luke xxiv. 46, 47—"Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day; and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name, beginning at Jerusalem," or rather, according to the best reading, "It is written thus that Christ should suffer and rise," etc. Here we have a Messianic summary of Old Testament prophecy, from Christ himself. It consists of three things, the sufferings and resurrection of Messiah, together with the preaching of repentance and remission of sins in his name, among all nations. Luke makes the divine speaker declare, "It is written *in this manner*," *i.e.*, in the way I have just taught you to perceive. It would be exceedingly instructive to know the passages of the Old Testament selected by the Redeemer, and the manner of their accomplishment in him. As long as we are ignorant of them, we must be contented with probability. It may be that he referred to Is. lii. 13-liii, which certainly comes within the circle of Messianic hopes and aspirations. Though intended for Israel alone by the unknown writer, and applicable to that ideal alone according to the principles of historical interpretation, it finds a full and perfect fulfilment in Christ. What was spoken of the type only, was transferred to the antitype. The aspirations of the God-consciousness in the prophet pointed to the Word—the true light which lighteneth every man that cometh into the world (John i. 9), though he failed to apprehend a personal Messiah. We may also hint at the possibility of the traditional influencing even this part of Luke's twenty-fourth chapter.

Matt. viii. 17 is rather against the application of Is. liii. 4 to the expiatory death of Messiah as understood by the Jews; for the apostle interprets it of the healing of *corporeal diseases*, not of Christ's vicarious sufferings. We admit, however, that *the evangelist's* reference does not exclude another. By the specific application given he may not have intended to deny the more spiritual one, viz., the remission of sins by the Redeemer's sacrificial death.

[1] See Meyer's Kommentar ueber die Evangelien Markus und Lukas, p. 459, second edition.

These observations may shew that the Messianic application of various qualities belonging to the servant of God is suitable as marking the fullest development and consummation of qualities distinguishing idealised Israel. All that is assigned to Israel—which is not so much the people exiled in Babylon, good and bad, sighing for deliverance from a foreign yoke, and assimilating in part to heathen manners, as the Israel of his imagination, spiritualised and self-sacrificing, meek and lowly, yet emerging in the end out of humiliation and dividing spoil with the strong—finds its complete realization in Jesus Christ. The history of the theoretic Israel foreshadowed, in a measure, *his* history.

That the Messiah cannot be intended by the prophet, we argue—

First. Because it would be contrary to the nature of prophecy. The Old Testament seer never projected his vision into the far-distant future so as to be able to predict events there, or describe persons beforehand with infallible certainty. No example of *such* foreshewing can be adduced. *The near*, not the *remote*, was the limit of prophetic foretelling. This is now acknowledged by all who understand the genius of prophecy.

Secondly. The Jews under a former economy had no conception of a Messiah *suffering* in his mediatorial calling. They thought of him as a king and conqueror, reigning over willing subjects, and subduing all his enemies. This also is an admitted maxim among the true interpreters of prophecy. Even Hofmann confesses that no prediction, except that of the "servant of God", in Is. xl.-lxvi., speaks of the sufferings of his mediatorial office.[1]

Thirdly. The prophecy was primarily and mainly intended for readers at the time. Accordingly the restoration from Babylon is the starting point of the twenty-seven chapters. If the picture of a *suffering* and *atoning* Redeemer in remote futurity had been inserted in the midst of glowing descriptions of deliverance from exile, it would have been unintelligible. It was impossible that the readers then living should get from it the distinct image of a Redeemer in the distant future. With the New Testament in their hands, they might have so understood it; not otherwise. Hengstenberg holds that this was not necessary. We maintain that it was, unless the prophet wrote what was useless, because inexplicable, to his countrymen and contemporaries. In like manner, Dr. Pye Smith affirms that it was a "necessary part of the scheme of Scripture prophecy that the contemporaries of the prophets, and even the prophets themselves, could but very imperfectly understand the meaning of their own predic-

[1] Der Schriftbeweis, ii. 1, p. 125, second edition.

tions," on the ground of 1 Pet. i. 11, "The Spirit of Christ which was in them testified before of the sufferings of Christ, and the glories which should follow; to whom it was revealed that not *unto themselves, but unto us,* they ministered those things."[1] We give the passage as the theologian not very correctly quotes it, and remark, 1st, what the Old Testament prophets inquired and searched diligently into was *the time* which the Spirit of Christ in them pointed to (*what time* or *what manner of time*). 2nd. The object of their search was *salvation* (σωτηρία). 3rd. Calvin rightly observes that when the apostle says, the prophets inquired and searched diligently, the searching does not refer to their *writings* or *doctrine,* but to the *private, personal desire* with which each strove to penetrate the mystery. 4th. The sufferings of Christ (τὰ εἰς χριστὸν παθήματα) and the glories that should follow (τὰς μετὰ ταῦτα δόξας) mean the sufferings of the universal church or of Christians. This interpretation alone agrees with the course of thought in the context. It is that of Calvin, Bolten, Le Clerc, and Huther. Christ is the ground and end of these sufferings. Of course the glories are those which await Christians after their sufferings. 5th. All that was revealed to the prophets was, that *the time* of fulfilment should not be witnessed by them. *They* should not live to see it. Thus it appears that Dr. P. Smith and many others have had no right perception of the sense intended by the apostle Peter, and quote his words to support what they cannot.

Fourthly. We have already seen that a plurality is intimated, in various places, in the idea of the *servant of God.*

Fifthly. Several passages do not agree with this sense. Thus in xlii. 19, 20, we read, "Who is blind but my servant? or deaf as my messenger that I sent? Who is blind as he that is perfect, and blind as the Lord's servant? Seeing many things, but thou observest not; opening the ears, but he heareth not." Can any one suppose that the Messiah is made to speak thus: "The Lord hath called me from the womb; from the bowels of my mother hath he made mention of my name" (xlix. 1)? Yet Alexander says, "There are clear indications that the words are the words of the Messiah."[2] His *clear indications* are not mentioned. All that is said of the sufferings of the servant is narrated in the past tense. It is an already accomplished result, or at least accomplished in part. What is announced of his glory is future. If Christ's sufferings were depicted as past his glory should be represented in the same tense. It is arbitrary

[1] Four Discourses on the Sacrifice and Priesthood of Jesus Christ, p. 283, second edition.

[2] Earlier and Later Prophecies, pp. 717, 718.

and incongruous to put them in different tenses. The glorious conquests of Messiah were more in harmony with Jewish notions of his person, and should therefore have been the more prominent.

When Hengstenberg affirms that the prophet takes his stand between the suffering and exaltation of the Messiah, in order to account for this fact he makes *an arbitrary assumption*. But he also denies the fact. "In some places he has passed from the prophetical stand-point to the historical, and uses the future, even when he speaks of the sufferings—the prophet always represents the suffering as past, and speaks of it in the preter, a thing which appears to have been done involuntarily, but which in reality was done intentionally."[1] He then quotes יִפְתַּח ver. 7, תְּשִׂים ver. 10, and יַפְגִּיעַ ver. 12. The preter, he says, occurs in לָקַח ver. 8, and נָשָׂא ver. 12, with respect to the future state of exaltation. Hence he draws the conclusion that the territory on which the prophet stands is altogether *ideal*. In answer to this we ask, why does not Hengstenberg himself translate יִפְתַּח in ver. 7 by the future, if the sense be future. He rightly translates it in the past, *he opened* not, well knowing that *by the connection it stands in* the time is *really preter*, though the form of the verb, taken by itself, is what is commonly, but incorrectly, termed *future*. Hengstenberg himself translates תְּשִׂים in ver. 10 as a preterite. Hence he supposes the writer to intend by the form of the verb *past* time. יַפְגִּיעַ in the twelfth verse, by virtue of the context, means past time, and is so rendered by Henderson, "*made intercession*." לָקַח in the eighth verse does not refer to the exaltation. נָשָׂא in the twelfth verse is no exception, because, though occurring in connection with the future state of exaltation, it is *so* connected with it as to speak of the sin-bearing as past. Thus Hengstenberg's alleged exceptions to the fact, prove nugatory in his hands. Rather do they corroborate it. The shifting ideal stand-point attributed to the prophet by the critic violates the settled principles of exegesis and grammar. The tortuous methods taken with the ninth verse by Hengstenberg and his school is well known.

> They appointed for him among the wicked his grave
> (But he was with a rich man after his death),
> Although he had done no unrighteous deed,
> And there was no guile in his mouth.

Here is an *unauthorised* sense of the verb נָתַן *they appointed*,

[1] Christology, vol. ii. p. 327, translation.

for the parallels quoted in Is. lv. 4, Gen. xv. 18, Jer. i. 4, are not in point. The verb applied to *a thing* never means to *appoint* or *determine* merely. It is always to *give, put, place* a thing, without its frustration. *Men put his grave with the wicked* is the right sense. The second parallel line cannot be made antithetic to the first, indicating that the design of men was not accomplished, both because עָשִׁיר means *wicked*, as the parallelism to רְשָׁעִים requires; and because בְּמֹתָיו signifies his *tumulus* or sepulchral mound. Why should the ו in וְאֶת be made *adversative* (*but*) instead of its usual copulative character (*and*)? It is an awkward expression to make אֶת עָשִׁיר בְּמֹתָיו express the idea, *to be in the sepulchre of a rich man*. Indeed בְּמֹתָיו cannot mean *after death*, consistently with the Hebrew idiom. In favour of such usage Alexander appeals to Lev. xi. 31, 2 Sam. i. 23, Esther ii. 7; but they are not analogous, because the infinitive mood of the verb מוּת with the prefix בְּ occurs in them; whereas a *plural* noun stands here. The infinitive mood has sometimes the force of a preterite with Beth prefixed, as in Gen. xxxiii. 18, "when he had come," or "after he came," בְּבֹאוֹ; but בְּמוֹתָיו cannot be an infinitive, because that mood never passes into the plural number. If indeed the word were בְּמוֹתוֹ it might mean *cum moreretur*, or *cum mortuus esset*, according to the connection. מוֹתָי, or rather according to the better reading מְמוֹתָי, Ezek. xxviii. 10 and Jer. xvi. 4, is a very different case, the plural number being used.

Why should עָשִׁיר be referred to Joseph of Arimathea, in opposition to the parallelism, except to make the verse conform to circumstances connected with the burial of Jesus?

And with the ungodly his tumulus,

corresponds to

Men put his grave with the wicked.

It is also unsuitable to say that Christ himself conducted the people out of captivity, as is written in xlix. 9: "That thou mayest say to the prisoners, Go forth; to them that are in darkness, Shew yourselves: They shall feed in the ways, and their pastures shall be in all high places;" and that "he divided the spoil with heroes (liii. 10, 11). Passages like the last might indeed be accommodated to Jesus by a figurative meaning; but the laws of exegesis should not be violated in expounding literally or figuratively, according to an assumed theory.

To obviate the objections made to the *exclusive* application of the phrase to Christ, Alexander supposes that it means the Mes-

siah with the church, which is his body. The Messiah is considered as the head of his people, forming with them one complex person.

The hypothesis is plausible. It is very convenient too, because of its flexibility; for wherever the head does not suit, it is supposed to recede into the background, and the body to become prominent. Thus in xlix. 5 the idea of the head predominates over that of the body; whereas the reverse is the fact in xlii. 20, 21. Even so, however, the hypothesis cannot be carried out in practice, for the complexity of the person has occasionally to be laid aside, and either the head or body *exclusively* assumed. Thus in xlii. 19 Alexander himself says: "Here, where the language implies censure and reproach, the terms must be referred exclusively to Israel, the messenger whom God has sent to open the eyes of the other nations, but who had himself become wilfully blind." In the fifty-third chapter the body is entirely excluded. Thus in cases of difficulty the hypothesis *practically* merges into the other. Yet the analogy of Deut. xviii. is given in favour of it, where the promised prophet appears as the head of the prophetic body. The analogy furnished by the use of Abraham's seed both individually and collectively is also adduced. These analogies are only fictitious ones. The passage in Deuteronomy refers to the prophetic order and nothing else, according to the principles of historical interpretation. It is *applied* to Christ in the New Testament, because the essence of the prophetic office centred in him, as he fulfilled perfectly all its functions. Again, the complex idea of Abraham's seed is a *Pauline*, not an *Old Testament* one. It is foreign to the Hebrew Scriptures. The inspired Jewish writers were unacquainted with a hypothesis so artificial as that of a complex servant of Jehovah. Nor did St. Paul get his analogous one of Abraham's seed from the Old Testament.

The absurdity to which this interpretation leads appears from the fact that though the servant is a complex person, including Messiah and his church, things are predicated of Israel, or the body, totally *adverse to* the Head. They are even *inconsistent with* it. Thus we read in xlii. 19, 20: "Who is blind but my servant? or deaf as my messenger that I sent? Who is blind as he that is perfect, and blind as the Lord's servant? Seeing many things, but thou observest not; opening the ears, but he heareth not."

In applying the servant of Jehovah to Israel, it would be improper to confine the vision of the seer to *his own times*. It is the theocratic people—*Israel according to the flesh*—which fill his eye and soul; whom he contemplates in their high vocation

to the nations of the world. The kingdom of God he beholds widening and extending till it embraces the Gentiles. Israel generally has a mission to the Gentiles, whom they enlighten and free from idolatry. They become a mediatorial people between God and the apostate nations—the representative of Jehovah on the earth. Divine power is pledged for their success, notwithstanding all indifference on their part. They had been separated from the rest of mankind; but were chosen not merely for their own benefit, but for the accomplishment of God's gracious purposes towards others. Divinely protected and gloriously enlarged, the state of the whole world is to be revolutionised through their agency. They endure opposition and reproach on account of their mission; but God is their protector. Their exaltation is to be in proportion to the humiliation preceding it. The prophet describes ideal Israel, in his low condition and sufferings an object of contempt; but the humiliation and sufferings are vicarious. Yet though personally innocent, he is unresisting. The nations behold the self-sacrificing sufferer bearing stripes for sins not his own. They are astonished and awed. But the glorious fruit of these very sufferings will correct all errors; and his reward is secured. The mighty are subdued to obedience; and the theocracy flourishes with renewed vigour. Thus Israel is presented in various aspects—the prophetic, mediatorial, priestly, kingly—sometimes unfaithful to his high vocation, oftener righteous and holy; sometimes quiet and meek, suffering for the sins of others as all the pious in this world do in a greater or less degree; but finally successful, exalted, and glorious. The Israel of the prophet's own day—*i.e.*, in Babylon—is not wholly lost sight of, though the seer's vision glances beyond his own generation to Israel as he should be rather than as he is. His divinely-inspired muse takes a bolder flight than that of other prophets, painting ideal scenes in the future out of Israel in the past, setting forth their vocation, protection, deliverance, dignity, sufferings, and glorious reward, in strains exalted and patriotic. Viewed in the light of mere human poetry, all this is extravagant hyperbole. But as the preludings of a prophetic mind breathed into by the Spirit of God, it reaches into the future of God's kingdom with wondrous grasp and distinctness, so that the very Messiah is revealed in terms of whose far-reaching import the seer is unconscious. His soaring hopes, which the God-consciousness within him could not *consciously* shape into a distinct image of Messiah, were so overruled as to find their only perfect fulfilment in One—the glorious Head of the theocracy. In this way, by a peculiar prevision, the prophet became a mirror of the future, without his own cöoperation. It seems

probable to us that the picture of Israel suffering for others' sins, meek, lowly, rejected, was taken from the person and sufferings of Jeremiah. The prophet painted the image of idealised Israel in traits and colours borrowed from that original.

According to the explanation of *the servant of Jehovah* now given, we obtain a uniform sense of all places where he is referred to, and see one subject treated of in the twenty-seven chapters forming the second part. Instead of being obliged to change the theme, as many interpreters do abruptly, we have it throughout, recurring, looked at in various lights, giving rise to short digressions connected more or less remotely with itself, presented under different aspects, occupying different positions. Israel, the spiritual church, the theocratic people, comprehends and solves all the varieties of the problem. He is Jehovah's chosen messenger and confidant—His representative in the world—constituting the theocracy and enlarging it till it become coextensive with the earth. The manner in which the servant of God came to be identified with the Messiah in subsequent times, probably arose from this, that because the conversion of the heathen is ascribed to *the Messiah* by many of the pre-exile prophets, while in the Deutero-Isaiah it is assigned to *the servant of God*, the two subjects were afterwards identified; and the coming Messiah, who is not mentioned by the Deutero-Isaiah, was represented as being glorified after his sufferings.

There are many modifications of this view which have a large element of truth in them, though they are not comprehensive enough to satisfy all conditions. Thus, in relation to Is. lii. 13–liii., De Wette, Winer, and Gesenius in his Commentary, understand the *prophetic order*. Paulus, Maurer, Gesenius in his Lexicon, and Knobel, understand the pious portion of the people. Umbreit supposes the Messiah to be set forth as the greatest of the prophets, or their ideal. Hendewerk assumes young Israel in contrast with the incorrigible old part of the people. Hofmann comes nearer to the true meaning in holding the servant to be Israel in their prophetic calling, suffering for the heathen world; but Delitzsch assumes a mere ideal. Eichhorn, Rosenmüller, and Hitzig rightly apply the epithet to the Jewish people in exile, in their relation to the heathens. This is the view of the learned Rabbins Rashi, Abenesra, Kimchi, etc., only that they apply it to the present dispersion of the people. Both classes err in flattening down the description to *the actual* people, without perceiving that the people in the abstract, as Eckermann partially apprehended—an ideal Israel or theocratic people—are intended. Beck and Ewald are nearer

the truth in understanding *the ideal Israel;* Israel not as a nation or race, but the theocratic church.

Of individuals, in addition to the Messiah, Josiah has been assumed by Abarbanel; Uzziah by Augusti; Hezekiah by Bahrdt; Isaiah by Stäudlin; Jeremiah by R. Saadias, Seidel, and Grotius. Bunsen has also adopted Jeremiah, giving it the weight of his great name, and investing it with much plausibility.[1] An unknown prophet, who suffered martyrdom during the exile, has been assumed by an anonymous German writer. The collective body of the priests has been adopted as another meaning; the Maccabees; the family of David.

To discuss these hypotheses would be a vain task. Let it only be observed that they relate solely to lii. 13–liii. It is not uncommon to understand the *servant of Jehovah* in this passage differently from the others. Thus Gesenius believes that the prophet himself is the *servant of Jehovah* in xlix. 1–9, l. 4–11, while he adopts *the prophets as a body* as the true meaning in xlii., and lii., liii. This is arbitrary; though many other critics follow a similar course. Jewish writers set the example—Kimchi, Rashi, Abenesra, who assume *the prophet himself* to be the servant of God in xlix.; but *the nation* in lii. 13–liii.[2]

V. ISAIAH VII. 14-16:—

> Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign:
> Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son,
> And shall call his name Immanuel.
> Butter and honey shall he eat,
> That he may know to refuse the evil and choose the good.
> For before the child shall know
> To refuse the evil and choose the good,
> The land that thou abhorrest shall be forsaken of both her kings.

This has been a vexed passage among interpreters. All the varieties of exposition may be summed up under three heads.

1. The verses refer directly and exclusively to the Messiah. He is the child whose birth is foretold, and his growth made the measure of subsequent events.

Here J. H. Michaelis supposes that the thing foretold is the desolation which should take place before Christ reached a certain age. It is clear, however, that the promise made to Ahaz could have been no relief or encouragement to him, if both the thing signified and the sign were so remote as seven centuries. The hypothesis of Vitringa, which assumes the language to be hypothetical, is equally untenable and arbitrary, "before the Messiah, if born now, could distinguish good and evil;" *i.e.* the remote event is made a measure of near events, by a conditional

[1] Gott. in der Geschichte, vol. i., p. 425, et seqq.
[2] Kleinert, Studien und Kritiken for 1862, p. 699, et seqq.

transference of it to the present. Nor can we believe, with Rosenmüller and Ewald, that the prophet really expected the Messiah to be born immediately, and therefore made his moral development the measure of a proximate future. Other prophecies prevent us from supposing that Isaiah could have really expected the immediate birth of Messiah. All that he knew of *his person* and *advent* was vague and shadowy. Much more was he in ignorance as to *the time* of his coming. Hengstenberg supposes that both the birth of Messiah, and the approaching deliverance of Judah of which it was the pledge, were presented together to the vision of the prophet in ecstasy as present. Hence, being seen together, without chronological separation, the one was made the measure of the other. This assumption rests on a view of prophecy already discarded. The Messianic hypothesis in any of its modifications must be rejected on the following grounds:—

a. A prophecy of Christ's birth seven hundred years afterwards, could have been no sign of the promise made to Ahaz. That promise was one of encouragement. It announced the speedy deliverance of Judah from her enemies. The confidence of Ahaz and his people depended on *the sign* or *pledge*. Hence it must have been something immediate, *preceding* the event or thing signified. Or, if it followed the deliverance or event itself which formed the subject of the promise, it could not have fulfilled its purpose *as a sign*, unless it happened not long after, certainly in the time of the person to whom it was given. The promise of immediate deliverance to Ahaz might thus be confirmed by an appeal to a posterior event, but not to one *long* posterior as Alexander affirms.[1] Signs to be verified by *future* events were given, as we know from Ex. iii. 12 and Is. xxxvii. 30; but there is a dissimilarity in them and the present case. *They* happened very soon, and so the signs were verified to Moses and Hezekiah respectively—the persons for whom they were intended. But here, the sign was not verified till centuries after Ahaz and his contemporaries. It was therefore no sign, in reality, to the person to whom it was given. The remoteness of the sign divests it of its use as such; for it is absurd to say, with Alexander, that it was better in proportion to its distance. How could it be good or better to Ahaz, long after he was dead? The danger from which he feared destruction, was impending, and he needed something to meet it *immediately*.

b. עַלְמָה is not the proper term for the Virgin Mary, according to the opinion of those who believe in her real and true vir-

[1] Prophecies of Isaiah earlier and later, p. 149, Glasgow edition.

ginity; because it simply means a young, marriageable woman. בְּתוּלָה denotes a virgin properly so called. Prov. xxx. 19 shews that עַלְמָה refers to others than virgins. There is no reason for restricting it to *un*married women. Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, rightly render it *νεᾶνις*. Had the Messiah's birth been intended, surely the true term for virgin would have been employed.

c. The language applied to the child is such as to leave on the mind of an unbiassed reader the impression of one shortly to be born and grow up. According to the Messianic view all that is wanted from his birth till his distinguishing evil and good is the time intervening, for a measure to shew the king how soon deliverance would come to Judah. Hence the words

> Butter and honey shall he eat,
> That he may know to refuse the evil and choose the good,

are superfluous. It was sufficient to say:

> Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son,
> And shall call his name Immanuel.
> Before the child shall know to refuse the evil and choose the good,
> The land that thou abhorrest shall be forsaken of both her kings.

By introducing the child eating butter and honey till he should be able to distinguish between good and evil, he is identified with the actual circumstances of Judah at that time, when curds and honey, instead of the ordinary food of an agricultural population, formed the subsistence of the people whose land was waste. The desolation of the country need not have been thus specified. It was enough to shew *the time of release.* The eating of such things does not denote the real humanity of the person, as Calvin, Vitringa, Henderson, and others suppose, because *his birth* indicates it. This human trait places the child in the time of the prophecy itself. Applied to the Messiah, it is superfluous and unsuitable.

d. If the Messiah were meant by Immanuel, it is remarkable that the only blessing promised to Judea from his birth is deliverance from the confederate kings. Nothing spiritual is connected with him. Even after the birth, the land was to be desolated for a time.

The quotation of the prophecy by Matthew (i. 22, 23) is adduced as a strong argument for the Messianic acceptation; especially as the evangelist introduces it by the words, *τοῦτο ὅλον γέγονεν ἵνα πληρωθῇ, κ. τ. λ., All this was done that it might be fulfilled.* But Matthew is not an infallible expounder of the prophecy, especially since he represents Jesus Christ to have been born of a virgin and all the circumstances of his birth to have taken place *in order that* this very prediction

might be fulfilled. He expresses the *typical* sense, not the *historical*. Perhaps he leaves the latter out of view, as Meyer thinks.[1] It is possible also that the first two chapters of Matthew may be unhistorical. Rothe believes so. The name *Immanuel* can hardly be pleaded in favour of the Messianic sense, unless it could be shewn that it must express God's *personal*, not his *providential*, presence. Other passages, however, favour its application to the providential presence merely (Ps. xlvi. 8, 12; lxxxix. 25; Josh. i. 5; Jer. i. 8; Is. xliii. 2).

2. Others suppose that the prophecy relates to two births and two children. According to some, the one child is mentioned in the fourteenth, the other in the sixteenth verse. The intermediate fifteenth verse is variously connected with the preceding or following one. It is arbitrary, however, to suppose that the fourteenth verse, alone or in connexion with the fifteenth, refers to Christ; while the sixteenth refers to Shear-jashub, or to any child. Equally forced is it to assume that the fifteenth and sixteenth allude to another child, the fourteenth to Christ. The sudden change from Immanuel to an ordinary child cannot be justified here. More probable is it that the whole passage alludes to two children, to any child born within a certain time, or a son of Isaiah, *primarily;* to the Messiah, in a *secondary* and *higher* sense. Thus the words have a double sense or twofold reference. The hypothesis of a double sense should be very cautiously assumed, if assumed at all. It is one that is still *sub judice*. The best interpreters are against its admission as unauthorised, or contrary to the true principles of grammatical interpretation. And we are now inclined to agree with them, perceiving the peculiar theory of inspiration out of which it has arisen to be unfounded. One *sense* alone seems to have been intended by the sacred writers, though their words may admit of many *applications*. We refuse assent therefore to this interpretation of the verse, because its basis is precarious.

Hofmann thinks that the virgin is the house of David, or the city of Jerusalem; and the child, the wonderful Israel about to arise in the future, after the divine judgments should be past, and Jehovah's favour be graciously bestowed on her for ever. All is figurative in this explanation. It is too far-fetched to need refutation.[2]

3. The only other hypothesis is, that the birth of a child born soon after the prophetic words were uttered, is intended. This was not Hezekiah, because he must have been already nine years old. Nor was he a younger son of Ahaz, by a second marriage.

[1] Kommentar ueber das Evangelium Matthäeus, p. 56, third edition.

[2] See Weissagung und Erfüllung, erste Haelfte, p. 221, et seqq.; and Der Schriftbeweis, der zweiter Haelfte, erste Abtheilung, p. 85, et seqq.

Nor was it a woman who happened to be near, at whom the prophet pointed. Still less can we believe that the prophet referred to an ideal birth: "should any one now a virgin conceive and bear a son, she might call his name Immanuel." Isaiah speaks of his own wife, and the birth of his own son. Tholuck himself seems most inclined to this view, confessing that Hengstenberg's counter-arguments have not convinced him.[1] It may be that Isaiah refers to Shear-Jashub, since we do not know how old he and his mother then were. It is more likely, however, as Gesenius assumes, that the allusion is to a second wife who was then giving birth to a son. This son had a symbolical name like the other two. In the fifteenth verse the prophet announces the time during which the sign or pledge should hold good. The symbolical child should be fed on milk and honey, the food of tender children, but at the same time significant of the desolation of the land by the Syrians and Israelites—a desolation which should scarcely last for three years. Judah's deliverance should have taken place before the child's moral perceptions would be awakened; and then the land should again be cultivated. The following is a more correct translation than the received one:—

Behold! the young woman conceives and bears a son,
And calls his name Immanuel.
Milk and honey shall he eat
[Only] till he know to refuse the evil and choose the good.
For before the child shall know to refuse the evil and choose the good,
The land, of whose two kings thou art afraid, shall be forsaken.

Syria and Israel, the land of whose kings Ahaz was afraid, should be abandoned and desolate in that space of time. Of course Judah would be previously freed from their invasion. The Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser depopulated Syria and its confederate Israel in part, fulfilling the prophecy of the country's desolation. The address to Immanuel in viii. 8 is consistent with the explanation now given. Is. ix. 5, 6 is a Messianic, and therefore not a parallel, passage.

VI. CHAP. IX. 6, 7:—

For unto us a child is born,
Unto us a son is given;
And the government shall be upon his shoulder:
And his name shall be called
Wonderful, Counsellor, the mighty God,
The everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace.
Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end,
Upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom;
To order it, and to establish it
With judgment and with justice, from henceforth, even for ever.
The zeal of the Lord of hosts will perform this.

[1] Die Propheten und ihre Weissagungen, p 170.

These words are introduced in a connexion which refers to Israel's oppression and deliverance. They describe the person who frees the people from the yoke of their enemies—a mighty conqueror, the successor and representative of his forefather David on the throne. Who is the royal individual described?

1. Some say Hezekiah. This is the Talmudic view, adopted by Rashi, Kimchi, Abenesra, Grotius, Hensler, Paulus, Gesenius, and Hendewerk. We cannot assent to it for the following reasons:—

a. It assumes the translation, "To us a child has been born, a son has been given," taking יֻלַּד and נִתַּן as *preterites*. But the preceding perfects in verses 1–4 are the perfects of prophecy having a *future* sense. Hence these should be rendered in the same manner.

b. Hezekiah was twelve or thirteen years of age when the prophecy was uttered—too old therefore to have it formally announced respecting him, "To us a child has been born, a son given."

c. The epithets afterwards applied to him are so hyperbolical and extravagant as to become absurd.

d. He was not to occupy the throne of David for an indefinite time, as stated in the seventh verse; neither was his reign essentially peaceful, for he made war upon others, and was himself invaded.

Another construction brings out the same reference of the prophecy to Hezekiah: "The Wonderful Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, shall call his name the prince of peace;" *i.e.*, God shall call Hezekiah, prince of peace. Had this been the sense intended, the Hebrew would not have stood as it now is. יִקְרָא שְׁמוֹ should have come immediately before שַׂר־שָׁלוֹם, *after* the epithets of Deity, not as now before them. Besides, as Alexander well observes, "a long enumeration of titles is utterly irrelevant in speaking of a name which should be borne by Hezekiah."[1] Such are the principal objections against this view of the passage.

2. Others correctly refer the description to Messiah, because the epithets suit him alone.

> To us a child is born,
> A son is given us
> On whose shoulder the government rests;
> And they call his name
> Wonderful counsellor, heroic God,
> Everlasting father, prince of peace.

These epithets are significant. *Wonderful counsellor*, or wonder

[1] Prophecies of Isaiah, p. 181.

of a counsellor; *heroic God*, equivalent to a hero who fights and conquers like an invincible God; *everlasting father*, *i.e.* eternal supporter and benefactor of his people (comp. xxii. 21; Job xxix. 16). The names given to an ideal king of future times (the Messiah) have a divine colouring. In consequence of the mode in which the prophets conceived of and painted the future Messiah, setting him forth in ideal images and colours, it is preposterous to use the titles as arguments for any dogma, such as the divinity of Christ or his equality of nature with the Father. Let it not be said that "these weak attempts at lessening the meaning only betray an unwillingness openly to profess a disbelief in the existence of anything supernatural in the Jewish Scriptures;"[1] to impute improper motives is irreligious. The supernatural and inspired in the Jewish writers should be rightly understood in the first instance. The prophet says that his name shall be called thus, *for the increase of power and prosperity without end* (for the seventh verse is connected with the sixth); adding that he shall sit upon the throne of David, and rule over his kingdom to order and establish it in justice and righteousness from henceforth, even for ever.

It is objected to this view, that Christ's kingdom is not of this world; while the mention of David's throne shews that a temporal monarchy was meant. But we must not suppose that the Old Testament saints believed that Messiah would be other than a temporal monarch who should subdue all the enemies of the theocracy and reign for an indefinite period. They did not conceive of his kingdom as purely spiritual. They thought of him as a conqueror and ruler of bodies as well as souls. He was to be the mighty deliverer of Israel, bringing all the nations under his yoke, and reigning gloriously in Jerusalem over the purified Jews. Christianity has corrected these carnal notions. And though wars have not ceased since the advent of Christ, as the Jews affirm by way of objection to the Messianic view of the passage, *the true tendency* of Messiah's rule, and *the proper spirit* of his kingdom are pacific. Men act in an *anti*christian way by encouraging, or engaging in, war with their fellow-men. The gospel of Messiah is emphatically one of peace; as was announced by angels at his birth, and inculcated by Himself in his wonderful sermon on the mount.

VII. CHAP. LXIII. 1-6.—"Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah? this that is glorious in his apparel, travelling in the greatness of his strength? I that speak in righteousness, mighty to save. Wherefore art thou red in thine apparel, and thy garments like him that treadeth in the

[1] R. Payne Smith, the Authenticity and Messianic Interpretation of the Prophecies of Isaiah Vindicated, etc., pp. 46, 47.

winefat? I have trodden the winepress alone; and of the people there was none with me: for I will tread them in mine anger, and trample them in my fury; and their blood shall be sprinkled upon my garments, and I will stain all my raiment. For the day of vengeance is in mine heart, and the year of my redeemed is come. And I looked, and there was none to help; and I wondered that there was none to uphold: therefore mine own arm brought salvation unto me; and my fury, it upheld me. And I will tread down the people in mine anger, and make them drunk in my fury, and I will bring down their strength to the earth."

These verses contain a vivid, dramatic picture of Jehovah effecting the deliverance of Israel, and leading back the redeemed to Zion. The prophet having described their influx into the theocracy, in the preceding context, seems here to answer a question which might possibly arise about obstacles in their way. What if hindrances should interpose to stop up the progress of the redeemed to Zion? What if the old enmity of Edom should break forth again? In answer to these supposed interrogatories, the seer paints the march of Jehovah as a conqueror in strong figures. He alone accomplishes the deliverance of Israel, treading down His enemies, the heathen nations, in His fury, having His garments sprinkled with their blood spurted upon them. No hero of the time assists Him, such as Cyrus; His own arm effects the salvation of His people. The picture is graphic. Jehovah is recognised from afar as marching from Edom in red garments, like a proud conqueror in step and bearing. At the same time, the spirit of the prophet painting the Almighty in such an aspect towards the envious enemies of Israel, Edom and the heathen, is harsh and unevangelical. The bloody trampling of them in fury, like the treading of grapes in a winepress, is a bold, but not a christian, feature.

The passage does not relate to Messiah, much less to his passion. To refer the treading of the winepress to his endurance of the Father's wrath is revolting to the best feelings. Yet the early ecclesiastical writers generally understood it so. Great injury is done by such forced interpretations to the cause of truth. Even Alexander speaks of the *impossibility* of such a sense in the original passage, though it is frequently adopted in sermons, hymns, and religious books.

VIII. Isaiah xix. 18.—"In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan, and swear to the Lord of hosts: one shall be called, "*The city of destruction.*"

What is meant by עִיר הַהֶרֶס? There are two readings of the latter term, viz., הַהֶרֶס and הַחֶרֶס. The former is the Masoretic reading. It is supported by Aquila, Theodotion, and

the Syriac. According to it, the rendering is either *the city of the lion, i.e.* Leontopolis in lower Egypt; or, *the city of destruction.* The former view is maintained by Iken, J. D. Michaelis, Doederlein, and Dather; the latter by Kimchi, Paulus, Hensler, Hendewerk, and Alexander. But we prefer the reading החרס. Why? Not that it is best supported by external evidence. It appears in sixteen MSS., with several editions, and is favoured by the reading of the Complutensian LXX. But the Palestinian Jews, to whom the temple at Leontopolis was odious, altered the *Cheth* into *He*, and referred the word to the predicted *destruction* of the place. The reading of the Septuagint is peculiar: πόλις Ἀσεδεκ, *city of righteousness*, which is copied in the Hexaplar Syriac. If the Palestinian Jews read *city of destruction;* the Alexandrian Jews retaliated by reading *city of righteousness.* According to this last reading the translation will be—

1. *The city of the sun, i.e.* Heliopolis in lower Egypt, commonly called *On* in the Bible; and once in Jeremiah (xliii. 13), *Beth-Shemesh*, the house of the sun. Symmachus, Vulgate, and Saadias, with Lowth, Henderson, Grotius, Vitringa, Hitzig, Umbreit, Gesenius in his Thesaurus and Lexicon, adopt this sense.

2. *City of protection*, well-protected or fortunate city. This is the explanation of Gesenius in his Commentary, Rosenmüller, Maurer, Ewald, Knobel.

3. *The city Heres*, "a transcription in the second word of the Egyptian sacred name of Heliopolis, *Ha-ra*, 'the abode (lit. 'house') of the sun.' This explanation would necessitate the omission of the article." We merely mention the visionary opinion.

The context of the passage is adverse to the rendering, *city of destruction.* The *conversion* of the Egyptians to the worship of the true God is spoken of; and therefore the destruction of one city in the future, whether by Titus or another, cannot be referred to. The analogy of prophecy, too, forbids a specific allusion to some particular city of Egypt, whether Leontopolis, Heliopolis, or another. The language must be understood *tropically;* and the number five stands for an indefinite number, *some* or a *few.* The mode of reckoning by five was derived perhaps from the practice of counting on the fingers. It is quite improbable, because contrary to the nature of prediction, that the number five should be taken *literally*, and the five cities be found either in Heliopolis, Memphis, Sais, Bubastus, Alexandria, as Vitringa supposes; or Migdol, Tahpanhes, Memphis, Heliopolis, and in Pathros either Noammon or Diospolis, with Le Clerc; or Migdol, Tahpanhes, Memphis, Heliopolis, and Leontopolis, with Hitzig; or the five cities of the Philistines,

with Hendewerk. Nor can we adopt the words of number as expressive of *proportion*, as Calvin does, supposing five out of six to be meant. Five profess the true religion, and one rejects it. The *one* is clearly *included* in the five, not additional to them. The name הַהֶרֶס is best understood *symbolically*, for thus it agrees both with the context and the nature of prediction generally. The city is conceived of as the chief of those which the Hebrews should occupy in Egypt; and therefore it is under the special care of Jehovah. It receives accordingly a name significant of its relation to the God of Israel. The sense now given is favoured by the fact that the periphrasis *it shall be said to one* is never applied to the *actual appellation*, but always to a *description* or *symbolical title*. Alexander, who adopts Calvin's explanation, replies to the objection that a threatening of destruction would be out of place, that there is a promise of salvation to five-sixths; but *the singling out* even of *that* proportion, in a prophecy of Egypt's conversion, is inappropriate. That a small proportion should be selected *for praise* is in harmony with the general scope of the whole passage; that it should be expressly chosen for condemnation, is contrary to analogy.

IX.—THE FOLLOWING ARE THE QUOTATIONS FROM ISAIAH IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.—

Isaiah i. 9	Epistle to Rom. ix. 29.
„ vi. 9, 10 ...	Acts xxviii. 26, 27.
„ vii. 14 ...	Matt. i. 23.
„ viii. 12, 13...	1 Pet. iii. 14, 15.
„ viii. 14 ...	Epistle to Rom. ix. 33.
„ viii. 23, ix. 1	Matt. iv. 15, 16.
„ x. 22, 23 ...	Epistle to Rom. ix. 27, 28.
„ xi. 10... ...	Epistle to Rom. xv. 12.
„ xxii. 13 ...	1 Cor. xv. 32.
„ xxv. 8 ...	1 Cor. xv. 54.
„ xxviii. 12 ...	1 Cor. xiv. 21.
„ xxviii. 16 ...	Epistle to Rom. ix. 33; 1 Pet. ii. 16.
„ xxix. 10 ...	Epistle to Rom. xi. 8.
„ xxix. 13 ...	Matt. xv. 8, 9; Mark vii. 6, 7.
„ xxix. 14 ...	1 Cor. i. 19.
„ xl. 3, etc. ...	Matt. iii. 3.
„ xl. 6, etc. ...	1 Pet. i. 24, 25.
„ xl. 13... ...	Epistle to Rom. xi. 34; 1 Cor. ii. 6.
„ xlv. 23 ...	Epistle to Rom. xiv. 11.
„ xlix. 6 ...	Acts xiii. 47.
„ xlix. 8 ...	2 Cor. vi. 2.
„ lii. 5	Epistle to Rom. ii. 24.

Isaiah	lii. 7	Epistle to Rom. x. 15.
,,	lii. 11, 12 ...	2 Cor. vi. 17, 18.
,,	lii. 15... ...	Epistle to Rom. xv. 21.
,,	liii. 1... ...	Epistle to Rom. x. 16
,,	liii. 4... ...	Matt. viii. 17.
,,	liii. 5... ...	1 Peter, ii. 24.
,,	liii. 7... ...	Acts viii. 32, 33.
,,	liii. 12 ...	Mark xv. 28.
,,	liv. 1... ...	Galat. iv. 27.
,,	lv. 3	Acts xiii. 34.
,,	lvi. 7... ...	Matt. xxi. 13. Mark xi. 17.
,,	lix. 7, 8 ...	Epistle to Rom. iii. 15, etc.
,,	lix. 20, 21...	Epistle to Rom. xi. 26, 27.
,,	lxiv. 4 ...	1 Cor. ii. 9.
,,	lxv. 1, 2 ...	Epistle to Rom. x. 20, 21.
,,	lxvi. 1, 2 ...	Acts vii. 49, 50.

BOOK OF THE PROPHET JEREMIAH.

I. PARTICULARS OF JEREMIAH'S LIFE.—Jeremiah was the son of Hilkiah, a priest belonging to Anathoth a town in the tribe of Benjamin, about three Roman miles, or twenty stadia, north of Jerusalem. Some writers, both ancient and modern, have identified his father with the high priest Hilkiah, who found the book of the law in the temple (2 Kings xxii. 4, etc. 2 Chron. xxxiv. 9, etc.); but this is improbable. A place so small as Anathoth could hardly have been the abode of a high priest; and Hilkiah, the high priest, was of the house of Phinehas (comp. 1 Chron. v. 39, with xxiv. 3, and 1 Kings ii. 26); whereas Anathoth was inhabited by priests of the house of Ithamar (1 Kings ii. 26).[1] Jeremiah was called to the prophetic office while very young, in the thirteenth year of Josiah's reign (Jer. i. 2; xxv. 3). It is most likely that he exercised his ministry as a prophet in Anathoth for a time (xi. 21). But we find him afterwards settled in Jerusalem, where he proclaimed the word of Jehovah in the temple and other public parts. While still young, the men of Anathoth plotted against his life (xi. 18, etc.; xii. 5, etc.), a fact which may have determined him to remove to the capital. We can hardly doubt that Josiah respected the prophet who encouraged him in his reforming measures. But he was not acceptable to the people, whose vices he sharply reproved. Under Jehoahaz, Josiah's successor, whose reign lasted but three months, it does not appear that he was molested by the king himself, but was perhaps obnoxious to the Egyptian party in Judah, because he opposed an alliance with Egypt. In the reign of Jehoiakim he fared worse. Both king and people insulted, mocked, and persecuted him. His announcements were particularly obnoxious to the corrupt priests and false prophets. Being apprehended and brought before the civil authorities, they wished for his death on the ground of threatenings uttered against the city; but the princes, supported by a part of the people and the elders, declared him innocent and set

[1] Hävernick's Einleitung, II. 2, p. 195.

him free. Ahikam's influence seems to have been powerful in his favour. Immediately after this he did not venture to appear in public because of the animosity of his adversaries. When he was himself hindered, being shut up in his house, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, he dictated to Baruch all the prophecies he had delivered; and had them read to the people on a fast-day in the temple. The impression made by them was great. The princes advised Baruch and Jeremiah to conceal themselves; while they tried to influence the king by reading the roll to him. But he took it impatiently, cut it in pieces, and burned it in the fire; giving orders that Jeremiah and Baruch should be apprehended. In consequence of this proceeding the prophet dictated his discourses to Baruch again, and added others (xxxvi.). Under Zedekiah, he was repeatedly imprisoned (xxxii. xxxiii. xxxvii.). According to the thirty-eighth chapter he was consigned to a miry dungeon by the princes of the people; and having been brought forth by an eunuch was kept in confinement till Nebuchadnezzar took the city, gave him his liberty, and the choice either of going to Babylon or remaining in the country (xxxviii. xxxix.). He preferred the latter, and resided with Gedaliah at Mizpah. When Gedaliah was murdered by Ishmael, he was carried to Egypt against his will (xl.–xliii.). Here he predicted the approaching desolation of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar. According to Jerome, Isidore, and Tertullian, he was stoned by the people; Epiphanius says at Daphne or Taphnae. His grave has been pointed out to travellers at Cairo. According to a Jewish legend (Seder Olam, c. 26) he was taken to Babylon along with Baruch, and died there. Naegelsbach,[1] and others, have called attention to the circumstance that Jeremiah is a type of Christ, because there are many analogies in their respective lives. These analogies are certainly numerous and striking. The fact that Grotius, and especially Bunsen, identify "the servant of Jehovah" in the fifty-third and neighbouring chapters of Isaiah with the prophet of Anathoth persecuted and suffering, shews that the resemblance is considerable. But we do not consider his life *a proper type* of Christ's any more than the life of every faithful servant of the Lord who suffered of old in testifying for truth and righteousness in the midst of an evil generation. In a wide and loose sense every prophet was a type of him that was to come. In the correct meaning of *type*, Jeremiah was not so.

II. DIVISION OF THE BOOK, CONTENTS OF THE VARIOUS PROPHECIES, TIMES IN WHICH THEY WERE WRITTEN, AND THEIR AUTHENTICITY OR OTHERWISE.—The present Book of Jeremiah consists of

[1] Article Jeremia in Herzog's Encyclopædia, vol. vi. p. 483.

two leading parts—viz., chapters i.–xlv. and xlvi.–lii. The first contains prophecies relating to the theocracy; the second, prophecies against foreign nations. The first chapter may be regarded as introductory, while the forty-fifth is a sort of appendix to the chapters that precede. The fifty-second chapter is an historical appendix relating to Zedekiah.

The thirty-sixth chapter relates that Jeremiah by the command of God wrote in a roll all the words he had spoken against Israel and Judah from the days of Josiah till then; that it was burned by Jehoiakim, and a new copy written out by Baruch. The second roll cannot have been completed before the sixth year of Jehoiakim. But our present book is not identical with it; because it contains many pieces which were written after the sixth year of Jehoiakim. We find also in i. 2, 3, that the prophetic ministry is put between the thirteenth year of Josiah and the fifth month of the eleventh year of Zedekiah. In chapters xl.–xliv. many events subsequent to this second date are related, reaching down to the time when Jeremiah uttered his last prophetic discourse in Egypt. Hence he must have either written supplements to the second copy made by Baruch, *i.e.* all that follows the thirty-sixth chapter; or a later compiler has incorporated the discourses composed after the eleventh of Zedekiah. The former supposition is opposed to the fact that Jeremiah did not alter the *terminus ad quem* in i. 3, but allowed it to remain and so far to mislead the reader. Besides, the present book is not arranged in chronological order; though the notice at the commencement would lead us to expect it. Thus the only tenable conclusion is, that Jeremiah himself did not write the book in its present form. It bears the evidence of one or more editors on the face of it.

An unimportant question has been discussed respecting Jeremiah's *procedure* in committing to writing discourses which he had delivered through the space of twenty-three years. Did he dictate from memory to Baruch, word for word; or had he a written sketch before him out of which he dictated? In spite of Neumann's assertion [1] we believe that this was the first time that the prophet committed to writing any of his discourses. And he must have drawn from memory, which could not retain the very words uttered in years long past; because we find later experiences thrown back into an earlier period and colouring it. While the tone varies somewhat in different prophecies, its *prevailing* character is that of the later time when the discourses were actually committed to writing. It is also remarkable, that there is no allusion to the reforms of Josiah—a fact which does

[1] Jeremias von Anathoth, vol. i. p. 91.

not, however, necessarily prove failure of memory in accurately reproducing the utterances of the past.

The following sections may be discovered in ii.-xlv. by the help of inscriptions. One title occurring in the first twenty chapters, with slight variations, stands at the head of as many sections, viz., *the word that came to Jeremiah from the Lord.*

1. ii.-iii. 5.
2. iii. 6-vi.
3. vii.-x.
4. xi.-xiii.
5. xiv., xv.
6. xvi., xvii.
7. xviii.-xx.
8. xxi.-xxiv.
9. xxv.-xxix.
10. xxx.-xxxiii.
11. xxxiv.
12. xxxv.
13. xxxvi.
14. xxxvii.
15. xxxviii.
16. xxxix.
17. xl.-xliv.
18. xlv.

Here it will be observed that לֵאמֹר commencing iii. 1, is an isolated fragment of a title, not the original and proper one. The words in iii. 6, "in the days of Isaiah the king," are equally remarkable. Perhaps the latter should belong to the isolated לֵאמֹר, from which they have been violently separated.

The sections in xlvi.-lii. are well marked, viz.—

19. xlvi. 1-12.
20. xlvi. 13-28.
21. xlvii.
22. xlviii.
23. xlix. 1-6.
24. xlix. 7-22.
25. xlix. 23-27.
26. xlix. 28-33.
27. xlix. 34-39.
28. l., li.
29. lii.

The first chapter relates to the call of the prophet. It was written at the time of Jehoiakim, indicated in the thirty-sixth chapter, *i.e.*, in his fourth year, but refers to the commencement of the prophet's ministry under Josiah, and bears evidence of the knowledge, experiences, and fortunes he had reached, as well as of the scope of his prophecies. It is a general reflexion of himself; and the visions bear the same character—not real subjective states of mind prior to experience, but the outward projection of his own thought. Nothing appears in this chapter of the destruction of Jerusalem, and therefore it must have been composed before that event. The inscription at the commencement runs thus: "The words of Jeremiah the son of Hilkiah, of the priests that were in Anathoth in the land of Benjamin, to whom the word of the Lord came in the days of Josiah the son of Amon king of Judah, in the thirteenth year of his reign. It came also in the days of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah

king of Judah, unto the end of the eleventh year of Zedekiah the son of Josiah king of Judah, unto the carrying away of Jerusalem captive in the fifth month" (i. 1-3). This title was not meant to have originally a more limited reference to the first chapter, as Hitzig supposes, the third verse being in his opinion a later addition.[1] It did not proceed from Jeremiah himself, because it is not brought down to the latest time of his ministry. But it may have proceeded from Baruch. Hävernick thinks that it is not an *exclusive terminus*, but merely alludes to the most important epoch that closed Jeremiah's prophetic activity.[2]

In ii. 1-iii. 5 Jehovah declares His remembrance of Israel's former love, expostulates with them for their grievous and unparalleled sin in apostatizing from Him their great Benefactor, and embracing idolatry, shewing that they were the authors of their own calamities in forsaking the true God. In vain did Jehovah seek to bring them back to Himself. They rejected warning and reproof. In vain did they look here and there for help: they should not prosper, for God would not accept their late turning to Him.

This prophecy was delivered soon after the commencement of Jeremiah's commission, as Blayney rightly observes. It belongs therefore to the thirteenth or fourteenth year of Josiah's reign. Knobel[3] puts it in the beginning of Jehoiakim's reign, because attachment to Egypt (ii. 18, 36) and humiliation from the Egyptians (ii. 16) are adduced; but Hitzig has shewn that the reason is not valid. It is certain from the tenor of the prophecy that there was still a good understanding between Judah and Egypt, and therefore it belongs to the earliest period of Jeremiah's ministry. Movers, Ewald, Hitzig, and Bleek rightly place it in the reign of Josiah, in opposition to Maurer and Knobel.

Chaps. iii. 6–vi. 30. Jehovah had put away backsliding, adulterous Israel; but her sister Judah took not warning from her fate, and did not repent. Hence He calls upon the less guilty Israel to return, and her iniquity should be forgiven. An ideal theocracy is promised in which both Ephraim and Judah should participate. Israel reproved and called makes a solemn confession of sin, and is accepted by God. The prophet then announces the approach of a terrible enemy, who attack the fortified places of the land, ravage its fields, and murder the inhabitants. Universal consternation succeeds. Every one flees, and lamentation prevails. Such calamities are the consequence of the people's perverseness,

[1] Der Prophet Jeremia, p. 1.
[2] Einleitung II. 2, p. 208.
[3] Prophetismus, vol. ii. p. 272.

idolatry, impiety, contempt of God, and general corruption. The prophet calls them to repentance, amendment, and the fear of the Almighty. But the people will not consider. The words of Jehovah and His messengers are despised. Hence they will prove their ruin. Jerusalem falls; the sinners come to shame and slavery; they are all given up to destruction as reprobate.

This oracle belongs to the reign of Josiah, and followed the preceding one immediately.

What was the northern power whose invasion was dreaded at the time of the oracle? It is not named, and therefore there has been a difference of opinion regarding it. Some say the Chaldeans. But their arrival was too remote at the time of the prophecy, which in any case must have been before the eighteenth year of Josiah. Besides, the description does not always suit them. "Behold, he shall come up as clouds, and his chariots shall be as a whirlwind: his horses are swifter than eagles" (iv. 13). "It is a mighty nation, it is an ancient nation, a nation whose language thou knowest not, neither understandest what they say. Their quiver is an open sepulchre, they are all mighty men" (v. 15, 16). "They shall lay hold on bow and spear; they are cruel and have no mercy; their voice roareth like the sea; and they ride upon horses, set in array as men for war against thee, O daughter of Zion" (vi. 23). The Scythians were the dreaded foe from the north. We know that they actually invaded Palestine at a time which agrees with the origin of the present prophecy in Josiah's reign.[1] That they did not waste and depopulate the land, committing such ravages as are here described, only shews that the fears of the prophet were not realized. The event was not so disastrous as he had expected. To this people the description is well adapted, but to none other.

Chaps. vii.-ix. The prophet dissuades his countrymen from the vain confidence that Jehovah will not allow His temple, and consequently the city, to become a prey to strangers, and exhorts them to amend their ways; in which case they should dwell in their own land. He reminds them of the fact that mere external service could not deliver them while they indulged in vicious conduct, as was proved by the example of Shiloh; and declares that they should be cast out like Ephraim. Jehovah would hear no intercession on behalf of those who had turned to idolatry, nor accept sacrifices while His anger was kindled against the disobedient. What He required was compliance with His commands, to which they had not hearkened. Though the prophet therefore should speak to them, they would not hearken. The Lord has rejected the people who follow idolatry. He will smite

[1] Herodotus i. c. 105.

the city, filling every place with the carcases of the dead and making the land desolate. The bones of those long buried shall be brought out of their graves, and the living shall wish themselves dead, for they persist in their foolish and shameless impenitence. Relying on their knowledge of the written law, they despise the word of God, and are destroyed. When the desolating foe, who is not to be charmed away, appears, they shall sink into despair and die. The prophet then bewails their desperate state in elegiac strains, breaks forth into complaints of their moral corruption and threatenings of judgments, while he exhorts them not to trust in themselves but in God.

In relation to the seventh, eighth, and ninth chapters, some refer them to the reign of Josiah, which is favoured by the place they occupy. This is the view taken by Hävernick, Keil, and Hitzig. But others, as Alting, Venema, Dathe, Bertholdt, Eichhorn, Dahler, Roediger, Maurer, Ewald, Naegelsbach, put them in Jehoiakim's reign. It is not easy to determine between these opinions, because internal evidence is not decisive either way. We incline to believe that the prevalence of idolatry (vii. 17, 30, 31), the rejection of the prophetic word by the people (vii. 27), and the general corruption of the times, point to a period subsequent to that of Josiah. The people indeed repaired to the temple; but they attached a superstitious faith to the building and to the ceremonial law, without evincing signs of true repentance and amendment. The very house of God was polluted with heathen abominations, as we read in vii. 30, etc. Hence the description scarcely suits the reign of Josiah, even before his reforms were completed. The picture is too dark for it. After Josiah's death, the people fell back into many superstitious and heathen usages, which they had indulged in during Manasseh's reign. The measures of the pious Josiah had no permanent influence. Thus we place these chapters in Jehoiakim's reign, unconvinced by the arguments of Hävernick and Hitzig, yet not adopting all Venema's in favour of our view. This is strengthened by the fact that the contents of the prophecy are summarily given in xxvi. 1-19. Compare xxvi. 6, 9, with vii. 14; xxvi. 13, with vii. 3, 5.

Chap. x. The first part of the tenth chapter (1-16) describes the impotence of idols in comparison with the Almighty. In the second part, the prophet exhorts the people to flee from present calamity; laments the spoiling of the tabernacle by foolish pastors; and humbly supplicates the Lord.

The former part of the chapter (1-16) has been supposed to proceed from another writer than the prophet himself—from the Deutero-Isaiah, the author of Isaiah xl.-lxvi.; except verses

6-8, 10.[1] These are in the LXX. and appear to be undoubtedly authentic; but the remainder of the passage has another complexion. The Deutero-Isaiah living among the Chaldeans, exhorts his countrymen, the Jewish exiles, not to adopt the irrational worship of images and astrological superstitions of the heathen. The arguments in favour of this hypothesis are in substance the following:

1. The warning against heathen soothsaying and idolatry (2-5) betrays one living in exile.

2. The language, especially the Chaldee verse (11), points to the same.

3. There is considerable resemblance between Isaiah xl.-lxvi. and this piece in manner, style, and diction. Compare ver. 2 with Isaiah xlvii. 13; ver. 3 with xliv. 12; ver. 4 with xl. 19, etc., xli. 7, xliv. 12, xlvi. 7; ver. 5 with xlvi. 1, xli. 23, xliv. 9; ver. 11 with lx. 12; ver. 12, etc., with xlii. 5, xliv. 24, li. 13; ver. 14, etc., with xliv. 11, xlv. 16, xlii. 17, xli. 29, xliv. 21, etc.[2]

The eleventh verse has always been a difficulty to the defenders of the authenticity. That it was intended to suggest to the people words in which to answer the Chaldee-speaking idolaters in Babylon, as Sebastian Schmidt asserts, cannot be held; because *the introductory terms*, as well as the words themselves, are in Aramaean. The verse is generally held to be spurious, even by the advocates of the authenticity of 1-16. As to x. 17-25, its authenticity is admitted by all; nor is it denied that it agrees well with the preceding chapters, especially the ninth. The last verse (x. 25) is not taken from Ps. lxxix. 6, 7, but the writer of the psalm took it from Jeremiah's text.

Although Kueper[3] and others have defended the authenticity of the verses in question, and Wichelhaus[4] has tried to shew that those omitted by the LXX. are authentic, we believe that they savour too strongly of the Deutero-Isaiah to be properly claimed for Jeremiah. The cause of such as defend 6-8, 10, is particularly weak. *Some* resemblance to Jeremiah's style and manner is visible here and there; but dissimilarity prevails.

It has been imagined by Hengstenberg and Hävernick that the contents of ii.-x. are not single discourses which the prophet delivered at different times, but a *resumé* of all his prophetic utterances in the reign of Josiah. ii.-vi. is a combination of what was independent of particular times, being intended to give the internal bearing of Josiah's external reforms. vii.-x is a similar composition in which the people's false reliance on the temple is

[1] Movers De utriusque recensionis Jerem. indole, p. 43, et seqq.
[2] De Wette, Einleitung, p. 326.
[3] Jeremiae librorum sacrorum interpres atque vindex, p. 175.
[4] De Jeremiae Versione Alexandrina, p. 107, et seqq.

shewn to be vain, and the coming catastrophe announced in all its terrors.

It is obvious from the preceding observations that we dissent from this view, because it proceeds on the supposition that all in ii.-x. belongs to the reign of Josiah. Internal evidence does not sustain it. It is inconsistent with vii. 1, where there is an inscription, after which Jeremiah is addressed, "Stand in the gate of the Lord's house and proclaim there this word and say," etc. The presence of transitions in ii.-x., and the absence of continuous narrative, does not harmonize with the hypothesis. There is certainly a marked change of manner at the seventh chapter, where the discourse becomes more general, but at the same time less fresh and lively; whereas in ii., iii.–vi. it is more circumstantial and exact, full of greater power and creative energy.

Chaps. xi.-xiii. Jeremiah proclaims God's covenant, pronouncing the curse on every man who had rejected the conditions promised to the fathers. As the people disobeyed, evils are to come upon them; and also upon the men of Anathoth for conspiring to kill the prophet himself. When he complains of the prosperity of sinners, and calls for their punishment because they confide in the continuance of their position, Jehovah rejects such impatience, since other occasions for it were still to be expected. The land had been given up a prey to its enemies. These enemies were to be plucked out of their land, then reinstated in it, and incorporated with God's own people if they diligently set themselves to learn his ways; otherwise they should be destroyed. By the symbolical transaction of a girdle hid near the Euphrates, he prefigures the carrying away of the people as a punishment for their ingratitude and pride. Under the figure of filling bottles with wine, it is shewn that they should drain the cup of misery and be dashed against one another without pity. The people will not humble themselves so as to prevent the impending judgment from falling upon them. They must be taken and scattered because of their abominable idolatries.

The beginning of the discourse reminds the reader very forcibly of the book of Deuteronomy with its earnest exhortations to adhere faithfully to the law of God, and its curses against such as should transgress its requirements. Penetrated with the contents of this book which had appeared shortly before the prophet, he points out the inutility of all admonitions to induce his countrymen to keep the covenant that God had made with their fathers (xi., xii.); and describes the consequences of their infidelity (xiii.).

The time of the oracle is indicated in xiii. 18, where the queen-mother and king are mentioned. Ewald, Hitzig, and

Umbreit make the latter the young Jehoiachin, and the queen-mother Nehushta. We prefer, with Bleek,[1] to place the prophecy in Jehoiakim's reign. His mother, Zebudah, was twenty-five years old when he came to the throne. Great numbers of the people were carried away by Nebuchadnezzar's servants at the time; but Jerusalem itself was not taken. Maurer puts no more than the thirteenth chapter in Jehoiachin's reign; Knobel, chapters ten, thirteen, and part of the twelfth; while Hitzig divides the four chapters between the reigns of Josiah, Jehoiachin, and Jehoiakim. Ewald alone places xi.–xiii. in Jehoiachin's reign. There is no necessity for dividing the oracle into more than one, though Hitzig and others split it up into four, assigning various dates for them—viz., xi. 1–17, xi. 18–xii. 6, xii. 7–17, and xiii. 1–27. The seventeenth verse of the eleventh chapter terminates one of the strophes or large divisions into which the discourse naturally falls; the first having ended with the tenth verse.

Chaps. xiv., xv. This prophecy relates to a severe famine sent to punish the people for their sins; which, however, does not bring them to repentance. It also announces the divine determination to visit the incorrigible without mercy. A complaint of the prophet, who receives the assurance of divine protection, is subjoined. In consequence of the title with which the sixteenth chapter begins, we regard these two chapters as containing a separate discourse; not as part of a longer one which terminates only with xvii. 18, as Ewald, followed by Bunsen, inconsistently considers them. Hitzig arbitrarily separates verses 10-18 of the fourteenth chapter from their preceding context, and attaches them to the end of the thirteenth chapter. This is too ingenious to be accepted. A new strophe begins with xiv. 10, which is connected with the preceding verses closely enough, according to the prophet's manner in other places.

There can be little doubt that the famine depicted is an actual event; not a figurative description of the judicial visitations of God, as Hävernick imagines.[2] It is true that the prophet uses figures borrowed from famine to depict the judgments of God in iii. 3, xii. 4-13; but that is not decisive in favour of the figurative acceptation of the famine in this place. Famines were not uncommon things in Palestine; and therefore it was natural to borrow lively images from them. But in the present case the tenor of the entire description indicates a real famine.

In relation to time, there are no internal marks by which it can be determined. The reign of Jehoiakim appears the most probable date. Hitzig divides it between Josiah and Jehoiakim;

[1] Einleitung, p. 477. [2] Einleitung II. 2, p. 213.

Ewald puts it in the reign of Zedekiah; Knobel in that of Jehoahaz.

Chaps. xvi., xvii. The approaching ruin of the people by pestilence and famine is here predicted. In consequence of idolatry and undue reliance on human help their destruction is unavoidable. An admonition to keep the sabbath-day holy is annexed. xvi. 14, 15, disturb the connection, and were inserted in their present place from xxiii. 7, 8, where they are original. xvii. 1-4 are omitted in the Greek recension, being unauthentic.

Chaps. xviii.-xx. Under the types of a potter and of breaking a potter's vessel are shewn God's absolute power in disposing of nations, and the destruction of the Jews for their sins. Appended is an imprecation on the part of the seer against his enemies. The ruin of Judah and Jerusalem is proclaimed; and severe judgment is announced against Pashur for apprehending and illtreating him. Bunsen ingeniously supposes that the original order of the verses in chap. xx. was 1-6, 14-18, 7-13; that 14-18 were omitted by some transcribers as containing too strong a curse; but were afterwards re-introduced in an unsuitable place, that is, at the close. This conjecture appears to us unnecessary.[1] The prophecy belongs to the reign of Zedekiah. Many critics divide it thus: xvi.-xvii. 18; then xvii. 19-xx. Knobel, Maurer, and Hitzig put the former under Jehoiakim. Hitzig endeavours to shew that xvii. 19-xx. belongs to Jehoiachin's reign, with the exception of xx. 7-18; but his method of proof is precarious, though his ingenuity is never at fault. Knobel divides xvii. 19-xx. between Jehoiakim and Zedekiah; and Maurer nearly agrees with the same date.

Chaps. xxi.-xxiv. contain a prophetic discourse describing the corruptness of kings and false prophets. Part of it was delivered towards the end of Zedekiah's reign, when the Chaldeans were commencing to besiege Jerusalem. Parts of it had been delivered before under Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin; but it is difficult to apportion them as here repeated and interwoven with the discourse unchronologically. Jehoiakim had requested the prophet to inquire of the Lord for his country. Here the discourse appears in a much enlarged and altered form, the prophet taking the opportunity of combining in a written shape what he had said about the great men and leaders of the people, as well as about the royal house and the future of the kingdom. The causes of the great evils then present or impending are traced; and Messianic hopes are mingled with sorrowful declarations. He adds a vision respecting the future of the people carried away and those

[1] Gott. in der Geschichte, vol. i. p. 414.

left behind. The vision, however, is not what is properly so-called, but the result of calm reflection. He did not see the two baskets of figs in an ecstatic state, else he would not have written "the Lord shewed me." Amos is the original from which Jeremiah formed the vision (Amos vii. 1, 4, and viii. 1-3).

Chaps. xxv., xxvi. For a series of years Jeremiah, after the example of other prophets, and in Jehovah's service, had earnestly exhorted the people to reform their ways, but in vain; wherefore the Lord now brings upon Judah and all the nations round about a people from the north, who make an utter destruction, and inflict a just retribution. When seventy years are accomplished, the hostile nation itself shall be punished with perpetual desolations. At the command of Jehovah, Jeremiah takes the wine cup of His fury, and causes all the nations to drink of it—Judah and Egypt, the Philistines, Edom, Moab, and Ammon, the Phenicians, and all the Arabians, together with the Persians and Medes; all the kingdoms of the north and of the world. They shall drink and fall a prey to the sword. The Lord sets up the shout of battle against His land and against all the earth. An evil comes from the north, and Jehovah covers the surface of the whole earth with the bodies of the slain. All the leaders of the people mourn, because destruction approaches them. The voice of their cry is heard already; for the Lord has destroyed in His anger the habitations, the abodes of peace.

According to the title, the oracle was delivered, at least in substance, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim.

The thirteenth verse runs thus: "And I will bring upon that land all my words which I have pronounced against it, even all that is written in this book which Jeremiah hath prophesied against all the nations." This verse is obviously a later interpolation, for it refers to the addition made to his prophecies in the fiftieth and fifty-first chapters. Ewald also thinks that the words in the twelfth verse, "the king of Babylon and," "and the land of the Chaldeans, and will make it perpetual desolations, and I will bring upon that land all my words which I have pronounced against it, even all that is written in this book, which Jeremiah hath prophesied against all the nations," are not original.[1] We may go farther, with Hitzig, and pronounce 11*b*.-14*a*. supposititious, because the seventy years' captivity in Babylon is too specific to be pronounced in the fourth year of Jehoiakim.[2] It certainly interrupts the connection, which reads well without it. Hävernick, as usual, defends the authenticity of every part of the chapter.

[1] Die Propheten des alten Bundes, vol. ii. pp. 134, 135.
[2] Der Prophet Jeremia, pp. 198, 199.

The word שֵׁשַׁךְ in the twenty-sixth verse, equivalent to בָּבֶל by the canon Atbash, did not proceed from Jeremiah. Neither did it in li. 41. In both instances it is omitted by the LXX. The prophet never uses such circumlocutions.

The twenty-sixth chapter relates to the great danger into which Jeremiah came, and his deliverance from it. According to the title, it belongs to the beginning of Jehoiakim's reign. With this agree the contents, for nothing of the Chaldeans is hinted at; and the king of Egypt was a friend of Jehoiakim, according to the twentieth and following verses.

Chap. xxvii. Jeremiah is desired to take yokes and put them on his neck, and send them to the neighbouring kings to intimate that God, who had created the earth, had given them all into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar; and therefore every nation which refused to bear the yoke should be terribly punished. Hence he exhorts them to yield, and not to believe false prophets. Nothing else than their captivity would be the consequence of refusal. The prophet also addresses the king of Judah, advising him to bear the yoke, warning him of the destruction which should follow rebellion, and of the false prophets whom God had not sent, and who would plunge him into ruin. He also speaks to the priests and people to give no heed to the prophecy of the sacred vessels being soon brought back from Babylon. True prophets should rather make intercession to God that the vessels might not be taken to Babylon; all the remaining vessels should be carried thither, and continue till the day of visitation.

According to the title, this oracle belongs to the beginning of Jehoiakim's reign. The name Jehoiakim, however, must be incorrect, because it contradicts internal evidence. *Zedekiah* should stand instead of *Jehoiakim*. Ewald thinks that the mistake of the one name for the other arose in transcription; a conjecture very improbable, because there is little similarity between the names. It is likely that the whole title is supposititious, having been made out of xxvi. 1. The LXX. want it. "The beginning of the reign" is an indefinite expression, which the prophet himself would have made specific. It agrees well with the contents, for after Zedekiah had been appointed vassal of Nebuchadnezzar, there was great dissatisfaction among the people with the Babylonian yoke, so that representatives of the surrounding peoples met together in Jerusalem to consult how they might make common cause against the great oppressor.

The seventh verse runs thus: "And all nations shall serve him, and his son, and his son's son, until the very time of his land come: and then many nations and great kings shall serve themselves of him."

This verse is wanting in the LXX., and must have been absent from their copy of the Hebrew. Though Jeremiah had predicted the fall of Babylon, it is not probable that he would carry it in this place beyond the third generation. The verse is, therefore, a *vaticinium ex eventu*, as Movers, Hitzig, and De Wette have perceived. From the sixteenth to the twenty-second verse is also spurious, containing a *vaticinium ex eventu*. There is a prolixity from the eighteenth to the end which is not Jeremiah's. Nor is the Greek text authentic or complete at this place. We do not agree with Hitzig in rejecting the thirteenth verse as also interpolated.

Chap. xxviii. This chapter is directed against a false prophet, Hananiah, whose death is foretold within the year. It is closely connected with the last chapter, and belongs to the same time. The title is: "And it came to pass the same year, in the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah king of Judah, in the fourth year, and in the fifth month, that Hananiah," etc. Here we have first a designation of time, *the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah*, followed by the too specific designations, *the fourth year*, and *the fifth month*. All this did not proceed from Jeremiah himself, who wrote only as far as *Zedekiah, king of Judah*, a later interpolator inserting the words *in the fourth year, in the fifth month*. Hitzig's opinion differs from ours; but it is too ingenious to be adopted. He agrees so far, however, as to hold that only part of the title is authentic.

Chap. xxix. This chapter contains an epistle addressed by Jeremiah to the persons carried away to Babylon with Jeconiah. It exhorts them to compose themselves quietly in their new abode, and give no heed to false prophets. They should not return till the lapse of seventy years, according to Jehovah's gracious purpose. As for those who had remained in the land, extreme disaster awaited them for their disobedience to the divine word. He then shews the fearful end of two lying prophets. Because Shemaiah had written letters to the people at Jerusalem, Jeremiah foretells his doom.

This epistle was sent in the beginning of Zedekiah's reign. Verses 16–20 are not in the LXX.

The three chapters xxvii., xxviii., xxix., were interpolated and furnished with various glosses by a later hand than Jeremiah's,—some think by the Deutero-Isaiah. This has been inferred from the forms of the names יִרְמְיָה for יִרְמְיָהוּ, צִדְקִיָּה for צִדְקִיָּהוּ, יְכָנְיָה etc., and from the predicate הַנָּבִיא so frequently appended to the name of the prophet (xxviii. 5, 6, 10–12, 15; xxix. 1), which is wanting in the Septuagint. The shortening of the termination יָהוּ into יָה must have proceeded from a transcriber

who lived a century after Jeremiah, since the orthography was not so early as the prophet's time. We also admit that Jeremiah himself did not affix *the prophet* to his own name. A copyist or transcriber put it there. But it is hazardous to infer glosses and an extensive elaboration from these phenomena. Such hypothesis assumes a system, and one person acting upon it, which we cannot perceive. The only interpolations are those already noticed in the twenty-seventh chapter. A regular glossing or working over of the text either by the Deutero-Isaiah, or any other such person, is hardly perceptible except to the eye of hypercriticism. Anything in the language of the chapters that shews a later hand is too unimportant to be entitled to that character.

Chap. xxx.–xxxiii. These chapters prophesy the restoration of the Jewish state. The first two predict the future of the theocracy—its complete redemption. Israel and Judah shall be saved; but they must first pass through severe trials which do not end with the captivity. Hopeless as the condition of the ten tribes appears to be, they will be wonderfully helped; Judah, too, is to receive forgiveness, grace, the rich effusion of the Spirit, and unshaken stability. Here the hopes and anticipations of the prophet take a high flight. His spiritual forebodings glance into the future with marvellous purity of conception when he sees a new covenant concluded with the church by Jehovah,—not like the old one, which is as good as abolished—but enduring and perpetual. The church shall then be consummated in earthly prosperity, and all its members enjoy immediate fellowship with God. The language is here adapted to the elevated ideas enunciated by the prophet: it is lively, vigorous, figurative. The colours in which the future glory of the theocracy is depicted are glowing, as is exemplified in xxxi. 7–14, and still more so in the succeeding verses, where the strain merges into the briefer and more energetic as the summit of divine hopes and promises is reached. The thirtieth and thirty-first chapters indicate a remarkable advance in the views of Jeremiah, placing him on a high eminence as to the extent and purity of his ideal anticipations of the divine kingdom on earth. The thirty-second and thirty-third chapters, though relating to the same subject with the two preceding ones, are less elevated and comprehensive in contents and tone. They predict the restoration of Judah and Israel, with the glorification of the theocracy.

The first four verses of chap. xxx. contain the title and announcement of the contents of xxx., xxxi., and are longer than usual, because the oracle is different from former ones. It is evident from them that the prophecies were not delivered in

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public, but were composed, within the prophet's spirit, out of former revelations which had lain in their quiet depths there for a considerable time till they could be enunciated in writing. The date of composition is after the tenth year of Zedekiah's reign.

The thirty-second and thirty-third chapters belong to the tenth year of Zedekiah's reign, as the title of the former states. Why they were placed *after* xxx. and xxxi., though their date is a little earlier, is uncertain. Hitzig thinks that xxxii. and xxxiii. already existed in writing when God addressed the command in xxx. 2 to the prophet, and that they were simply appended then;[1] whereas Hävernick accounts for the fact by the nature of the contents which are more comprehensive in xxx. and xxxi.[2]

Here again the chapters in question (except xxxii.) are said to have been elaborated by a later hand—that of the Deutero-Isaiah. The chief evidence of this is found in the style and diction. Compare with xxx. 10, Is. xl. 8, 10, 14, xliii. 1, xliv. 1, with xxx. 17, Is. lx. 15, lxii. 4; xxxi. 13, with Is. xlix. 13, etc.; xxxi. 3, with Is. xliii. 4; xxxi. 8, with Is. xliii. 5, xlix. 12, lix. 19; xxxi. 9, with Is. lxiii. 16, lxiv. 7, lv. 12, xlix. 10, lxiii. 13; xxxi. 10, with Is. xl. 11; xxxi. 10, etc., with Is. xlix. 1, xliv. 23, xlviii. 20 and other places; xxxi. 12, with Is. lviii. 11; xxxi. 21, with Is. lxii. 10; xxxi. 33, compare Is. li. 7; xxxi. 34 with Is. liv. 13, xliii. 25; xxxi. 35, etc., with Is. lxi. 8; xxxi. 35, 37, with Is. xlii. 5, xlv. 7, li. 15; xxxiii. 2, with Is. xlvi. 11, xliii. 7, etc.; xxxiii. 3, with Is. xlviii. 6. Movers gives an additional proof of it in Zechariah viii. 7, 8, where there is a quotation from Jeremiah xxxi. 7, 8, 33; and where the author is spoken of (ver. 9) as one that lived in the day when the foundation of the house of the Lord of Hosts was laid; whence it is concluded that the writer must have been contemporary with Zechariah himself.[3] There is no proper quotation from Jeremiah in Zechariah, viii. 7-9. The passage is made up of words selected from different prophets; as the mention of *prophets* in the plural attests. Hence Hitzig, who follows Movers in relying upon internal evidence for the Deutero-Isaiah's elaboration of the chapters, justly rejects the external arguments. De Wette adduces as another argument for the interpolation of these chapters, the introduction of the Levites in xxxiii. 18, 21, which is thought to be unsuitable and unlike Jeremiah's view.[4] The words לכהנים הלוים *to the priest, the Levites*, standing in apposition do not occur elsewhere in Jeremiah. They are found in Ezekiel xliii. 19, xliv. 15, Is. lxvi. 21;

[1] Der Prophet Jeremia, p. 241. [2] Einleitung II. 2, p. 218.
[3] De utriusque recensionis vatic. Jeremiae, etc., p. 38, 39.
[4] Einleitung, § 217 b. p. 325.

in the book of Deuteronomy repeatedly, and in Joshua iii. 3. xxxiii. 14-26 are wanting in the LXX. and must be reckoned unauthentic. Subtracting this passage, the rest appears to us authentic. xxx. 10, 11 are wanting in the LXX., and supposed by Movers and Hitzig to be an interpolation. The verses appear again both in the Masoretic text and the Greek, in xlvi. 27, 28. Here, however, they are suitable to the connexion; whereas in xlvi. 27, 28, they are improperly repeated. That they were not written by Jeremiah cannot be proved. Caspari has shewn that they contain elements characteristic of the prophet; and rightly denies their interpolation.[1] As to the internal evidence it does not appear to us conclusive. That there is considerable similarity of expression between parts of Is. xl.-lxvi. and these chapters we admit; but not such as to shew identity of authorship. The Deutero-Isaiah had Jeremiah's prophecies in view in different places, and copied various expressions; just as he had Jeremiah's fate in view when he wrote chap. liii. Besides, prophecies relating to the same subject, particularly to the future of the theocracy looked at from a lofty and comprehensive ideal stand-point, naturally bear occasional marks of resemblance, even in expression.

The thirty-fourth chapter from the beginning to the seventh verse inclusive, contains an oracle respecting the fate of Zedekiah. It belongs to the time when the Chaldeans besieged Jerusalem.

Chap. xxxiv. 8-22 contain another prophecy occasioned by the re-enslavement of those whom their masters had set free. It belongs to the same time as the last; a little later.

Chap. xxxv. relates to the Rechabites, who, when the Chaldeans first overran Judah fled into the capital for security. They were a small nomad tribe that dwelt on the desert-confines of Judah. The piece belongs to the termination of Jehoiakim's reign, as we infer from the 11th verse; B.C. 605.

The thirty-sixth chapter relates how the book of Jeremiah's oracles was burnt by order of Jehoiakim, and subsequently restored with many additions. The chapter was written before the death of the king, as we infer from the 30th and 31st verses.

The thirty-seventh chapter is also historical. It refers to the treatment of Jeremiah himself; how he was thrown into a dungeon and released, but still kept in confinement. The date seems to be late, 589 B.C., in the reign of Zedekiah.

The thirty-eighth chapter refers to the subsequent treatment of Jeremiah—how he was thrown into a miry dungeon, and delivered from it. The date is much the same as the last

[1] See Rudelbach and Guericke's Zeitschrift for 1843, II. p. 52, et seqq.

chapter. Indeed the two are connected together as one piece. The thirty-ninth chapter is also a part of the narrative commencing with the thirty-seventh, describing the taking of Jerusalem, with its consequences; and how it fared with the prophet at that time. Of course the date is the same as the thirty-seventh and thirty-eighth.

The last half of the 28th verse of chap. xxxviii. should begin the thirty-ninth chapter, viz., "And it came to pass when Jerusalem was taken." The thirty-eighth chapter ends withthe words "So Jeremiah abode in the court of the prison until the day that Jerusalem was taken." After the beginning, "and it came to pass when Jerusalem was taken," we naturally look for the continuation of Jeremiah's history, not an account of the taking of the city itself which follows immediately in the first and second verses of the thirty-ninth chapter. The connection is disturbed by the first and second verses; whereas the third verse belongs to the commencing words, "and it came to pass when Jerusalem was taken." Hence the suspicion arises that the first and second verses were a later interpolation. This is confirmed by their contents, which are taken from lii. 4-7, and 2 Kings xxv. It is worthy of remark, that the LXX. and Syriac omit the introduction; that is, the last half of xxxviii. 28, perceiving that it did not hang well together with the first and second verses of the thirty-ninth chapter, though it was undoubtedly authentic. In like manner from verses four till thirteen inclusive proceeded from the same interpolator. This appears from internal evidence. The diction is not Jeremiah's. It is too like an abridgment of lii. 7-16; from which also it was taken. The history of Jeremiah begins with the fourteenth verse, which has a natural connexion with the third; whereas the attachment of the fourth to the third is awkward and unsuitable. The whole piece from four till thirteen is evidently an insertion proceeding from one posterior to Jeremiah. It is omitted in the LXX., though that fact is not decisive against it. It does not agree well with xl. 1-6; at least in the time at which Jeremiah was favoured by Nebuzar-adan and allowed his free choice to go to Babylon or remain in his own land. How could the prophet have been carried as far as Ramah in chains, as is related in xl. 1-6, and yet have such favour shewn him by Nebuchadnezzar as is implied in verses 11-13 of the thirty-ninth chapter?

Notwithstanding the obvious nature of these insertions, they are defended by Hävernick with pertinacity; as was to be expected.[1] Movers, Hitzig, and Ewald rightly maintain their spuriousness; which, indeed, had been noticed by others before them.

[1] Einleitung, II. 2, pp. 232, 233.

Chaps. xl.–xliv. In these chapters it is related how the prophet, and the remnant of the Jews, had an opportunity of settling peacefully in their own land under the protection of Gedaliah, which was disastrously prevented by Ishmael's treacherous conduct. In consequence of the murder of Gedaliah, the remnant of the Jews, and Jeremiah himself against his will, were taken to Egypt by Johanan, where the prophet foretold the invasion and conquest of that country by the Chaldeans. The date is implied in xl. 1. It was after the taking of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans. xliii. 8-13 was delivered in Egypt. In the title (xl. 1) we read, "the word that came to Jeremiah from the Lord," etc., leading us to expect an oracle; but none follows till xlii. 7. All that intervenes is historical and preparatory—viz., xl. 2–xlii. 6. The forty-fourth chapter is directed against idolatry, with a threatening to those who should disobey. This oracle was delivered orally in upper Egypt before an assembly of the Jews; and is later than xliii. 8-13. The prophet, faithful to his calling, did not allow his countrymen in Egypt to adopt the prevailing idolatries of the land without warning, but addressed them soon after they had gone down thither.

The forty-fifth chapter contains an oracle respecting the scribe Baruch, to the effect that his life should be preserved by a special providence. According to date, it should be after the thirty-sixth chapter, in the reign of Jehoiakim.

Chaps. xlvi.–xlix. contain a series of oracles against foreign nations, seven of whom are selected as representatives of the rest, that each may form the subject of a short discourse.

The first is against Egypt, and presupposes the defeat of the Egyptian army at the Euphrates by Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kings xxiv. 7). It is a triumphal discourse respecting the downfall of the Egyptians (xlvi. 1-12). xlvi. 13-28 contains a threatening oracle against the same country which was to be conquered by Nebuchadnezzar. Both were occasioned by Nebuchadnezzar's victory over Pharaoh-Necho, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim.

The forty-seventh contains an oracle against the Philistines. The inscription of it is, "The word of the Lord that came to Jeremiah the prophet against the Philistines, before that Pharaoh smote Gazah." The LXX. have instead ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους. The clause indicating the time, "before that Pharaoh smote Gazah," is supposed by Movers and De Wette to be false, because Jeremiah prophesies destruction to the Philistines from the north, not from Egypt (ver. 2); and the hard attraction אֲשֶׁר הָיָה דְבַר יְהוָה is suspicious. The contests of the Chaldeans and Egyptians for the border fortifications appear to be referred to. History, however, fails to throw light on the point. Yet there is no good ground for suspecting the notice of time on that

account. The same hard attraction is found in xiv. 1, xlvi. 1, xlix. 34; which titles cannot be all of later origin.

Chap. xlviii. contains an oracle against Moab. This forty-eighth chapter is said by Movers to contain additions out of Isaiah xv., xvi., especially verses 29-38, 40, 43, 47, etc. Hitzig, improving upon this hypothesis, assumes a *twofold* interpolation, chiefly by the Deutero-Isaiah, but also by a second hand. He even undertakes to shew the respective work of each. The verses proceeding from the former are pointed out as 16, 17, 26, 27, and the basis of 40-42. From the latter came 7, 40, 51, 44, taken from Jeremiah, and 45, 46 from other authors; besides various changes in verses elsewhere. The interpolations of this second person are said to discover unacquaintedness with historical and topographical relations, and a want of mastery over the Hebrew language. Hence he is put into the Maccabean period; where Hitzig places not a few psalms.[1] There is too much subjectivity in the reasoning which the ingenious critic employs. It is sufficient to account for what are fixed upon as interpolations to maintain that the prophet has freely reproduced the prophecies of Baalam and Isaiah against Moab. His imitation of them is at times feeble and tame, as in verses 43, 44; but this is all that can well be admitted, with the exception of the text having occasionally inferior readings to those in the LXX., and therefore to be corrected by the Greek. Hävernick has endeavoured to refute the arguments of Hitzig; each writer looking at the subject from an opposite stand-point, and taking into it his own subjectivity pretty largely.

Chap. xlix. 1-6 is against Ammon.

Chap. xlix. 7-22 is against Edom.

Chap. xlix. 23-27 is against Damascus.

Chap. xlix. 28-33 is against Arabia.

The date of this series of prophecies belongs to the reign of Jehoiakim.

Chap. xlix. 34-39 is against Elam. According to the title the oracle belongs to the beginning of Zedekiah's reign. But Hitzig, after Movers, argues that it is incorrect, and that the date is the same as that of the preceding prophecies, from the coincidence of the place occupied by the prophecy here and in xxv. 5; the similarity of verse 36 to 32, and of 39 to 6, 37, 38. This is precarious. We are inclined to abide by the title as it is. The LXX. do not give the original title (τὰ Αἰλὰμ) לעילם.

Chaps. l., li. These chapters contain a prophecy against Babylon, which belongs, according to the subjoined epilogue, to the fourth year of Zedekiah (li. 59-64). They are either spurious

[1] Der Prophet Jeremia, p. 367.

or interpolated. The choice lies between the two opinions; for the hypothesis of their authenticity, though defended by Hengstenberg, Hävernick, Keil, and others, must be abandoned. Internal evidence is too strong against it. After the example of Eichhorn, their spuriousness has been held by Von Cölln, Gramberg, Maurer, Knobel, and Ewald. On the other hand, Movers, De Wette, and Hitzig believe that they have been interpolated and altered. The question respecting their authenticity is thus one of *degree*. Unless their absolute authenticity be maintained, it remains to be shewn whether they were wholly or partially written by a later hand. On such a point it is not surprising that good judges of Hebrew should differ; because their own subjectivity mingles with the judgment pronounced.

Instead of believing that the Deutero-Isaiah retouched, interpolated, and altered these chapters which were originally written by Jeremiah, we incline to think that they were *composed* by another than the prophet. The view that they were *wrought over* and *interwoven* with his own matter, by a later hand, is certainly ingenious; and ingeniously is it carried out by Movers and Hitzig; but it is unlike the age and its characteristics. Modern and Teutonic in its nature, we can scarcely believe its actual existence in the case before us.

In favour of Jeremiah may be adduced, first, the language, style, and imagery. Thus in l. 16, "Cut off the tower from Babylon and him that handleth the sickle in the time of harvest: for the fear of the oppressing sword they shall turn every one to his people, and they shall flee every one to his own land;" with which compare xlvi. 16, "And they said, Arise and let us go again to our own people and to the land of our nativity from the oppressing sword." Again, li. 1, "Behold I will raise up against Babylon and against them that dwell in the midst of them that rise up against me, a destroying wind;" with which compare iv. 11, "At that time shall it be said to this people and to Jerusalem, A dry wind of the high places in the wilderness," etc. In li. 7 we read, "Babylon hath been a golden cup in the Lord's hand, that made all the earth drunken: the nations have drunken of her wine," etc. Compare with this xxv. 15, 16, "Take the wine cup of this fury at my hand, and cause all the nations, to whom I send thee, to drink it. And they shall drink it and be moved and be mad," etc. Compare also li. 55 with xlvii. 4, xxv. 10, v. 22. The force of this argument can only be appreciated by a judge of Hebrew diction and linguistic peculiarities. It is impossible to read l. 1-20 and not be struck with the correspondence of style. It is most strongly marked there.

Secondly. The epilogue has been adduced in favour of Jeremiah's authorship. It has been said that the epilogue itself

bears the peculiar complexion of the prophet's symbolising, and attests the anthenticity of the oracle. The time assigned by it to the oracle is Zedekiah's fourth year.

Thirdly. Bleek thinks that the sanctuary on Zion was still standing, as well as the city of Jerusalem, because we read in l. 5, and li. 50, "They shall ask the way to *Zion* with their faces thitherward, saying," etc., and "Ye that have escaped the sword, go away, stand not still: remember the Lord afar off, and let *Jerusalem* come into your mind." "And my blood upon the inhabitants of Chaldea, shall *Jerusalem* say" (li. 35).[1] These passages simply express the hopes and longings of the prophet respecting the future, without implying the actual existence of the temple and the city at the time.

On the other hand, the evidence against Jeremiah's authorship is weighty and preponderating.

First. Internal evidence shews that the chapters were written after Jerusalem's destruction. Strangers, the Chaldeans, had wasted the land and made it empty. They had destroyed the city, plundered the temple, and depopulated the country. Thus we read, "Israel is a scattered sheep; the lions have driven him away: first the king of Assyria hath devoured him; and last this Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon hath broken his bones" (li. 17). In l. 28 and li. 11, *the vengeance of the Lord's temple* is spoken of; and in li. 34, it is said, "Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon hath devoured me, he hath crushed me, he hath made an empty vessel, he hath swallowed me up like a dragon, he hath filled his belly with my delicates, he hath cast me out." "Strangers are come into the sanctuaries of the Lord's house" (li. 51). Such expressions shew that the city and temple had been destroyed. And when we read, "the Lord hath raised up the spirit of the kings of the Medes, for his device is against Babylon to destroy it;" the time is brought to the first victories of Cyrus. It would also appear from l. 33, "The children of Israel and the children of Judah were oppressed together: and all that took them captives held them fast; they refused to let them go;" that the captivity had continued for some time. We are thus brought to the middle of the exile at least. If, therefore, Jeremiah were the writer, he must have been ninety years old; which is improbable. He entered on his prophetic ministry in the thirteenth of Josiah, *i.e.*, 627 B.C.

Secondly. A number of repetitions occur which Jeremiah himself would hardly make. Some are bare and bald, as l. 44-46 of xlix. 19-21; l. 40 of xlix. 18. Others are more elaborate and worse than the original. Compare, for example, li. 15-19 with its

[1] Einleitung, in d. a. Testam. pp. 479, 480.

original, x. 12-16. Here the nineteenth verse is altered for the worse from the sixteenth of the tenth chapter. In x. 16 the sense is natural and proper: "Israel is the rod of his inheritance; the Lord of hosts is his name;" whereas, in li. 19, by omitting יִשְׂרָאֵל, שֵׁבֶט נַחֲלָתוֹ refers to *Jehovah*, the suffix in נַחֲלָתוֹ meaning Jacob. Another example of the same kind is l. 41, 42, taken from vi. 22, 23.

Thirdly. There is considerable similarity between l. 27, li. 40, and Is. xxxiv. 6, etc.; also between l. 39 and Is. xxxiv. 14, xiii. 20, 21. Some explain this correspondence by Jeremiah's imitation of the ideas and expressions in Is. xxxiv. But this assumes the authenticity of the latter, which is now generally abandoned. The Deutero-Isaiah appears not only in these correspondences, but in many others; as l. 17, 33, compare Is. lii. 4; l. 8, li. 6, 9, compare Is. lii. 11, xlviii. 20. קְדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל (Jer. l. 29, li. 5), גֹּאֵל (Jer. l. 34), comp. Is. xli. 14, xlvii. 4. Hence the Deutero-Isaiah seems to have had to do with these chapters of Jeremiah's book.

Fourthly. Various expressions point to a later date than Jeremiah, such as, "The Lord hath raised up the spirit of the kings of the Medes" (li. 11). In accordance with this is the express mention of the Medes as the destroyers of Babylon (li. 28); whereas Jeremiah himself speaks of that people drinking of the cup of destruction *prior to* Babylon (xxv. 25), which Hävernick wrongly interprets of the punishment of many peoples by the Chaldeans.[1] סְגָנִים Babylonian *prefects* (li. 23, 28, 57) is not a Jeremiah-word, but one of Ezekiel and the Deutero-Isaiah. בַּדִּים *lying prophets*, is also a term of the Deutero-Isaiah, not of Jeremiah. In like manner, the play upon שֵׁשַׁךְ for בָּבֶל (li. 41); לֵב קָמַי *heart of mine opponents* for כַּשְׂדִּים (li. 1), could not have proceeded from the prophet himself, but betray a later writer living in Babylon. This is confirmed by the exact knowledge of localities. Thus the sower in Babylon is mentioned (l. 16), because there were cultivated fields within the walls. The principal gods and idols of the Babylonians are also referred to in l. 2, 38; li. 44.

Fifthly. The spirit and tone are unlike Jeremiah's. They proceed from a contemporary penetrated with the lively feelings of the present, whose hopes are raised, whose zeal is kindled, and who gives utterance to an impatient desire of revenge. Thus the enemy is addressed repeatedly and directly to come up against Babylon. Sarcasm is poured upon her, and an exulting joy exhibited over her (l. 14, 15, 21, 26, 27, 29; li. 11; l. 24-31).

[1] Einleitung II. 2, p. 243.

All this does not resemble Jeremiah, who breathes a spirit of pity and lamentation rather than of impatient revenge. Ferocious joy is far from his nature. But the Deutero-Isaiah ridicules idols, and exults with fierce delight over the downfall of Babylon.

Sixthly. Ewald conjectures that the writer lived in Judea, relying upon l. 5, 28, 44; li. 46, 54.[1] These passages, however, do not bear out the assumption. On the contrary, li. 10, "The Lord hath brought forth our righteousness: come, and let us declare in Zion the work of the Lord our God," is against it. The Deutero-Isaiah did not live in Judea, but Babylon, and was one of the exiles himself. Herzfeld, adopting Ewald's conjecture respecting the abode of the writer, throws out the query whether he was not Habakkuk.[2] For this we can perceive no foundation, except the very slender relationship between li. 58 and Hab. ii. 13. Bunsen attributes these chapters, with the exception of the epilogue, to Baruch in Egypt, thirty years after the people had been carried captive to Babylon.[3] We are unable to agree with this view. The considerations adduced in its favour appear insufficient.

As to the testimony of the epilogue which puts the oracle in the fourth year of Zedekiah, it avails nothing, because the piece is not authentic. It was an old marginal gloss as far as עליה in the sixty-fourth verse. The fifty-eighth terminates with ויעפו; and the same word occurs again in the sixty-fourth verse, after עליה, so that עד־הנה דברי ירמיהו, which now terminate the sixty-fourth verse, originally formed the end of the fifty-eighth. The repeated ויעפו shews this.

III. CHAP. LII.—The prophecies of Jeremiah professedly terminate with the sixty-fourth verse of the fifty-first chapter, as the language, "thus far the words of Jeremiah" intimates. In reality, however, they end with the forty-ninth chapter, for the fiftieth and fifty-first were attributed to him by mistake. The fifty-second chapter forms a historical appendix, describing the taking of Jerusalem, and the later fortunes of Jehoiachin. It is almost verbally the same as 2 Kings xxiv. 18-xxv. 30. Besides the closing terms of li. 64, which fairly imply a different writer from Jeremiah, the author speaks of certain persons in Jerusalem who were carried away, as if he did not know them; whereas the prophet was but too well acquainted with them. The construction בְּ for *into* (11, 12) is not Jeremiah's; and the form of Jehoiachin's name in the thirty-first verse is not that which he

[1] Die Propheten des alten Bundes, vol. ii. pp. 492, 493.
[2] Geschichte des Volkes Israel, p. 285.
[3] Gott. in der Geschichte, vol. i. p. 437, et seqq.

uses. We must therefore hold that the prophet did *not* write this appendix to serve as a historical account of the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, and a supplement to the narrative. Had he done so he must have been ninety years old, which is possible, but not likely. Hävernick attempts to shew its authenticity as Jeremiah's production, without success.[1] Some think, with De Wette,[2] that it was taken from 2 Kings. But 19-23 contain more copious particulars than those in 2 Kings xxv. 15-17; and if the writer of Jer. lii. had another source besides, why did he not compile the chapter in his own fashion, more characteristically? Besides, verses 28-30 are wanting in 2 Kings. They are wanting in the LXX., and therefore such as think 2 Kings the original of the chapter assume their interpolation, for which there is no valid reason. It is somewhat remarkable that the number given in Jer. lii. 28-30, of those who were carried into captivity is 4,600; while in 2 Kings xxiv. 14, 16, we find 10,000. In lii. 28, the seventh year of Nebuchadnezzar stands for the *eighth* in 2 Kings xxiv. 12. Ewald regards the chapter as an extract from the annals of the kingdom, which is not improbable.[3] The preceding chapters (l., li.) must have occupied their present place when this appendix was put after them to complete the narrative of the final fortunes of Jerusalem and its inhabitants. The view of Lowth and others respecting the chapter in question, viz., that it properly belongs to Lamentations, and serves as an exordium to them, must be rejected.[4]

IV. THE TEXTS OF THE HEBREW AND SEPTUAGINT JEREMIAH COMPARED AND ESTIMATED.—The prophecies of Jeremiah are differently arranged in the Hebrew and Septuagint. In the Greek version those relating to foreign nations occupy another position, coming after xxv. 14. The following table will shew the difference:—

HEBREW.		GREEK.
Chap. xxv. 15–38	... ...	Chap. xxxii. 1–24.
„ xxvi.	... ...	„ xxxiii.
„ xxvii.	... ...	„ xxxiv.
„ xxviii.	... ...	„ xxxv.
„ xxix.	... ...	„ xxxvi.
„ xxx.	... ...	„ xxxvii.
„ xxxi.	... ...	„ xxxviii.
„ xxxii.	... ...	„ xxxix.
„ xxxiii.	... ...	„ xl.

[1] Einleit. II. 2, pp. 248, 249.
[2] Einleitung, p. 324.
[3] Die Propheten d. a. Bundes, vol. ii. p. 22.
[4] Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, xxi. p. 178, ed. Stowe.

HEBREW.		GREEK.
Chap.	xxxiv.	Chap. xli.
„	xxxv.	„ xlii.
„	xxxvi.	„ xliii.
„	xxxvii.	„ xliv.
„	xxxviii.	„ xlv.
„	xxxix.	„ xlvi.
„	xl.	„ xlvii.
„	xli.	„ xlviii.
„	xlii.	„ xlix
„	xliii.	„ l.
„	xliv.	„ li. 1-31.
„	xlv.	„ li. 31, etc.
„	xlvi.	„ xxvi.
„	xlvii.	„ xxix. 1-7.
„	xlviii.	„ xxxi.
„	xlix. 1-6	„ xxx. 1-5.
„	xlix. 7-22	„ xxix. 7-22.
„	xlix. 23-27	„ xxx. 12-16.
„	xlix. 28-33	„ xxx. 6-11.
„	xlix. 34-39	„ xxv. 34-39.
„	l.	„ xxvii.
„	li.	„ xxviii.
„	lii.	„ lii.

The change in the order of these prophecies may be seen thus:—

	HEBREW.	GREEK.
Oracle against	Egypt	Elam.
„	Philistines	Egypt.
„	Moab	Babylon.
„	Ammon	Philistines.
„	Edom	Edom.
„	Damascus	Ammon.
„	Kedar	Kedar.
„	Elam	Damascus.
„	Babylon	Moab.

The arrangement in the Hebrew is better than that in the Greek. As in chap. xxv. 19, Egypt is put first and Elam last; so in the Hebrew of chaps. xlvi.–xlix. the oracle against Egypt stands at the head, and those against Elam and Babylon last. The Greek translators placed Elam at the head because that power attracted most interest at the time. In addition to this diversity, the Greek not only omits single words and sentences, but also longer pieces, as viii. 10-12; x. 6-8, 10; xvii 1-4; xxiii.

7, 8; xxix. 16-20; xxx. 10, 11; xxxiii. 14-26; xxxix. 4-13; xlviii. 40, 41; li. 45-49.

Such variations, with others of greater or less extent, existed at a very early period. They were in the oldest Latin versions; and were noticed both by Origen and Jerome. They even preceded the Greek translation.

Jerome[1] whom Grabe follows, attributes these deviations to the mistakes of transcribers. This cannot be maintained,[2] because the phenomena are not similar in the other books. Why should copyists have blundered over Jeremiah's text far more than they did over others? The hypothesis of a double recension has found favour with many critics. Thus Eichhorn holds that Jeremiah made two recensions; the first of which was in separate pieces and came into Egypt; while the second became current both in Babylon and Egypt, and was fuller than the other. The Greek translators made use of the former and incomplete copy.[3] The opinion of Michaelis was similar, only that he regarded the recension at the basis of the Greek text as more correct than the other.[4] The same hypothesis of a double recension has been held by Movers, De Wette, and Hitzig, in a form somewhat different from that proposed by Eichhorn.

According to Häverńick, Wichelhaus, Naegelsbach, Keil, and Neumann, the variations of the texts are attributable to the Greek translator, who acted in a most arbitrary way, abridging, explaining, emending, and misapprehending the original. This is an extreme view. More probable is it, that the original reading can only be got *by collating both*. And in many cases it can only be approximated; for the question admits of nothing but presumptive evidence. *A priori* considerations cannot settle it. Prepossessions in favour of the Greek or the Hebrew respectively should be laid aside. This, however, is difficult for some critics; especially those of Hengstenberg's school. Nothing but a laborious comparison of both texts, and a nice adjustment of their relative value, can elicit with probability the authentic readings in all instances. The highest critical abilites are necessary for the task.

We must first consider the probabilities of the case. The translator or translators of Jeremiah are, on the whole, equal to those of the other Old Testament books. They cannot be charged with gross ignorance, carelessness, or incapacity. Why then should so many omissions and arbitrary alterations be attributed to them? From the nature of their version generally, and the analogy of the LXX., it is unlikely that all the omis-

[1] Prœm. ad Comment. in Jerem. [2] De vitiis LXX. interpretum, p. 12.
[3] Einleitung in das a. Testam. vol. iv. p. 170 et seqq., § 540 et seqq.
[4] Ammerkungen to his translation of the Old Testament, I. p. 285.

sions and changes observable on a comparison of the Masoretic text with their version should be charged to them. Their general procedure does not warrant the accusation. Nor can the characteristic phenomena of the Greek version be set down to transcribers of it. The state of the MSS. does not admit of this. The probability is, that the Greek translators had a Hebrew text before them, substantially the same as is represented by their version. The form of it in Egypt, at the time they rendered it into another tongue, was much the same as they give it. On the other hand, the Masoretic text must have been in Palestine essentially similar to what it now is, after the canonical books had been incorporated and formed into a national collection by the later Jews. An impartial criticism accepts two early forms of the text as, on the whole, faithfully represented by the Greek version and the present Hebrew. To attribute all their differences to a translator, is to assume an unparalleled and most arbitrary license on his part. His general fidelity to the Hebrew text which he had must be maintained, till evidence to the contrary be adduced. The question rests on internal grounds. Do the variations of the Greek from the Hebrew justify the charge of so great caprice or meddling? Do they convict of a rash, amending spirit, which did not hesitate to make extensive and violent changes? We believe not. A careful examination will probably shew that the Greek is more original than the Hebrew. The additions of the latter seem not to have belonged to the primitive text at first, and are therefore absent from the Greek. This is more probable than that they were afterwards omitted.

Let us first look at the longest passages in which the Hebrew and Greek differ.

In the twenty-ninth chapter, where Jeremiah's letter to the captives in Babylon is given, verses 16-20 are wanting in the Greek. They threaten destruction to Zedekiah and those who remained in Jerusalem. It is evident that they disturb the connection in which they stand. Without them the whole reads well and continuously, the twenty-first verse belonging to the fifteenth. Hitzig argues well, that the added verses are not original, and formed no part of Jeremiah's letter.

In the thirty-third chapter the Hebrew text continues from the first to the twenty-sixth verse; but the Greek terminates with the thirteenth. Verses 14-26 are a promise in continuation of the preceding, relating to the everlasting existence of David's royal dynasty and the Levites. They consist of three strophes, viz., 14-18, 19-23, and 23-26. It is difficult to see anything in their contents which could prompt either a translator or transcriber to omit them. They are encouraging and

consolatory to the Jews; who would certainly have retained them. But they do not belong to the present connexion. The prophecy is an independent one; and must have been uttered after the fall of Jerusalem. Internal evidence shews that it is not Jeremiah's. Verses 14, 15, 16, have been taken from xxiii. 5, 6, as Hitzig points out. We suppose, therefore, that a later hand appended the passage.

In chap. xxxix. verses 4–13 are wanting in the Greek. They relate to the captivity of Zedekiah, and Nebuchadnezzar's charge to Nebuzar-adan, captain of his guard, respecting Jeremiah's treatment. They are without doubt spurious, and disturb the connection, as we have already shewn. Even Ewald admits this.

In the fifty-second chapter the Masoretic text has verses 28-30 which are not in the Greek. They contain a list of the people whom Nebuchadnezzar carried away captive; and could hardly have been omitted by the Greek translator. There is nothing corresponding in 2 Kings xxv. And the passage shews that it did not proceed from the writer of the chapter in which it stands. In the twenty-ninth verse, the author makes the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar (ver. 12) his eighteenth. Besides, the smallness of the numbers in ver. 29 is suspicious (832). The list, however, is unquestionably an old one; because of its minute details. Some later transcriber inserted it in its present place.

Not so certainly unauthentic as the preceding, yet probably later insertions in the Hebrew are the following: viii. 10*b*.-12. Besides being absent from the Greek, this passage does not agree well with its context. The words of the thirteenth verse suit the first clause of the tenth and follow it naturally: they are without a proper connection with the twelfth. Besides, the passage is a repetition of vi. 13-15, the alterations in it being for the worse. מִקְּטַן וְעַד גָּדוֹל (10) wants the suffix (comp. vi. 13); מִנָּבִיא wants the copulative before it (vi. 13); and וַיִּרְפּוּ is worse than וַיְרַפְּאוּ (vi. 14). The tenth verse also is disproportionately long. These and other particulars stated by Hitzig with his usual acuteness, shew the paragraph to be a later insertion in the Hebrew. In consequence of the incorrect punctuation of the thirteenth verse in the Masoretic text, and its improper translation in the English version, its adaptation to the first clause of the tenth is less perceptible; and its suitableness to the twelfth more plausible.

Chap. x. 6-8, 10 are omitted in the LXX., and would be better wanting. Hitzig, indeed, defends them as authentic.

The same remark applies to xvii. 1-4 which the Greek wants. Hitzig, however, supposes it authentic because it contains the

original of xv. 13, 14 which is not wanting in the LXX. We do not believe that it *is* the original of xv. 13, 14.

Again, xxvii. 19-22 are wanting in the Greek, and a few words only are found in their place. Movers appropriately remarks against the authenticity of the Hebrew, the copious loquacity savouring of the commentator, not the prophet speaking with his contemporaries about things well known. Jeremiah would not surely have informed them what vessels Nebuchadnezzar left in the temple, nor what captives he carried away to Babylon. Nor would he have repeated in the twenty-first verse the same words as in the preceding ones.

In like manner li. 44*c*.-49*a*. is absent from the Greek, and unauthentic.

Smaller additions consisting of sentences, clauses, words, or minor alterations, are on the side of the Greek.

Thus in xxv. 26*b*. "and the king of Sheshach shall drink after them" is wanting in the LXX., and is certainly unauthentic as well as unsuited to the context. It is unlikely that Jeremiah would have used the Cabbalistic Atbash.

In li. 41 the epithet Sheshach is also absent from the Greek, being of later origin than the prophet himself.

In like manner, for לֵב קָמַי the LXX. have *the Chaldeans* (li. 41). In li. 35 we have the same phrase with כַּשְׂדִּים *Chaldeans*, so that the word originally stood in li. 41, as it is in the Greek. The Atbash did not come so early into use as Jeremiah's time. It is beside the mark to quote xx. 3 for a like play on words; or the alterations in names and allusions to their signification (chap. xxii.), as Hävernick does; because they are not examples of Atbash.

In xxv. 1-14 the Greek has several departures from the Hebrew and some omissions, which are almost always better, as Hitzig has shewn.[1]

In xiii. 12 the Hebrew has the unauthentic addition אֶת הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל words not in the Greek (xiii. 12). וְלֹא יִשְׁמְעוּ אֵלֶיךָ וְקָרָאתָ אֲלֵיהֶם וְלֹא יַעֲנוּכָה (vii. 27), taken from verses 13, 26. The twenty-seventh verse is wanting in the Greek. בְּעוֹד שְׁנָתַיִם יָמִים (xxviii. 11), taken from the third verse, and omitted by the Septuagint. כִּי סָרָה דִבַּרְתָּ אֶל-יְהוָה (xxviii. 16) are a gloss which is not in the Greek. וּבְתֹפֶת יִקְבְּרוּ מֵאֵין מָקוֹם לִקְבוֹר (xix. 11), taken from vii. 32, and wanting in the Septuagint.

Additions which the Hebrew text has in one place appear in

[1] See Bleek's Einleitung, p. 491 et seqq.

the Greek in another. In xlix. 24 the Hebrew has "anguish and sorrows have taken her, as a woman in travail." This disturbs the proportion of the verse, and is wanting in the Greek. In xxiv. 10 the Hebrew has, "and to their fathers," which is wanting in the Greek, and must have been added for the sake of rhetorical fullness, taken from xxv. 5. In xxxii. 43 הַשָּׂרָה was added as a subject to the verb וְנִקְנָה by one who did not see the construction clearly.

Most of these phenomena have parallels in the Greek, but not to the same extent. Although similar cases of textual incorrectnesses appear in the latter, they are less numerous and more trifling. The proportion is very much diminished—so much so as to affect a general conclusion inconsiderably. Analogous examples are such as these:

The Greek has unauthentic additions to the Hebrew. Thus, in xviii. 20 the translator misapprehended כִּי כָרוּ שׁוּחָה לְנַפְשִׁי, and added, *ὅτι συνελάλησαν ῥήματα κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς μου, καὶ τὴν κόλασιν αὐτῶν ἔκρυψάν μοι.* Again, the Greek has shortened a text, which is fully expressed in the Hebrew, as *καὶ οἶκος Ἰούδα,* instead of וְכָל־הָעָם מְעָרֵי יְהוּדָה בִּירוּשָׁלִַם הַבָּאִים (xxxvi. 9).

In xvii. 23 the LXX. have inserted the expression *ὑπὲρ τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν,* which is incorrect.

Sometimes they tried to make the sense more apparent or easier. Thus in xxii. 5 the LXX. have *ποιήσητε* equivalent to תַּעֲשׂוּ according to the fourth verse, instead of the Hebrew תִּשְׁמְעוּ.

The Greek translator from desire of abridgment, haste, or ignorance, has sometimes deteriorated the sense. Thus, in xxxviii. 12, instead of, "he let them down by cords into the dungeon to Jeremiah," which is correct in the Hebrew, the Greek has *καὶ ἔῤῥιψεν,* omitting בַּחֲבָלִים. "He threw them into the dungeon to Jeremiah" is a very imperfect and erroneous representation of the thing. In xxvii. 8, וּבַדֶּבֶר is wrongly omitted by the translator; and עַד־תַּמִּי אֹתָם not well rendered by *ἕως ἐκλίπωσιν,* which represents rather עַד־תֻּמָּם.

One word in the Hebrew has sometimes been separated into two, and no sense elicited by that means. Thus, in xxxiii. 4, 5, הַחָרֵב בָּאִים divided between the verses, should be הַחֲרָבִים *axes* or *weapons* used in sieges (comp. Ezek. xxvi. 9). So also בִּנְיָמִין *Benjamin,* should stand for the present בְּנֵי עָם in xvii. 19. The Greek translator made two words into one in vi. 11, *τὸν θυμόν μου,* the rendering of חֲמָתִי, which is properly חֲמַת יי *the anger of Jehovah.*

Several glosses appear in both texts; the Greek furnishing no help towards their removal. lii. 19 is an example. Another appears in xxvii. 17, both Hebrew and Greek, which have different words; the latter being a mere fragment.

Both texts have ornamental additions, as *ἀποθανοῦνται* in xiv. 15; and בְּלִבִּי in xx. 9.

On the whole, the Greek text is usually briefer than the Hebrew. Words, clauses, and sentences found in the Hebrew, do not appear in it. The additions in it made to the Hebrew are comparatively few. The Hebrew either amplifies or omits.

The preference belongs to the Greek text, which is judged too unfavourably by Kueper, Hävernick, Keil, Naegelsbach, Wichelhaus, and Neumann, who stoutly maintain the Masoretic text on almost every occasion; and assign all the varieties between the two to the Greek translator and his copyists. We fully admit that examples of arbitrariness, carelessness, abridgments, omissions, and additions occur in the Greek; but the majority of those collected by Kueper, Keil, and Wichelhaus, are not real ones. Parallels are found in Hebrew, more conspicuous and numerous. There is corruption in both texts. Unless this be conceded, we cannot see that the original readings can always be discovered at the present day. The Hebrew must often be amended by the Greek; the Greek must occasionally be amended by the Hebrew. This is the task which the higher criticism has to perform—a difficult and delicate one, it is true; but not impossible. We could only wish it were soberly conducted.

Errors have been attributed to the Greek which do not properly belong to it. Thus among misapprehensions of the unpointed text Keil puts *ὑμεῖς ἐστε τὸ λῆμμα*, the rendering of אֵת־מַה מַּשָּׂא (xxiii. 33).[1] But the translator followed here another division of the words—viz., אַתֶּם הַמַּשָּׂא "ye are the burden," which we are inclined to think the true reading. It is attested by the Vulgate, and approved by Houbigant, J. D. Michaelis, and Hitzig. In like manner *ἔφυγεν ὁ Ἄπις* for נִסְחַף אַבִּירֵךְ is wrongly put in the list of passages where the unpointed text is misread; for *thy steer* means Apis, and the general meaning of the verb is given by *ἔφυγεν* though it is not an exact rendering, *thy steer is swept away* (xlvi. 15).

On the other hand, the Hebrew has been incorrectly amended by the Greek. Thus the Greek of xvii. 9 is, *Βαθεῖα ἡ καρδία παρὰ πάντα καὶ ἄνθρωπός ἐστι καὶ τίς γνώσεται αὐτόν.* Here Hitzig reads, after the Greek, עָמֹק *deep*, for עָקֹב *cunning*, and וְאָנוּשׁ הוּא for *καὶ ἄνθρωπός ἐστι.* The last two words are obviously mistrans-

[1] Einleitung, p. 532.

lated in the version. Hitzig renders "the heart is deep above all things, and he who is a feeble man cannot know it." But the Hebrew text is authentic: "the heart is crafty above everything and it is diseased; who can know it?" The English translation has exaggerated the meaning of אָנוּשׁ by rendering "desperately wicked." Did dogmatical prejudice lead to this? Ewald translates, *morose;* De Wette, *corrupt.* The latter comes nearer the meaning; which is literally *sick, diseased.* Yet there can be no question of the Hebrew being capable of emendation from the Greek, in various instances; as in xxv. 34, where כִּכְלִי is plainly wrong, and should be כִּכָרִי *like lambs.* In like manner after הִנֵּה of iv. 16 בָּאוּ should be supplied from the Greek, which is necessary to complete the sense, and is original. In xli. 9 גְּדַלְיָהוּ הוּא בְיַד seems to have arisen out of בַּר גְּדַלְיָהוּ הוּא according to the Greek. The alteration is required by the sense; for בְּיַד גְּדַלְיָהוּ cannot mean *because of* as the English renders. Neither can it signify *before, in the presence of;* nor *with,* as Ewald translates. The objections made by Wichelhaus to this emendation possess little weight.[1]

The book *has* some plan. Its parts are disposed according to a certain principle, which is neither the chronological one, nor that of subject. When Blayney asserts that it is "a preposterous jumbling together of the prophecies of the reigns of Jehoiakim and Zedekiah, in the seventeen chapters which follow the twentieth according to the Hebrew copies," he speaks too strongly.[2]

V. ARRANGEMENT OF THE PROPHECIES.—Jeremiah prophesied orally at first. In the fourth year of Jehoiakim he was divinely commanded to commit to writing all the oracles he had uttered. Accordingly he dictated them to Baruch; not always in the order in which he promulgated them from time to time, but as they occurred to his memory. This collection of Baruch's does not exist exactly in the present one, because there are later prophecies of the reign of Zedekiah in the first thirty-six chapters. It is also apparent that those after the fourth year of Zedekiah do not follow one another in regular succession. The original order was more chronological than the present; but it was not exact, and was soon disturbed.

Our induction of passages may serve to shew that the Greek recension is generally preferable to the Hebrew one. Neither is *always* correct. But in the great majority of cases the Alexandrine is preferable, because it appears authentic.

How, then, did they arise? Did they originate as two in-

[1] De Jeremiae versione Alexandrina, p. 83. [2] Notes on Jeremiah, p. 3.

dependent recensions of the text? Or, was the one an earlier and more original, the other a later, formed upon its predecessor and interpolated? If the first hypothesis were probable, it is difficult to account for the present agreement and similarity of both. Two independent collectors of the various single prophecies would have brought together two collections presenting greater diversities, especially in the arrangement of their constituent parts. It is evident, however, from the agreement of the prophecies in i.–xlv. in the order of succession, that both must have had one and the same large collection. If so, they must also have had the remaining prophecies against foreign nations; as it is difficult to conceive of a comprehensive work consisting of i.-xlv. without these also. Thus the great similarity existing between the Alexandrine and Masoretic recension renders it improbable that they originated with two collectors or editors acting independently.

The second hypothesis is more tenable. The one recension was prior to the other,—and its basis. Which was the earlier, the Masoretic or the Greek?

If, as we have seen, the Alexandrine readings be generally preferable and authentic, the priority must be assigned to the Egyptian recension. Against this conclusion, however, the present position of the oracles against foreign peoples in the LXX. is supposed to militate, because the Hebrew order is deemed better. If the latter were the original arrangement, it is difficult to see any reason why the Alexandrine redactor should not only give the oracles in question a different place, but also alter their relative positions, so as to reduce them singly to their present succession. His later stand-point would surely have led to a better arrangement, not a worse. We cannot, therefore, take the Greek text, even here, to be original. But the later Hebrew redactor, when putting the prophecies before us at the end of the collection, might very naturally desire to change their individual places. He might put at their head the two relating to Egypt, because the destruction of Pharaoh-Hophra by Nebuchadnezzar had been predicted not long before (xliv. 30).

In favour of this view, Bleek has adduced xxv. 13, which runs thus: "And I will bring upon that land all my words which I have pronounced against it, even all that is written in this book, which Jeremiah hath prophesied against all the nations." The verse is unsuitable here, because no threatening prophecies against foreign nations precede. In the LXX. the passage is, "And I will bring upon that land all my words which I spake against it, all the things that are written in this book. *What Jeremiah prophesied against the nations.*" The last clause

is meant as an inscription to the prophecies that follow, against individual nations. It is perfectly appropriate in the Greek, because succeeded by the prophecies in question. Yet there is little doubt that it was intended for the inscription of such; as in the Greek. It could hardly be meant for the single prophecy xxv. 15-38. The author of the Masoretic recension, who transferred the oracles from their present position to a later one, incorrectly joined the Hebrew words with the preceding context. In doing so, he inserted כָּל before הַגּוֹיִם; and began the fourteenth verse with the connecting כִּי which the LXX. do not express, as it was originally wanting.[1]

It is easier to discover a reason or reasons for the editor represented by the Masoretic text changing the original order of these prophecies, than for the representative of the Alexandrine text altering them.

The prophecies before us seem to have been the only part of the sacred national literature composed before the Babylonish captivity, that went down into Egypt. Most of them went thither with Jeremiah. Others were added there, and a collection of them made by Baruch. This original recension continued to circulate in Egypt; and from it the Greek translation was afterwards made. On the basis of it, another appeared in Babylon among the exiles there. This was of course somewhat longer, and less authentic than the other. The Masoretic represents the latter, which naturally came to be the Palestinian text.

The fiftieth and fifty-first chapters were written in Babylon, not having belonged to the Egyptian recension. The fifty-second chapter was probably appended after the return from Babylon to Palestine. How, then, did they get into the authentic and more original copy? In a few cases also, the Egyptian or Greek text of these chapters is preferable to the Masoretic or Palestinian. What is the cause of this? These questions occasion great difficulty to the critic, and cannot be answered satisfactorily. The Palestinian or Babylonian additions subsequently appended to Jeremiah's authentic prophecies and supposed to be his, must have found their way to Egypt as parts of the whole work, and have been incorporated there with the primitive recension. Their text was subjected to scrutiny, perhaps by Ezra and his associates, who had certainly something to do with the sacred books. After that, it went to Egypt and was adopted there as belonging to the whole collection bearing Jeremiah's name.

It is probable, that when Baruch made the collection, chaps. i.-xxiv. was the first portion. It is the most general in its con-

[1] Bleek's Einleitung, p. 496.

tents, containing reproofs of the national sins, and announcements of impending punishment. It is neither wholly chronological; nor has it been put together on an organic principle. In arranging the whole this division was placed at the beginning, because it contains the earliest oracles of Jeremiah; along with others, however, of a late date. It is easy to see why the twenty-first chapter was attached to the twentieth; the name Pashur standing at the head of both. The twenty-second chapter commences with the same subject as that with which the twenty-first closes; while the twenty-third is closely connected with the twenty-second in the nature of its prophecies. The twenty-fourth chapter belongs to the same historical time as its predecessor. This earliest collection was prefixed to all the rest. The compiler placed xxvi.–xxxviii. next in order, influenced perhaps by peculiar views.

We must suppose that Baruch was naturally influenced by the opinion of the prophet in his arrangement. He was the final editor of the authentic prophecies; but probably Ezra and his associates gave its *final* form to the whole book as it now appears in Hebrew;—the recension itself having been previously constituted on the basis of the Egyptian one, at Babylon and in Palestine.

As there is no external evidence respecting the manner in which the whole book was made up, very various hypotheses have been framed respecting its gradual growth and arrangement. Almost every critic has his own theory. But we may safely omit an enumeration of them. Vitringa, Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Movers, Hitzig, Hävernick, Ewald, Stähelin, Bunsen, Schmieder, Naegelsbach, and Bleek, have constructed plans of the work, more or less artificial. Some of them attach too much to the chronological, others to the subject-matter, principle. Those of Ewald, Hävernick, and Bunsen, are substantially alike. We forbear to add another to their number; though an indication of ours has been attempted.

No chronological table can be more than an approach to the truth. The following is as near as we are able to make it:

UNDER JOSIAH.	JEHOIACHIN.	JEHOIAKIM.	ZEDEKIAH.	AFTER JEREMIAH.
Chap. i.	xi.	vii.	xvii. 19–xx.	l.
„ ii. 1–iii. 5.	xii.	viii.	xxi.	li.
„ iii. 6–vi. 30	xiii.	ix.	xxii.	lii.
		x.	xxiii.	
		xiv.	xxiv.	
		xv.	xxvii.	
		xvi.	xxviii.	

JEHOIAKIM.	ZEDEKIAH.
xvii. 1–18.	xxix.
xxv.	xxx.
xxvi.	xxxi.
xxxv.	xxxii.
xxxvi.	xxxiii.
xlv.	xxxiv.
xlvi.	xxxvii.
xlvii.	xxxviii.
xlviii.	xxxix.
xlix.	xl.
	xli.
	xlii.
	xliii.
	xliv.

The differences between critics are greatest in determining the dates of the chapters after the twentieth and onward till the thirty-seventh. Respecting the first twelve there is least diversity of view. The circumstances that determine them when they are not given, or that shews the inscriptions to be incorrect, are not always palpable or plain; but we must take such data as exist, and judge of them as exactly as we can. Unfortunately there has been too much tendency in certain critics to subjectivity, in the absence of external evidence.

The notices of time in the inscriptions sometimes proceeded from Jeremiah, sometimes not. Another hand, or rather several, appear from the occasional erroneousness of them. The following list of all the times given in the book will help to shew the unchronological arrangement to the reader:

UNDER JEHOIAKIM Are placed.	UNDER ZEDEKIAH Are placed.
Chap. xxv. in the fourth year.	Chap. xxi. without a year.
„ xxvi. in the beginning.	„ xxiv. in the beginning.
„ xxxv. without a year.	„ xxvii. in the beginning.
„ xxxvi. in the fourth year.	„ xxviii. in the fourth year.
„ xlv. in the fourth year.	„ xxix. without a year.
	„ xxxii. in the tenth year.
	„ xxxiii. in the tenth year.
	„ xxxiv. without a year.
	„ xxxvii. without a year.
	„ xxxviii. without a year.
	„ xlix. 34, in the beginning.
	„ l.–li. in the fourth year.

VI. STYLE AND MANNER OF WRITING.—The style of Jeremiah is such as might have been expected from the character of his

mind, which was not of original force or great comprehension. It was deficient in the ability to body forth sublime thoughts in sustained grandeur. It could not soar high for a long time, nor present ideas with corresponding energy and vigour. The prophet, indeed, had occasional flights. Sometimes the thoughts are elevated and independent, as in iii. 16; vii. 22, etc.; xxxi. 31, etc. The mode of writing is fresh, lively, and tolerably vigorous in chaps. ii.–vi., xxx., xxxi., xxxii., and xlvi.–xlix; while chaps. viii.-xxix., with a few exceptions, are much inferior. What he wrote immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem, though not the best in point of originality and power, is superior to such prophecies as are in xxxvii-xliv. Perhaps youth and age had to do with the freshness or force of his utterances. His usual method is diffuse, imitative, soft, weak, full of repetitions and of standing phrases. The rhythm is not strongly marked; and the succession of ideas is loose. From the second to the sixth chapters we have the most favorable specimen of his manner and style; there the tone is firmer and more animated: the style attains to a kind of rhythm, after which it strives in vain in many other parts. In threatenings, the tone is usually higher; in admonitions, it sinks down almost to the level of prose. As far as we can judge, the spirit of the times he lived in, the desolations of his country, and the ill-treatment he received, operated unfavourably on his mental idiosyncrasy, and deteriorated his compositions. He is mournful, soft, pathetic; his tones are full of feeling, subdued, sorrowful, low-pitched. Hence, though capable of elevation and sublimity, his flights are short and few. Grief had bowed his soul to the ground, and affected the language of the inspired muse. Prophecy, too, had begun to wane. Its lamp was already flickering: the brightness of its flame had almost expended itself.

Jerome remarked long ago a certain rusticity in the expression: "Jeremias propheta sermone quidem apud Hebræos Isaia, Osee, et quibusdam aliis prophetis videtur esse rusticior." This is correct; but when he continues to say, "simplicitas eloquii a loco eo, in quo natus est accidit, fuit enim Anathotites," he is less reliable. The plainness of the prophet's language did not arise from the place of his nativity, but the age he belonged to. Lowth, apparently misunderstanding Jerome's language, tells us that he could not discover a trace of rusticity.[1] The diction is degenerate and Chaldaising, of which it is needless to heap up examples, because they are apparent to all.

The accomplished bishop judges rather favourably when affirming that the last six chapters of Jeremiah approach very

[1] Lectures on Hebrew Poetry. Lec. xxi.

near the sublimity of Isaiah. This is by no means true of l., li., which are much inferior to xlvi.-xlix. Indeed it is hardly applicable to the latter, though they are among the best specimens of Jeremiah. In repeating Lowth, Henderson is still more incorrect, "there are portions of the book which little, *if at all*, fall short of the compositions of Isaiah."[1] More than half the work is poetical, the rest is history. The symbolising of the prophet is of an inferior order (i. 4-19; xxiv.) Nor are the symbolical actions, most of which are purely allegorical and imaginary, skilfully contrived, except in xxxii., xxxv. It is hardly necessary to shew that they describe nothing in the outward history of Jeremiah's life. Few attempt to explain them literally (see xiii., xviii., xix., 1-13; xxvii.).

In the course of our observations it has been stated that the book presents various reminiscences and reproductions of Isaiah's, and occasionally of Micah's, Obadiah's, and others' prophecies. These have been industriously collected by Kueper; but his list greatly needs sifting.[2] Jeremiah's use of Deuteronomy is more marked. That book had been recently found by Hilkiah, and exerted much influence on his modes of thought. His acquaintance with Deuteronomy is chiefly conspicuous in chaps. xxviii.-xxx. Comp. Deut. xxviii. 47, 48, with xxviii. 8; Deut. xviii. 22, with xxviii. 9; Deut. xiii. 1-6, with xxviii. 16; Deut. xiii. 10, with xxix. 23; Deut. xiii. 17, with xxx. 18. Both the words and ideas of Deut. xxviii. 50-53, 58; xxix. 23-28; xxx. 1, 3, 4, 5, are found again in Jeremiah. His reminiscences of the first four Mosaic books are less striking, and not so numerous as they appear in Philippson's list.[3]

We need only *refer* to Hitzig's conjectural criticism, which attributes to Jeremiah's authorship Ps. v., vi., xiv., xxii.-xli., lii.-lv., lxix-lxxi., too long a list certainly, for which the evidence is very precarious in some instances; in others, slightly probable. For example, the style of the twenty-second is not Jeremiah's, nor is the internal evidence very appropriate; but the thirty-first may have proceeded from the prophet, as Roediger supposes.[4]

VII. MESSIANIC PASSAGES.—The book of Jeremiah has various Messianic prophecies, such as xxiii. 5-6: "Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous branch, and a king shall reign and prosper, and shall execute judgment and justice in the earth. In his days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely; and this is his name

[1] The book of the prophet Jeremiah, introductory dissertation. p. 10.
[2] Jeremias librorum sacrorum, etc., p. 60, et seqq.
[3] Die Israelitische Bibel, Zweyter Theil, p. 1138.
[4] See article Jeremias in Ersch and Gruber, Zweyte Section, 15th Theil, p. 256.

whereby he shall be called, The Lord our Righteousness." Here the Messiah is the righteous branch of David, so that the renewed and sanctified people under him receive the new name *Jehovah is our righteousness,* i.e., *we have become righteous in Jehovah alone.* Hitzig renders the words differently, viz., *this is the name that they assign to him,* "Jehovah is our righteousness," *i.e.*, he creates or procures it. In the one case the suffix of the verb יִקְרְאוּ is referred to Israel; in the other to the king who is promised. In both the verb is taken impersonally. We prefer the translation according to which the suffix relates to Israel, because a better sense is elicited. There is not, however, any essential difference between them. Instead of the usual punctuation, several testimonies have יִקְרָאוּ *they shall call,* The Masoretic pointing is supported by the Septuagint, and is undoubtedly correct, as Hengstenberg has shewn.[1] Various other renderings have been proposed, which the Hebrew rejects, as that of Blayney: "And this is the name by which the Lord shall call him, our righteousness." The Septuagint version is similar, *καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ὃ καλέσει αὐτὸν κύριος, Ἰωσεδέκ,* "And this is his name which the Lord shall call him, *Josedek,*" *i.e.*, Lord of righteousness. Here the *κύριος* has no corresponding word in the original, but is supplied by the translator.

The passage is often appealed to as presenting "an unanswerable argument for the divinity of Jesus," though it furnishes none. The Messiah is never called *Jehovah* in the Old Testament. He is not styled so here according to either of the two admissible versions, which coincide in the rendering *Jehovah is our righteousness.* The two Hebrew words יְהוָה צִדְקֵנוּ are not a compound epithet or appellative, but the subject and predicate respectively of a proposition. The mode in which the name Jehovah is taken here is the same as in the expression given to an altar יְהוָה נִסִּי (Exodus xvii. 15), *Jehovah my banner;* יְהוָה שָׁלוֹם, the name given to an altar by Gideon (Judges vi. 24).

After these remarks, we need not enumerate Holden's six reasons for the common version, "this is his name whereby he shall be called, the Lord our righteousness." One of them need only be mentioned to shew its erroneousness: "It was the constant interpretation of the Jews, who attribute the name Jehovah to Messiah from this particular passage."[2] The reverse is the fact.

Cognate to the passage we have just considered is that in xxxiii. 15, 16: "In those days and at that time will I cause

[1] Christology, vol. ii. pp. 416, 417, English translation.
[2] The Scripture Testimonies to the Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, p. 218.

the branch of righteousness to grow up unto David [from David]; and he shall execute judgment and righteousness in the land. In those days shall Judah be saved, and Jerusalem shall dwell safely; and this is the name wherewith she shall be called; the Lord our righteousness."

Here the name "Jehovah is our righteousness" is given to Jerusalem, that is to the new and better theocracy, not to the Messiah, which confirms our interpretation of xxiii. 5, 6, where the appellation refers to Israel.

This place, like its parallel, has had false constructions put upon it. Bishop Pearson says, the simplest interpretation of the words is, *iste qui vocabit eam, i.e.*, he that calleth Jerusalem is the Lord our righteousness, viz., Christ.[1] The original will not bear this sense. Holden proposes, "This is the name whereby he shall be called, the Lord our righteousness."[2] Here the punctuation of יְהוָה is wrongly changed. The true sense is that which we have given. Hitzig, of course, adopts it; though in the parallel place he follows an interpretation which does not harmonise with it. *There* the version he gives is admissible; *here* there is no place for diversity of opinion. Even Neumann admits that the epithet is here given to Jerusalem, not to the future king.

Jer. xxxi. 22, "The Lord hath created a new thing in the earth, a woman shall compass a man." "The first clause," says Holden, "implies that the thing mentioned in the latter was to be *new* or *uncommon*, and that it was to be the *Lord's doing* or *work*, both of which characters are very applicable to our Lord's miraculous conception, and to no other event to which the prophecy has been supposed to relate."[3] Strange to say, this interpretation is not uncommon among a certain class of writers, who possess abounding zeal, without a knowledge of Hebrew. It is quite inadmissible for many reasons, and would be contrary to the context as well as to all analogy.

The principal views are the following:—

First. Schnurrer translates "femina tuebitur virum; omnia erunt tutissima," *a woman will protect a man*, instead of the reverse, which is usual. This is the view of Gesenius and many others. We doubt, however, whether the idea of universal security would be so expressed, or be introduced with such emphasis.

Secondly. Ewald translates, "a woman shall turn herself into the man," meaning that God strengthens the weak, as if a woman were metamorphosed into a man. This requires the

[1] On the Creed, vol. ii. p. 170.
[2] The Scripture Testimonies, etc., p. 216.
[3] Ibid., p. 398.

change of a vowel in the word תְּסוֹבֵב, so that it becomes תְּסֹובֵב. It is disingenuous in Hengstenberg to call it a "change in the reading."

Thirdly. Hitzig renders, "the woman will look for the man," *i.e.*, inquire after and seek for him. This is the opposite of what takes place usually. The woman is here the Jewish church; the man or husband, Jehovah, from whom she had apostatised.

Fourthly. Blayney translates, "A woman shall put to the rout a strong man." A fatal objection to this is that the verb never signifies to defeat or put to the rout.

It is difficult to decide between the second and third opinions, chiefly because the context is obscure. We are inclined to adopt the former as best suited to the connection. "Why dost thou withdraw thyself, thou backsliding daughter." Why art thou so timid and fearful in thy long captivity? "Surely Jehovah creates a new thing in the earth, the woman is changed into the man." She becomes strong, bold, firm. Jehovah transforms her nature. Israel becomes a very different church, and turns to God with full purpose of heart. Such seems to us the sense of the place. That the man is "the Lord," as Hengstenberg supposes, is inadmissible.

Fifthly. Parisius, whom Dathe follows, renders, "women shall dance with joy together with men," intimating that choirs of women should dance with men in the public solemnities. This is exceedingly improbable. Nor is there any warrant for applying the verb to *dancing* or *exulting*.

On this passage much has been written by older critics and theologians, as may be seen from the list which Neumann[1] gives.

Another Messianic passage is in xxx. 21, 22: "And their prince shall be of themselves, and their ruler shall proceed from the midst of them: and I will cause him to approach, and he shall come near to me. For who is he that would pledge his life to draw near to me, saith Jehovah?" Such is a correct translation of the words, which are erroneously rendered in the English version. The suffix should not be referred to *the people*, as the Septuagint and English version have it; but with the Syriac, to *the ruler*. The passage alludes to the more intimate connection that should subsist between Jehovah and his anointed one in the ideal theocracy which formed the summit of prophetic aspiration and spiritual hope. It states that a native king should rule over the people, who would approach the inmost sanctuary with impunity, and be favoured with the closest divine communion. No foreign prince should have that privilege; nor dare, except

[1] Vol. ii. pp. 219, 220, note.

at the cost of his life, to boast of his intimacy with Jehovah. There is no doubt that the passage applies to Messiah, not to John Hyrcanus, as some hold. And there is also no doubt of the unexegetical procedure of theologians, who believe that the passage exhibits the character and work of a Mediator. They put their New Testament theology into it who offer this explanation: "The greatest of all the princes that have sprung out of Israel, and to whom especially this passage has respect, is our adorable King and Lord Jesus Christ. He it is who with entire heart has drawn near to God. He, as the eternal high priest, hath entered into the most holy place, the presence of God, to make reconciliation for both Gentiles and Jews. He hath perfectly assured us of the favour of the Most High. Through faith in Him we become children of God; and the great promise is fulfilled to us: 'Ye shall be my people, and I will be your God.'" Who can believe that Jeremiah, or any Jew of the old dispensation, ever dreamt of the Messiah in this light?

Other Messianic places are, iii. 14-18; xii. 14-17; xxiii. 3-8. Generally speaking, xxx., xxxi., xxxiii., with xxxii. 37-44, relate to the Messianic period.[1]

VIII. QUOTATIONS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.—A few quotations from Jeremiah occur in the New Testament, viz.:—

Chap. vii. 11	Matt. xxi. 13; Mark xi. 17; Luke xix. 46.
„ ix. 24	1 Cor. i. 31.
„ xxxviii. 15 ...	Matt. ii. 18.
„ xxxviii. 31, etc.	Heb. viii. 8, etc.
„ xxxviii. 33, 34	Heb. x. 16, 17.

In Matt. xxvii. 29 there is also said to be a citation from Jeremiah; but no corresponding passage is found in the prophet. The evangelist, or his translator, was led astray by Jer. xviii. 1, etc., and has given a quotation from Zech. xi. 12, 13, neither literal nor exact.

[1] Bleek, Einleit., p. 501.

THE LAMENTATIONS OF JEREMIAH.

I. NAME AND SUBJECT.—The Hebrew name of these elegies is אֵיכָה *how*, which is the first word, according to a Jewish custom of taking the title from the initial term. They were also called קִינוֹת from their contents. The LXX. translated the latter θρῆνοι, which the Vulgate renders, *Lamentationes*.

We read in 2 Chron. xxxv. 25, "And Jeremiah lamented for Josiah: and all the singing men and the singing women spoke of Josiah in their lamentations to this day, and made them an ordinance in Israel; and behold, they are written in the Lamentations." De Wette supposes that this literary notice of the Chronicle-writer implies a belief on the part of the author that the Lamentations of Jeremiah were sung on the occasion referred to.[1] This is very improbable. The historian would scarcely have made such a mistake. The lamentations of the singing men and women may have belonged to a collection of elegies or mourning odes for the dead, which were used at the funeral solemnities of different kings. Or the lamentations chanted upon Josiah's death may have been then composed for the first time. Though it is not said that Jeremiah himself wrote, or that he caused others to write, it seems most probable that he *did* compose lamentations on the occasion of Josiah's death, which were not taken into the canon and are therefore lost. At the time of the Chronist there was a collection of elegies, the composition of different poets, containing several composed by Jeremiah on the death of Josiah, but not identical with the present canonical book. Yet the passage in 2 Chron. has given rise to the belief that the Lamentations we now have were really composed by the prophet on the occasion of Josiah's death. Jerome and Ussher held this opinion; Josephus is doubtful.[2] All that the Jewish historian says is, that Jeremiah composed an elegy upon Josiah, which is extant *till this time*. The poem was extant in the days of Josephus. Is it now lost? Or does he mean the

[1] Einleitung, § 272, p. 408.

[2] Antiqq. x. 5.

present Lamentations? Had the elegy or elegies existed in the time of the historian, it is not likely they would have been lost now. If they were in the canon then, nothing has been dropped out of it since. Hence we believe that Josephus *did* mean to say that the Lamentations were written by the prophet on the occasion of Josiah's death, though Thenius takes a different view.[1] That the hypothesis is baseless is certain, because the whole strain of the book contradicts it. The destruction of the holy city and temple, the overthrow of the state by the Chaldeans, had already taken place, and the prophet deplores the national calamities.

II. CONTENTS.—In the first elegy, the prophet begins with lamenting the sad reverse of fortune which had befallen his country, admitting, however, that all her disasters were the just consequence of national apostacy. Jerusalem herself is introduced to continue the complaint and solicit the divine compassion.

The second describes the dire effects of the divine anger in the subversion of the civil and religious constitution of the Jews. The author represents the wretchedness of his country as unparalleled, accusing the false prophets of having contributed to her ruin by wrong messages. Jerusalem is entreated to cry to God with deep repentance, for the removal of His heavy judgments.

The third elegy describes the writer's own sufferings, and sets forth the inexhaustible mercies of God as the source of hope, exhorting his fellow countrymen to patience and resignation under the divine chastisements. He asserts God's justice, and maintains that none has a right to complain when he is punished according to his deserts. Finally, he prays for deliverance, and vengeance on his country's enemies.

In the fourth elegy the prophet contrasts the present wretched condition of the nation with its former prosperity, ascribing the change chiefly to the profligacy of its priests and prophets. The people confess their sins. Their enemies the Edomites are threatened with coming judgments, and Zion is comforted with the hope of a time when her calamities should cease.

The fifth elegy is in the form of a prayer, in which the people deplore the loss of their country and the miseries under which they groan, supplicating Jehovah to pity their wretchedness, and restore them to His favour.

III. CONNECTION OF THE ELEGIES WITH ONE ANOTHER.—What is the connection between these poems? Are they arranged after a definite plan, or does each stand independent? Of the older critics, Eichhorn considered them isolated productions

[1] Die Klaglieder erklärt, Vorbemerkungen, § 2, p. 116.

composed by Jeremiah at different times, and asserts that the compiler endeavoured to bring connection into them by putting them together.[1] Bertholdt supposes that they are isolated parts of one poem, which do not stand in verbal connection with one another, but are bound together into a whole merely by one leading subject.[2] More recent scholars have endeavoured to shew that they form in themselves a connected whole. De Wette, Ewald, and Keil have tried to point out the nature of the connection. Thus Ewald says, that in the first two we find sorrow without consolation; in the third, consolation for the poet himself; in the fourth the lamentation is renewed with greater violence; but soon the whole people, as if urged by their own spontaneous impulse, fall to weeping and hoping.[3] Keil asserts that the first shews sorrow on account of the catastrophe of Jerusalem's capture; that the second describes the destruction of the city and temple; that in the third, the spiritual sufferings of the pious are laid before the people as an admonition to repentance and a ground of hope; that in the fourth, the divine justice in punishing is unfolded; and that the fifth implores the restoration of former favour.[4] No close relation is here pointed out between the elegies. They were not composed on one definite plan. All that can be plainly perceived is, that the last contains the heaviest lamentation; and that the third, which is more personal than the rest, stands between such as are of general import. Hence we agree more with Eichhorn, Bertholdt, and Thenius, than with Ewald and Keil. Each elegy is complete in itself. The leading idea of all is nearly the same. Bishop Lowth's description is sufficiently accurate: "the whole bears rather the appearance of an accumulation of corresponding sentiments than an accurate and connected series of different ideas arranged in the form of a regular treatise."[5]

IV. THE TIMES OF THEIR COMPOSITION.—Horrer, Jahn, and Rosenmüller suppose that in the first elegy the prophet deplores the conquest of Jerusalem in the time of Jehoiachin, when that monarch and ten thousand of the leading Jews were carried to Babylon (2 Kings xxiv. 12, etc.) Internal evidence disagrees with this date (i. 3). The sanctuary had been profaned by the heathen (i. 10), the feasts were not kept (i. 4), and famine prevailed (i. 11). We reject the hypothesis of Pareau, that it was composed after the siege, which had been raised for a time, recommenced (Jer. xxxvii. 5);[6] with that of Ber-

[1] Einleitung in das alte Testament, v. p. 245. [2] Einleitung, vol. v. p. 2323.
[3] Die poetischen Bücher des alt. B., p. 145, et seqq., Theil 1.
[4] Einleitung, p. 377, 2nd edition.
[5] Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, translated by Gregory, and edited by Stowe, p. 189.
[6] Threni Jerem. philologice et critice illustrati, p. 50.

tholdt and Eichhorn, who refer it to the grave- or death-like silence prevailing about Jerusalem; and that of Thenius, who supposes it to have been written by some one of those left in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem at the second carrying away and before the third (2 Kings xxv. 11; Jer. xxxix. 10, xl. 1, lii. 29).[1] The latter is opposed to the evidence of the elegy itself, various portions of which imply that the temple and city were still standing, though they had suffered great damage (i. 4, 16. 18, 19).

The second elegy is supposed by Pareau, Jahn, and Welte, to refer to the destruction of the city and temple; while Thenius conjectures that it was written during Jeremiah's abode at Mizpah, before he had received a revelation (verse 9). As far as we can judge from the contents, the city and temple were in the same state as they were when the first was written.

The third elegy agrees well with the time immediately after the prophet had been delivered from the pit, as described in the thirty-eighth chapter of his book. He speaks of his own treatment and sufferings. So Pareau, whose opinion is preferable here to that of Thenius.

The fourth is supposed by Thenius to have been written in Egypt.[2] This is more than doubtful. Pareau thinks it was composed after the Chaldeans had broken into the city, and Zedekiah was taken prisoner. The situation depicted does not appear to be different from that of the preceding ones. We see no evidence for fixing upon any other time.

According to Pareau and Jahn, the fifth was composed after the destruction of the city. This is correct. It was subsequent to the rest. Thenius assumes that it was composed on the journey to Egypt, referring for confirmation to Jer. xl. 7, 11; xli. 15.

In the absence of evidence, we find it an almost hopeless task to separate and define the particular circumstances which each elegy supposes. The sameness prohibits the settlement of their respective *times*, if that phrase be applicable at all. Slight presumptions alone can be adduced for assigning the elegies to particular junctures in the history of the city, either during Jeremiah's abode in it, or after he left it. They must have been written soon after one another, but not all at the same place. On the one hand, it may be thought unlikely that they were composed during the siege, storming, and taking of the city; because amid the horrors of such scenes they could scarcely have been calmly written in an artificial form. On the other, it may be said that they suit a spectator of the desolations described—one who wrote amid the ruin of his country—because

[1] Die Klaglieder erklärt, p. 126.

[2] Die Klaglieder erklärt, pp. 163, 164.

the picture is vivid. The fifth implies that a considerable time had elapsed since the destruction of the city; for we read in the eighteenth verse, "Because of the mountain of Zion, which is desolate, the foxes walk upon it." If this be not a poetical hyperbole, we see that mount Zion had been deserted for some time, so that foxes prowled about the ruins. The elegy in question was probably penned in Egypt.

Riegler is inclined to place most of the melancholy scenes depicted in these elegies, in the short period between the conquest and destruction of the city. In Jer. lii. 6, it is related that the enemies broke into the city on the ninth day of the fourth month, and plundered it; but that on the tenth day of the fifth month Nebuzaradan came to Jerusalem and destroyed it. To this space of a month the elegies chiefly refer.[1] This view is adopted and maintained by Bleek,[2] who thinks that none of the elegies, not even the fifth, presupposes *the destruction* of the city and temple. Surely the learned critic overlooked the eighteenth verse of the fifth, which clearly implies that the temple had been burnt by the enemy. Sufficient allowance has not been made for the fact that the prophet may have thrown himself back into past scenes, and depicted the present and past together. This was often done. The scenes described may have been past when he wrote, recalling them. There is therefore no formidable argument in the way of our concluding that they were all composed in Egypt. Yet we hesitate to believe so of any except the last. Jeremiah, who was in the city before Zedekiah was carried away, probably wrote the first four in the brief interval indicated by Riegler. The conjecture of Tomline,[3] that Jeremiah prophetically paints the still greater miseries his country was to suffer at some future time, is without foundation. The twenty-second verse of the fourth chapter does not warrant it, as he incorrectly supposes.

V. FORM.—The first, second, third, and fourth are arranged alphabetically. The first, second, and fourth make each verse begin with a letter of the alphabet; verse 1 with א, verse 2 with ב, etc. The third elegy makes every three verses begin with the successive letters of the alphabet. Hence it contains sixty-six verses; while the first, second, and fourth have twenty-two verses each. In the second, third, and fourth, פ precedes ע; in the first all is regular. This transposition of letters cannot be explained by the hypothesis of later alterations; it must be reckoned original. In i., ii., iii., every verse is a triplet, with

[1] Die Klagelieder des Propheten Jeremias metrisch uebersetzt, Einleitung, p. 4.
[2] Einleitung, p. 503.
[3] Elements of Christian Theology, vol. i., pp. 112, 113.

two exceptions, i. 7, ii. 19. In iv. and v. there are only couplets, the verses consisting of two statements, except iv. 15.

VI. AUTHORSHIP.—These elegies have been generally attributed to Jeremiah as their author. Tradition names him as the writer, as is seen from the LXX., the Targum, Talmud, and Jerome. At the beginning of the Greek translation the following sentence occurs: "And it came to pass after Israel was taken captive and Jerusalem made desolate that Jeremias sat weeping, and lamented with this lamentation over Jerusalem, and said." This sentence has been copied into the Vulgate and Arabic versions. Did the verse exist in the Hebrew copies from which the Greek was taken? Thenius thinks, from the tenor of the words, that they were derived from the Hebrew. Why then did the editors of the Hebrew text not receive the verse as it was in the MSS. of the Lamentations? The critic answers that they were in doubt whether Jeremiah composed the first elegy. This is improbable. Jerome seems to have looked upon the verse as spurious: at least, he did not admit it into his version.

Most modern critics believe that the contents, spirit, tone, and language are in harmony with the old tradition respecting authorship. Such is the judgment of Eichhorn, Bertholdt, De Wette, Jahn, Keil, Welte, Bleek, and others. Thenius objects, mentioning the improbability of Jeremiah treating the same subject five times. The poems, as he thinks, present a perceptible difference. Even ordinary æsthetic feeling may perceive a distinction between the second and fourth compared with the first and third. The two former are pronounced truly excellent, freely moving, well arranged, and naturally progressing odes; the latter, much weaker, struggling with the form, artificially elaborated, accumulating images here and there running into one another and issuing in reminiscences, though in other respects they are excellent, and their contents entirely suitable. Hence the critic asserts that he who wrote ii. and iv. did not write iii. 1-20, since it is impossible that passages like the latter could have proceeded from Jeremiah, who preserves measure and moderation even in the most animated parts of his prophecies, and no where lays himself open to the charge of springing from one image to another, as is the case here. He adds that i., iii., v. were written in relations which do not apply to Jeremiah, as appears from i. 9*c*., 11*c*.; iii. 34, etc.; v. 4, 5, 9, 10; and that various passages in them refer to the writer's peculiar condition, and to a time subsequent to Jerusalem's destruction by several years (comp. i. 1, 3; iii. 25, etc., 34, etc., 58, etc.; v. 18). Finally, the critic declares it impossible to explain the fact satisfactorily that in ii.-iv. the verses beginning

with פ precede ע; while the usual alphabetical order appears in i. Hence Thenius infers that all the elegies did not proceed from Jeremiah. The second and fourth belong to him; whereas the first was written by a poet who was left behind in Palestine, some time after the destruction of Jerusalem. The fifth was composed by one acquainted with the second; the third was written by another. The analogies between i., iii., and v. are accounted for by the fact that their authors were contemporary with Jeremiah, and probably fellow-citizens, who had heard the prophet, and perhaps possessed some of his utterances in writing.[1]

These grounds are insufficient to justify the conclusion derived from them. The great stumbling-block seems to be iii. 1-20, where the manner of expression differs from the usual method of Jeremiah. It must be admitted that the images follow one another in quick succession, and are unlike the passages in which Jeremiah complains of his fate (xv. 10, 15-18; xviii. 19, etc.; xx. 7-18). Yet the difference of circumstances will go far to account for the diversity. Here the prophet speaks not only in his own name but in that of the believing Israelites. Wishing to give a condensed view of the miseries which had befallen his countrymen, he accumulates images in rapid succession for that purpose. His style was not always uniform, weak, diffuse, verbose. The sixth chapter shews that it is sometimes characterised by strength and variety of imagery. When the latter part of that chapter, especially verses 24-30, is compared with iii. 1-20, there is a probability that the latter proceeded from the prophet himself. To say that he could not have written them is to limit the range of his powers.

We do not believe that i. and iii. were written in relations that do not suit Jeremiah. What is there in i. 9*c*. or 11*c*. which is not applicable to the prophet? Or in iii. 34 and following verses?

It is not necessary to suppose that i. iii. must have been composed some years after the destruction of Jerusalem. The passages which Thenius adduces in i. and iii. do not support the conclusion. In fact, the destruction of Jerusalem is not implied in any of these elegies. All refer to the time immediately preceding the final catastrophe—*i.e.*, before the tenth day of the fifth month of the eleventh year of Zedekiah.

Little importance can be attached to the difference between the alphabetical order in ii.-iv. and i. We account for it on the principle that the prophet did not bind himself to one artificial method. Weary of the trammels, or for the sake of variety,

[1] Die Klaglieder erklärt, Vorbemerkungen, p. 120.

he introduced diversity. Why should not the poet be allowed some freedom? There is no proof that the order of the letters ב and ע fluctuated in the time of Jeremiah; and that the author of i. followed the new order, Jeremiah the old. But the absence of all alphabetical order in v. cannot be so easily disposed of. Bertholdt refers the change in the fifth to *forgetfulness* on the part of Jeremiah; Ewald to *accident*. These are not satisfactory hypotheses. Different authorship must be called in to help the explanation.

The present position of the Lamentations among the Hagiographa has no proper bearing on the question of authorship, though it has been sometimes used for that purpose. The Masoretes and Talmudists, it is said, separated them from the prophecies of Jeremiah, and put them among the Megilloth. If this was done, it had no relation to authorship. The object of it was to bring up the number of the sacred books to twenty-four. Jerome says that Jeremiah and the Lamentations were counted one book. The LXX., followed by the Vulgate, place the two together. In various printed editions superintended by Christians, they occupy the same position. It is doubtful which was the original order—after Jeremiah, or among the Hagiographa; though Henderson asserts that "there can be little doubt that originally they immediately followed or formed the concluding part of the book of that prophet."[1] They and the book of Jeremiah were reckoned one, to bring out twenty-two, the number of the whole, corresponding to that of the letters in the alphabet. Keil explains their position among the Hagiographa by their subjectively liturgical character. How are they *subjectively* liturgical?[2]

It is a comparatively modern view among the Jews that the book was not written by means of the gift of prophecy, but by the Spirit of God; and therefore it was not classed among the prophets. This distinction is a gratuitous one, contradicting the testimony of Jewish tradition, which assigns the authorship to Jeremiah. We incline to adopt the opinion of those who believe that the book was originally appended to that of Jeremiah's prophecies. If this be correct, it was separated and put among the Hagiographa to make up the number twenty-four; not transplanted from the Hagiographa to the end of Jeremiah, to be numbered with it as one book, and so to bring out twenty-two books in all.

Thenius was not the first who supposed more authors than one for the Lamentations. Conz[3] had already inferred the same from the difference of tone in them; and Kalkar from the fifth

[1] The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, etc., p. 275.
[2] In Hävernick's Einleit., vol. iii., p. 618.
[3] In Bengel's Archiv. iv.

not being alphabetical. The fifth certainly wants the polish and elaboration of the others, from whatever cause the deficiency arose. It may be, as Keil thinks, that it takes the form of a prayer, where reflectiveness embodied in artificial dress has no proper place. The style is inferior to that of the others, though it was written after the destruction of Jerusalem, probably in Egypt. In consequence of this, and its want of alphabetical order, we are unable to assign it to the same writer as the preceding four. One of Jeremiah's disciples may have composed it. Ewald assigns the composition of all the Lamentations to some of Jeremiah's disciples, who composed the book in Egypt.[1] Bunsen thinks that Baruch wrote them.[2]

We believe that the same author appears in the first four, and that he is none other than Jeremiah himself. Everything agrees with the prophet—spirit, manner, and language. He is an eye-witness who had suffered severely with others. The dispersion of the people, with the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, are said to arise from the iniquities of the covenant people. Comp. i. 5, 8, 14, 22; iii. 39, 42; iv. 6, 22; v. 16, with Jer. xiii. 22, 26; xiv. 7; xvi. 10, etc.; xvii. 1, etc. Their sinful trust in false prophets and profligate priests; their vain hopes of security in Jerusalem; their relying on the help of feeble and faithless allies, are characteristic of the prophet.

In like manner the diction is similar. Negligence of style, monotony, repetition of ideas and images, appear here as in Jeremiah's authentic prophecies. Characteristic words and turns of expression present themselves in great number, as is shewn by the frequently recurring שֶׁבֶר and שֶׁבֶר בַּת עַמִּי ii. 11, 13; iii. 47, 48; iv. 10, compared with Jer. iv. 6, 20; vi. 1, 14; viii. 11, 21; xiv. 17; xxx. 12, etc.; יָרַד דִּמְעָה or מַיִם i. 16, compared with Jer. ix. 17; xiii. 17; xiv. 17; בְּתוּלֹת בַּת followed by יְהוּדָה, צִיּוֹן, or מִצְרַיִם i. 15, ii. 13, compared with Jer. xiv. 17; xlvi. 11; מָגוֹר ii. 22, compared with Jer. xiv. 17; xlvi. 11; זוֹלֵל i. 11, compared with Jer. xv. 19. A few peculiar words are נִשְׁקָר i. 14; שְׁתַם iii. 9; כָּפַשׁ iii. 16; צָפַד iv. 8; תַּאֲלָה and מְגִנַּת־לֵב iii. 65; שָׁמֵם used of men, i. 13, 16; iii. 11; iv. 5; שׁ prefixed, ii. 15; iv. 9. Words of peculiar forms are מְשִׁבָּת i. 7; מְרוּחִים ii. 14; פּוּגָה ii. 18; iii. 49. Chaldaising forms are שׁוֹמְמִין i. 4; יִשְׁנָא for יִשְׁנָה iv. 1; מַטְרָא iii. 12; הֵעִיב ii. 1; שָׁרַג i. 14.[3]

VII. STYLE.—The style of these poems is admirably adapted

[1] Geschichte d. V. Israel, iv., p. 24. [2] Gott. in der Geschichte, vol. i., p. 426.
[3] De Wette, Einleitung, pp. 409, 410.

to the subject, and has been excessively praised by Lowth: "There is not extant any poem which displays such a happy and splendid selection of imagery in so concentrated a state. What can be more elegant and poetical than the description of that once flourishing city, lately chief among the nations, sitting in the character of a female, solitary, afflicted, in a state of widowhood, deserted by her friends, betrayed by her nearest connections, imploring relief, and seeking consolation in vain! What a beautiful personification is that of 'the ways of Sion mourning because none are come to her solemn feasts!' How tender and pathetic are the following complaints:—

Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?
Behold and see, if there be any sorrow like to my sorrow, which is brought upon me,
With which Jehovah hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce anger!
For these things do I weep; mine eye runneth down with water;
For far from me are they that should comfort me, that should restore my strength;
My children have perished because the enemy prevailed.

But to detail its beauties would be to transcribe the entire poem."[1]

Although great pathos and much elegance pervade various parts of these elegies, we believe that the encomiums heaped upon them by Lowth are extravagant. Their artificial form is an evidence that they are not of the highest order. "I consider," says De Wette, "the alphabetical arrangement as a contrivance of the rhythmical art, an offspring of the later vitiated taste. When the spirit of poetry is flown, men cling to the lifeless body, the rhythmical form; and seek to supply its absence by this. In truth, nearly all the alphabetical compositions are remarkable for the want of connection, for common thoughts, coldness, and languor of feeling, and a low and occasionally mechanical phraseology. . . . . The Lamentations are, indeed, possessed of considerable merit in their way, but still betray an unpoetic period and degenerated taste."[2]

[1] Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, xxii.
[2] Commentar ueber die Psalmen, Einleit., p. 58.

THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET EZEKIEL.

I. LIFE OF THE PROPHET.—Ezekiel was the son of Buzi, a priest. He was carried away into captivity along with Jehoiachin and the chief of the people, in the eleventh year before the destruction of Jerusalem, 599 B.C., into Mesopotamia, where the captives formed a colony at the River Chaboras, a tributary of the Euphrates (i. 1, 3; iii. 15). He had a house at Tel-abib, and was married. In the fifth year of his exile he began to prophesy, *i.e.* 593 B.C., and continued in the same office till at least the sixteenth year after the destruction of Jerusalem, *i.e.* upwards of twenty-two years. He appears to have been highly esteemed by his companions in exile; and the elders of the people applied to him for counsel. How long he survived Jerusalem's fall is uncertain. A prophecy is dated in the twenty-seventh year, *i.e.* about 572 (xxix. 17), shewing that he survived the destruction of the city for a considerable time. The accounts of his death are varying, and fabulous in part. They are collected by the Pseudo-Epiphanius. It is related that he was put to death by the head of the exiles for having reproved him on account of idolatry; and that he was buried in the field of Maur, in the tomb of Shem and Arphaxad. In later times his burying-place was shewn between the Chaboras and Euphrates, as Benjamin of Tudela states. It was also shewn and visited by Jews from Parthia and Media in the middle ages, some days' journey from Bagdad, at a spot now called Kefel or Kif-el-Jhud, some miles south of the ruins of Babylon. The latter tradition is more probable than the former respecting his sepulchre; for there is reason to believe that he did not continue all his life at the original place of exile, but removed towards the close of it to his fellow-countrymen in the province of Babylon, where he probably died a natural death. The tenor of i. 1, 3, iii. 15, 22, leads to the belief that when his book was arranged the author was no longer on the theatre of his former activity. He died before the Persians conquered the Babylonians; otherwise he would have expressed in his pro-

phecies the hopes of Israel's deliverance inspired by such victories.

It has been inferred from the first verse, "Now it came to pass in the thirtieth year, in the fourth month," etc., that he began his ministry in the thirtieth year of his age. The conclusion, however, does not follow from the premises. The reckoning is from the era of Nabopolassar, father of Nebuchadnezzar, the commencement of the Chaldean supremacy. There is no propriety in taking the era to be the eighteenth of Josiah, when the book of the law was discovered (2 Kings xxii.), as Hävernick supposes; still less can we assume a jubilee-year, as Hitzig does, after Joseph Kimchi. He was young when carried away captive; though he does not speak of himself as a youth, in the manner of Jeremiah—younger most probably than thirty years. It is incorrect in Hävernick to oppose to this idea the matured character of a priest which appears in his writings as well as his intimate acquaintance with the temple service. It does not follow from i. 3, where he is called a *priest*, that he actually discharged the priestly functions. His father was a Levitical priest, so that the dignity descended to Ezekiel in the line of Levi.

II. CONTENTS OF THE BOOK.—The prophecies of Ezekiel may be divided into three parts—viz., chaps. i.-xxiv.; xxv.-xxxii.; and xxxiii.-xlviii.

1. The first contains visions and prophecies, which were uttered before the destruction of Jerusalem.

The second contains oracles against foreign nations.

The third is occupied with prophecies subsequent to the destruction of Jerusalem.

These general divisions may be resolved into the following smaller ones: Chaps. i.-xi., containing—chap. i. 1-iii. 21. The prophet's call to his office, his divine commission, instructions, and encouragement for performing the duties. iii. 22-vii. After the impulse of a new manifestation of Jehovah, Ezekiel gives utterance to his evil forebodings respecting the total destruction of Judah and Jerusalem for the sins of the people. viii.-xi. The Spirit transports the seer to Jerusalem and the temple, where he beholds Jehovah in his majesty executing his wrath upon the idolators there; and though he intercedes for the guilty people, he pleads in vain, but receives higher consolation for the exiled ones.

Chaps. xii.-xx., containing xii. 1-20, in which he shews to his fellow-exiles the folly of expecting deliverance from the dominion of the Chaldeans; xii. 21-xiv. 11, an explanation of what prophets and the truth they proclaim really are; xiv. 12-xix., a description of Jerusalem's state, the guilt of the inhabitants, and

their unavoidable punishment; xx., the impossibility felt by the seer of giving consolation to his interrogators respecting their condition in the immediate future.

Chaps. xxi-xxiv. contain several discourses in which the idolatry of the people is reproved, and the fearful judgment coming upon Jerusalem both announced and figuratively described.

2. The second part contains prophecies against foreign nations, of which seven are enumerated—viz., the Ammonites, xxv. 1-7; the Moabites, xxv. 8-11; the Edomites, xxv. 12-14; the Philistines, xxv. 15-17; against Tyre, xxvi.-xxviii.; against Egypt, xxix.-xxxii.

3. The third part foreshews the salvation of Israel: first, its conditions and basis, xxxiii.-xxxvi.; then its progress, from the re-awakening of the people to their final victory over all enemies of the divine kingdom, xxxvii.-xxxix.; thirdly, the arrangements of the restored theocracy in its glorious and final period, xl.-xlviii.

III. CHARACTER, MODE OF WRITING, STYLE, AND DICTION.—Ezekiel's character presents marked decision and energy. Though his natural disposition was not devoid of sensibility and pathos, it was more vigorous than emotional. Hence he was well fitted to oppose the prevailing corruption of his countrymen. He performed the functions of the prophetic office with vehemence and fire, subordinating all personal concerns to the work he had undertaken. The man, as usual, is absorbed in the prophet. In union with impetuosity and liveliness we observe a priestly inclination. Sprung from a race of priests, he had grown up amid Levitical influences; and many evidences of this bias appear in his writings, as in viii.-xi., xl.-xlviii., xx. 12, etc.; xxii. 8, 26; xxiv. 17. He attaches great value to sacred usages and forms. He shews a one-sided idea of antiquity derived from books and traditions. Yet he was by no means rigidly attached to the law, with all its ceremonies and minuteness, as is seen in his detailed prescriptions in the latter part of the book; for they vary in part from the ritual of the Pentateuch. Thus he forbids the ordinary priest to marry the widow of a layman (xliv. 22); he makes no mention of sabbaths, of the 1st Tisri, of the daily evening sacrifice, etc.; and for the old festival days which he retains other sacrifices are prescribed. Even in doctrine, he does not hesitate to proclaim, in opposition to the Mosaic teaching, "the soul that sinneth, it shall die. The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son; the righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him" (xviii. 20). That his spirit was richly endowed, and highly

cultivated for the age, appears from his extensive knowledge of the law, of natural history, of foreign peoples and their state, and of architecture. Indeed, his life was more literary than practical; though he combined the literary and practical in a degree to which his contemporary Jeremiah could lay no claim. The extraordinary wealth of fancy, and the wonderful fire exhibited in his discourses, shew more of the orator than the poet. Both by natural endowment and divine illumination he was a powerful instrument, in the hands of God, of awakening the slumbering energies of the exiled people, and opposing the corrupt influences that surrounded them, to which they were ready to yield. The method of his prophecies is manifold. Sometimes the address is didactic, interspersed with proverbial expressions, as in xii.-xix. Here his sentences are drawn out with rhetorical fullness and breadth, with hardly an element of poetry in them. An example may be seen in xvi. 15-26, which is properly one long sentence. But where lyrics are inserted, there is poetical elevation, as in xix., xxvii., xxxii., where the feelings of the writer find freer play. But what characterises him most is symbolical representations, unfolding a series of remarkable visions, with bold images in which reality is often disregarded, image and fact being blended together. The colossal symbols shew the strong impressions made on the prophet's mind by the Spirit of God in a foreign land, and its constant transference to Jerusalem, as though he were bodily present among the distant ones (chap. xvi.) He has also numerous symbolical actions, embodying vivid conceptions on the part of the prophet, and an earnest desire to convince his slow-hearted companions of impending calamity by outward emblems, which might lead them, in their thoughtlessness, to serious consideration sooner than mere words (iv. 1, etc.; v. 1, etc.; xii. 3, etc.; 17, etc.)

It has been remarked by De Wette, that the prophet shews artistic skill in a preponderating degree, and that therefore most of his prophecies should be looked upon purely as literary productions. This is true to some extent, perhaps hardly to that which the critic intended. But when Hävernick affirms that his skill is the historical skill of the narrator of internal facts—a purely reproductive faculty—manifested in the full and true representation of his internal conceptions in their directness and originality, he is hardly correct. The skill is rather that of the writer than the prophet. Ezekiel is not of the highest originality. He borrows ideas from the older masters, and occasionally imitates them. Being well versed in the literature of his nation, his skill is shewn both in the matter and manner of his prophecies. He is original and independent; not, however, pre-

eminently so. Prophet and artist are united in a greater degree than is shewn by any of his contemporaries.

In consequence of the peculiar and copious symbolic of Ezekiel, a dark mysterious character belongs to his prophecies. His imagery is not only colossal and frequently overladen, but also enigmatical and obscure. A cloudy mystery overhangs his pictures, which it is sometimes difficult to penetrate. Jerome calls the book "a labyrinth of the mysteries of God." It was because of this obscurity that some Jews forbade any one to read it till he had reached the age of thirty.

It should be observed, that the part of his symbolic that concerns theophanies or manifestations of Jehovah, betrays the characteristic colouring of central Asia. Chap. i. 4-28 presents an example, as also chap. x. The glowing fancy of the young man when he went into Babylonia was very susceptible of the impressions which the sculptures on many buildings presented. Animals were common symbolical beings along the Euphrates and Tigris. Winged creatures were usual on the monuments of Babylon and Nineveh. India too presented a cognate symbolic: Brahma, for example, was depicted with four heads and arms.

The style of Ezekiel has been differently estimated by different critics. This has partly arisen from its unevenness. Lowth says, "Ezekiel is much inferior to Jeremiah in elegance; in sublimity he is not even excelled by Isaiah; but his sublimity is of a totally different kind. He is deep, vehement, and tragical. The only sensation he affects to excite is the terrible. His sentiments are elevated, fervid, full of fire, indignant; his imagery is crowded, magnificent, terrific, sometimes almost to disgust; his language is pompous, solemn, austere, rough, and at times unpolished; he employs frequent repetitions, not for the sake of grace or elegance, but from the vehemence of passion and indignation. Whatever subject he treats of, that he sedulously pursues, from that he rarely departs, but cleaves as it were to it, whence the connection is in general evident and well preserved. In many respects he is perhaps excelled by the other prophets; but in that species of composition to which he seems by nature adapted, the forcible, the impetuous, the great and solemn, not one of the sacred writers is superior to him. His diction is sufficiently perspicuous; all his obscurity consists in the nature of the subject. Visions (as, for instance, among others, those of Hosea, Amos, and Jeremiah) are necessarily dark and confused. The greater part of Ezekiel, towards the middle of the book especially, is poetical, whether we regard the matter or the diction. His periods, however, are often so rude and incompact, that I am often at a loss how to pronounce concerning his performance in this respect." In this estimate we

cannot fully agree. The prophet should not be compared with Isaiah in sublimity. Indeed few examples of the sublime appear in his book. His conceptions are often great and original, but clothed in an inferior style. The language does not keep pace with the progress of ideas. It wants variety, roundness, and beauty. The bolder and more poetical the conceptions, the more prosaic is their expression. He amplifies and decorates his subject with great art and luxuriance, especially in symbolic and allegorical transactions. Ordinarily the language sinks down very nearly to the region of prose, and becomes diffuse. Even where it is elevated, it is overladen and artificial.

How are the visions to be explained? Are they mere drapery —the costume of ideas which the prophet intended to set forth —or were they real visions? Were the objects really presented to his mind in true visions? His individuality certainly appears in them. And they are too much drawn out into detail to justify the opinion that they were visions *properly so called.* We suppose, therefore, that they should be looked upon more in the light of literary drapery than as original visions. In conformity with this, the symbolical transactions recorded were not really performed. Had they been so, they would not have taught his countrymen the nature of the things prophesied of, any better. They must therefore be explained as pictorial representation. Comp. iv. 4-6, v. 1-4, xii. 3, etc.

Ezekiel has a number of constantly recurring expressions, as, "they shall know that I am Jehovah," or "I, Jehovah, have done," etc. (v. 13, vi. 10, xii. 15, xiv. 8); "they shall know that there hath been a prophet among them" (ii. 5, xxxiii. 33); "the hand of the Lord was upon me," or "him" (i. 3, iii. 22, xxxvii. 1, xl. 1); "set thy face against" (iv. 3, 7, vi. 2, xiii. 17, xxi. 2, xxv. 2, xxviii. 20, etc.); "as I live, saith the Lord God" (v. 11, xiv. 16, 18, 20, xvi. 48, xvii. 16, xviii. 3, xx. 31, 33, xxxiii. 11, xxxv. 11); the title *son of man* given to the prophet himself (ii. 1, 3, 6, 8, iii. 1, 3, 4, etc.); the designation of the people as a *rebellious house* (ii. 5-8, iii. 9, 26, 27, xii. 2, 3, 9, xvii. 12, xxiv. 3); כה אמר אדני יהוה or נאם אדני יהוה, *thus says the Lord God* (ii. 4, iii. 11, 27, v. 5, 7, 8, 11, vi. 3, 11, vii. 2, 5, xi. 8, 21, xii. 25, etc.), occurring more than eighty times. His language also shews dependence on older writings, especially the Pentateuch, even in a greater degree than Jeremiah's. In this respect it agrees with the latest of the Hagiographa. Compare xviii. 6 with Lev. xviii. 19, xx. 18; Ezek. xxii. 26 with Lev. x. 10; Ezek. xx. 19, 20, with Ex. xxxi. 17. It is to the legal portions of the Pentateuch, especially the middle books, that he has most respect. But Jeremiah was more influenced by Deuteronomy. In like manner, Jeremiah's prophecies

have been used, as appears from v. 2, etc., xi. 19, xii. 14, 16, xiii. 10, 16, xvii. 10, xviii. 31, xxxvi. 25, etc.

The diction is still more degenerate than that of Jeremiah. It is mixed with Aaramæan words or corrupted by Aramæan forms. Thus we find קָרְחָא xxvii. 31, גָּבְהָא xxxi. 5, יָלַדְתִּי xvi. 20, זְכַרְתִּי xvi. 22, אַתּוּקִיהָא xli. 15. He has also the pronominal forms יְהֵמָּה and יְהֵנָּה xl. 16, i. 11; the future Kal יוּכְלוּ from אָכַל xlii. 5. The plural termination ין is frequently met with, iv. 9, xxvi. 18. Verbs Lamed Aleph are frequently conjugated like those in Lamed He, as מָלוּ xxviii. 16, נָשׂוּ xxxix. 26. The article is often omitted where it ought to be, as in xviii. 20, xxxiii. 9. Subject and object are prefixed to the verb, contrary to Hebrew usage. Keil,[1] after Hävernick, has accumulated a number of words and forms said to be peculiar to the prophet which need sifting, because many belong to the time rather than the man in particular. The list is fitted to convey an incorrect impression of the remarkable idiosyncracy of Ezekiel. Such words and forms as are common to him with Jeremiah, or with other late prophets as Zephaniah and Habakkuk, ought not to be adduced, except to shew the peculiarities of his period.[2] After every deduction of this kind, however, his grammatical anomalies and inaccuracies are not few. No other Old Testament writer has so many. The age in which he lived, Chaldaising and degenerate as the Hebrew then was, will not wholly explain this. The prophet's own idiosyncracy must be taken into account, and the land in which he lived.

IV. Mode in which the book is arranged.—The manner in which the present book of Ezekiel was made up can scarcely be understood as exactly as we could wish. The prophet himself left the oracles in the form which they now present. He speaks of himself throughout in the first person, with but two exceptions (i. 3, xxiv. 24), which are easily explained. It has been conjectured by Gramberg and Hitzig that those in i.-xxiv. were not orally delivered, but were simply written down; but there is no good reason for this hypothesis. Chaps. i.-xxiv. were written after the destruction of Jerusalem. It is possible indeed that some parts may have been written after they were uttered; but most of them were then composed, and possess a uniformity of character and language, which shew that they were written in a time of calm leisure. The prophet relied on his memory for the substance, and arranged it after his own way, mixing up with past utterances and experiences, impres-

[1] Einleitung, second edition, pp. 268, 269. [2] Stähelin, pp. 308, 309.

sions and ideas suggested by the present. Thus the words of xii. 13, "My net also will I spread upon him, and he shall be taken in my snare; and I will bring him to Babylon to the land of the Chaldeans; yet shall he not see it, though he shall die there," bear internal evidence of their having been written after the event. So does the twenty-fourth chapter. The thirty-first verse of the twenty-second chapter also points to the destruction of Jerusalem as past: "therefore have I poured out mine indignation upon them; I have consumed them with the fire of my wrath: their own way have I recompensed upon their heads, saith the Lord God." In like manner the twenty-fourth chapter could only have been written after the catastrophe of Jerusalem. Four dates occur in this division, viz., in i. 1, viii. 1, xx. 1, and xxiv. 1. In iii. 16, an oracle *seven days* after the preceding is also given. The undated prophecies interspersed cannot be chronologically settled, except by supposing them to belong either to the same time as that which is immediately specified before, or to fall between that and the time next specified. The latter supposition, which is the more probable, is made by Bleek.[1]

In i. 2, the fifth year of Jehoiachin's captivity is specified as the beginning of the prophet's ministry; and in viii. 1, the sixth year is given, whence we infer that the oracles in i.-xi. were delivered in substance in the seventh and sixth years before the destruction of Jerusalem. Chaps. xii.-xx. belong to the fifth year before the same event, as we learn from xx. 1, where the seventh year of the captivity is specified; and as the contents of xiv. are identical with those of xx., the group to which xiv. belongs (xii.-xx.) must be dated alike. These dates we do not suspect, as Hitzig does, of being unauthentic. Chaps. xxi.-xxiv. according to the date in xxiv. 1, belong to the third year before the destruction of the city. How much of this entire division really belongs to the time assigned to it, or what additions, modifications, changes the events and oracles received, can scarcely be discovered in every instance. Some later parts are obvious enough; others are probably imperceptible. As the prophet's recollection was not infallible, he sometimes mingled past and present together, unconsciously.

Chaps. xxv.-xxxii. Most of these oracles against foreign nations belong to a time subsequent to Jerusalem's destruction. Those against Ammon, Moab, Edom, and Philistia, are not dated, xxv. They were uttered soon after the taking of Jerusalem, under Zedekiah. Chaps. xxvi.-xxviii. belong to the eleventh year of the captivity; xxix. 1-16, to the tenth year;

[1] Einleitung, p. 506.

xxix. 17-21, to the twenty-seventh year; xxx. 1-19 is not dated; xxx. 20-31, to the eleventh year; xxxii. 1-16, to the twelfth year; and xxxii. 17-32, to the same. We are disposed to abide by these dates as Ezekiel's own, and correct. *Seven* foreign nations are threatened with destruction. The number is purposely selected, else Sidon would not have been introduced, beside Tyre, to make it up. The Chaldeans are not given, because they are Jehovah's instrument in punishing Israel for her wickedness. Tyre and Egypt are described at greatest length, because of their importance at the time. It will be observed that chronological order is not followed in the distribution of these prophecies. The three in xxix. 1-16, xxx. 20-26, and xxxi., are more recent than the rest.

Chaps. xxxiii.-xlviii. contain the seer's latest oracles. The second oracle is dated, "in the twelfth year of our captivity, in the tenth month, in the fifth day of the month" (xxxiii. 21, 22); and it is said that one escaped from the city had come to the prophet with the tidings that it was smitten. But the city was taken, and even *burnt* before this date, viz., in the eleventh year. We should therefore read in the eleventh year בְּעַשְׁתֵּי for the textual בְּשִׁתֵּי, which is adopted by the Syriac, Doederlein, Ewald, Hitzig, and Bleek. The first oracle, xxxiii. 1-20, is earlier. It was uttered before the prophet heard of Jerusalem's fall; and is therefore the first in time of any contained in the third division.

The small paragraph, xlvi. 16-18, should be after xlv. 8. It is out of its right place now. Probably it was after xlv. 8 at first. Ewald also supposes that xlvi. 19-24 originally stood after xlii. 14. We cannot, however, see the propriety of this, nor the good connection which it would introduce.

From these observations it will be apparent, that we cannot hold the book to have been arranged chronologically. It is indeed put together in a connected and definite method. A plan is perceptible. But it is more external than otherwise. The work was not written and put into its present form at once. The parts gradually accumulated, and assumed their respective places. The uniformity of diction, colouring, and tone shews that it was written in the retirement of the prophet, when he felt it to be his duty to remain at home and not go forth publicly. Probably the seventeenth and nineteenth chapters were the earliest written ones, because Zedekiah seems to have been king then. The twenty-first chapter also bears evidence of having been composed before the destruction of Jerusalem. Chap. xxix. 17-21 appears to have been the latest piece.

With the exception of the one paragraph, xlvi. 16-18, we cannot say that any other transpositions have been made in the

book since Ezekiel's time. Hence the final redaction belongs to him. And it is hypercritical to suppose that he did not arrange it as it is because pieces now stand together which might have been more suitably placed according to our modern ideas, *e.g.*, chap. xviii. immediately after xvii., though it might more naturally be brought after xiv.

V. AUTHENTICITY AND INTEGRITY.—The authenticity of Ezekiel's written prophecies is subject to little doubt. They bear the stamp of his individuality so strongly that there is hardly room for scepticism respecting them. Yet they have not escaped unscathed. Oeder and Vogel called in question the authenticity of the last nine chapters. Corrodi attacked, besides these, chapters xxxviii.-xlviii.; but was answered by Beckhaus, Bertholdt, Eichhorn, and Jahn. An anonymous writer in the Monthly Magazine for 1798, called in question chapters xxv.-xxxii., xxxv., xxxvi., xxxviii., xxxix. One reason why the last nine chapters were suspected is found in Josephus's words respecting Ezekiel, which are according to the present text: "not only did he (Jeremiah) deliver beforehand such oracles to the multitude; but also the prophet Ezekiel, who first wrote and left behind two books concerning these events." Here the meaning is not that Ezekiel wrote two books, one of which has been lost; nor that the last nine chapters of Ezekiel stood at one time by themselves, and were afterwards incorrectly appended to his authentic prophecies. A mistake lies in the text of Josephus, who could not have said that Ezekiel was the *first* who left behind him writings relating to the melancholy end of Judah, because the historian puts Jeremiah earlier in the subsequent context. Eichhorn's conjecture is still the most probable, that ὃς πρῶτος should be ὁ δὲ πρῶτος, meaning Jeremiah, whose second book consisted of the prophecies against foreign peoples, as we learn from Jer. xxv. 13, where it is expressly termed "this book."

That Ezekiel wrote a book now lost cannot be advocated with any probability. In its favour have been adduced various passages given by the fathers, and purporting to have been written by Ezekiel. Fabricius has collected and Oeder commented on them. Carpzov, however, after Le Moyne, thinks that they were taken from Jewish tradition embodied in the treatise *Pirke Aboth*.

Nor can it be sustained that the last nine chapters have been incorrectly assigned to Ezekiel, and were therefore appended to his authentic prophecies, as Oeder and Vogel thought. Internal evidence proves their authenticity.

Zunz has argued that the whole book of Ezekiel belongs to the Persian period. If so, it cannot have been written by Jeremiah. His arguments, however, are flimsy. He affirms that

in Jeremiah, Ezekiel's contemporary, there is no trace of the images which Ezekiel used. We know, however, that the latter was acquainted with Jeremiah's prophecies. It is also asserted that Ezekiel did not know well the proper form of the Cherubim. But x. 20 shews that he had known the Cherubim in the temple; and the peculiarities of his description in relation to them correspond to his residence in a foreign land where he saw huge figures with wings, as well as to his method of drawing out pictures in detail. Nor does any weight belong to the mention of Daniel by Ezekiel, to Jeremiah's silence about his fellow-prophet, or to the similarity between the books of Daniel and Ezekiel, which are easily explained on the assumption of the prophecies before us being authentic. The occasional particularity in his predictions, such as xii. 12, etc., respecting the fate of Zedekiah, is resolvable into the fact that most of the prophecies were written down after the time they were delivered. They were at least revised subsequently; and reminiscences of the past united with later knowledge or later reflection. It is said besides, that his style has an Aramæan colouring, and betrays in more places than one an imitation of Jeremiah; that it has coincidences with the youngest books of the canon, etc. Here the characteristics of the exile-period are not apprehended along with Ezekiel's own peculiarities. His style and language are appropriate to the man and the time at which he lived. The criticism of Zunz in relation to Ezekiel is superficial and reckless, unworthy of so acute a scholar.

VI. MESSIANIC PASSAGES.—The Messianic passages are these: —xi. 17-20, in which it is prophesied that God would gather Israel out of all the lands where they had been scattered and place them again in their own territory, giving them another heart and a new spirit of obedience to His precepts: xvii. 22, 23, where it is declared that God would take the highest branch of the high cedar, and break off a young twig and plant it on the highest mountain of Israel, where it should bring forth fruit and be a goodly cedar, under whose shadow all fowls should dwell: xxxiv. 22-31, where it is promised that Jehovah would save His flock, and set up over them one shepherd, His servant David, making with them a covenant of peace. In xxxvi. 14, and xxxvii. 19-28, there are analogous descriptions of Israel restored to their own land, and forming a united people under David, Jehovah's servant. The vision of the valley of dry bones is also Messianic. When the Spirit of God breathes upon the members of the house of Israel, they rise up an exceeding great army. The Persians taught that in the new order of the world the dead should rise up and find their place; and when the Jews got that idea they soon laid aside their notion of

Sheol, and enriched their Messianic hopes with the new feature. In the Messianic age God would open the graves of the house of Israel, and take back the risen to their own land. This resurrection is not a spiritual one—a resurrection of souls—as is often supposed. It may be *applied* in a figurative sense to the conversion of a people; but such was not the prophet's meaning, who believed that risen Israel should be literally and bodily established again in their own land during the glorious reign of Messiah.

The prophecy respecting Gog is peculiar (xxxviii. 1-xxxix. 24). He is represented as a prince in the land of Magog—*i.e.*, the Caucasian territory. The name Gog is formed from Magog, the latter taken from Gen. x. 2. Both appellations were borrowed by the writer of the Apocalypse, who applies them to nations collected out of the four quarters of the earth against the saints and the beloved city. This prince is described as marching with many races brought together out of all nations against Israel, for the purpose of carrying away their richest treasure, as they dwell in security without walls or bars. But Jehovah will bring a great earthquake over the land of Israel, the mountains will fall upon Gog, every man's sword shall be turned against his brother; pestilence and blood, hailstones, fire and brimstone shall overtake the assembled hosts, and they shall perish on the mountains of Israel. The weapons of the enemy will serve for firewood seven years; and the Israelites will be seven months burying the dead carcases. This is a peculiar Messianic prophecy, for whose literal accomplishment we are not to look, any more than we are justified in expecting the fulfilment of ideal scenes and events described by the prophets generally as characteristic of the Messianic time. The writers indulged in imaginary and glowing pictures of the future of their nation. It is the fault of many interpreters that they take these poetical descriptions as pourtraying literal events in the future, and so look upon them as destined to be fulfilled. But they are not so meant. Their literal accomplishment belongs to the region of shadow. The expositor may indeed spiritualise them, and then look for the fulfilment in the future. He may suppose with Baumgarten, that Gog and Magog are representative of the heathen power of all peoples and influences external, and therefore opposed to the kingdom of God. He may apply them as symbolising the united forces of the world—the kingdom of heathen darkness and death in antithesis to the theocracy—equivalent to what is elsewhere called Babylon. He may say that the antichristian elements of this world are in perpetual hostility to the true church; and that there will be a last deadly struggle between them and the kingdom of God;—

Babylon and Jerusalem in open conflict: Gog and Magog on the one side, Messiah on the other. He may imagine that this conflict is the culminating point and consummation of all that is asserted in Scripture of heathen enmity to Jehovah's kingdom, and its punishment. But this is *adaptation* not *interpretation* proper. The writer himself did not so view the matter. He painted an ideal scene—the Messianic age—in his own way, and appears to have originated the view of many succeeding prophets, that the judgment of the world should not take place till the Messianic kingdom had existed for a while.

It is difficult to say whether Ezekiel in describing Gog and his armies thought of the Chaldean empire and its fall. His political horizon might readily have led him to paint the future overthrow of the people's oppressive enemy. Yet the manner in which the foe is spoken of is very different from that in which the prophets speak of the Chaldeans, whose cruelties against Israel are always mentioned. Gog and his hosts are not so passionately depicted as are the Chaldeans generally. Rather are they alluded to as a new enemy, of whom the Israelites had as yet no personal experience. Older prophets, however, had spoken of Gog's army, as we infer from xxxviii. 17, xxxix. 8; and Ezekiel had followed them. Thus we agree with Hävernick and Hitzig against Ewald.

VII. INTERPRETATION OF CHAPTERS XL.–XLVIII.—These nine chapters contain an extended vision respecting the restoration of the Jewish state. Here Ezekiel becomes a prophetic lawgiver, and enters into the minutest institutions of life in the kingdom about to be restored. The prophet probably thought much and anxiously about the destroyed temple and rent kingdom. He looked back upon the institutions of Judah with earnest and passionate longing for their restoration. His memory recalled all that was splendid and glorious in the theocracy, and stamped upon his spirit a pattern for the future condition of the kingdom. Messianic hopes and aspirations united with these historical reminiscences, and so contributed to the picture drawn of all the new arrangements belonging to the age of salvation.

The sketch is evidently intended for a comprehensive one, embracing sacred institutions and civil affairs. Hence it may be divided into two parts—the first relating to the sanctuary (xl.-xliv.); the second to the settlement of the land and people (xlv.-xlviii.) The priestly element naturally predominates. Hence the future temple is described with a fullness which becomes wearisome. Sacred things, the altar, halls, porches, courts, vessels, are depicted with the greatest circumstantiality and minuteness; as if the prophet intended them to be strictly fol-

lowed after the restoration. Sacrifices are to continue. The tribe of Levi are reinstated in their old duties. But such Levites as had stooped to idolatry are consigned to the lower employments in the temple. Priests and Levites are to dwell no longer scattered through the land, but in the neighbourhood of the sanctuary. It will appear on comparison that the ritual prescriptions vary in part from those of the Pentateuch, as has been already stated. The passover and feast of tabernacles appear, not the feast of weeks. The great day of atonement, being necessarily connected with the high-priest and the ark of the covenant, is unnoticed. Joseph is reckoned one of the twelve tribes, but having two portions of land, while all the rest have one. Those which were settled on the east of Jordan are settled on the west, in Canaan proper. It is remarkable, too, that the strangers sojourning among the Israelites have an equal inheritance, divided by lot, with the latter. Cherubim takes the place of the ark in the new temple. It is remarkable that Ezekiel has no high priest, but only the ordinary priests; and that *the prince in Israel* is assigned a high position within the circle of divine worship (xlv. 13-17; xlvi. 2-12). Whatever changes the prophet makes in his proposed arrangements seemed to him more appropriate. He wrote what appeared right, in the conviction that the Mosaic ritual was not meant to be unalterably perfect, but was susceptible of improvement, or of adaptation to new circumstances. And he would have conceded the same right of departing from his arrangements to those who might carry them out at a future time. It is not easy to suppose that he wrote from *mere* recollection. More probable is it that he had written sources before him, even a copy of the Mosaic law. In connecting the restored Levitical worship and its minute prescriptions with his Messianic expectations, perhaps it will be thought that his ideas were not spiritual or elevated; but his country, time, and circumstances should be taken into account. Though his Messianic hopes were not far in advance of the better portion of his fellow-exiles, either in regard to politics or religion, yet there is an adaptation in the ceremonies described to the stage of religious culture which his countrymen would probably take after the exile. His sharpsightedness enabled him to foresee that ceremonies would be the best lever to raise the religious state of the people, if they could only look upon them as *forms*, or means to an end.

It is observable that he ascribes to the future temple-mountain much greater height and breadth than belonged to the former one (xl. 2; xlii. 15-20). Accordingly, the dimensions assigned to the building itself are exceedingly large, for they would cover more space than the whole city stood upon. The temple was

not completed according to his proposed plan. This is admitted both by Jewish and Christian expositors. Thus Bennett writes: "Having justly considered all the circumstances, they [the returned Jews] determined to adopt the plan of Ezekiel in its principal parts only; viz., the actual temple and the sanctuary, with its adjoining buildings, which formed the western side of the proposed fabric; as we find testified in Mishnah Midoth. The remaining and less essential parts, such as the halls, porches, courts, etc., they judiciously determined to defer until a more favourable opportunity, when the increase of the population, and the prosperous state of the commonwealth, should justify the completion of the plan in its full extent, agreeably to the Scriptural direction given to Ezekiel. They accordingly contented themselves for the present with a smaller and a simpler building, or with the remnants of the first temple, as we are told from the same authority."[1] With this Hävernick agrees, who states that the temple and its ordinances were not restored according to the pattern of the prophet.

These observations will have prepared the way for a right answer to the question—How are the last nine chapters of Ezekiel to be interpreted? Three views may be taken of the vision. It may be interpreted literally, spiritually, or partly the one and partly the other at the same time. According to the first method, it is a proper Jewish-Messianic prophecy, describing the restored commonwealth and worship of Israel as the seer's judgment and fancy could best pourtray. According to the second, the vision points to the new dispensation, overleaping the old. It has an allegorical and figurative meaning, referring to the gospel with its rich blessings. The prophet does not speak of the restoration of the material temple, but of that which it foreshadowed. He predicted that the worship of Jehovah should be restored, that a spiritual kingdom, a nation of priests offering spiritual sacrifices, should arise as the consummation of former things. The New Testament church, with its pure ordinances, should be established. God would then build up the walls of Zion, and reign in the hearts of his people. In a word, a higher and nobler theocracy than the old is pourtrayed, animated with the life of Christ, and glorious only in its spiritual proportions. According to the third interpretation, the restoration of the material temple and outward kingdom of the Jews in Palestine is described, as well as the things they foreshadowed—*i.e.*, the New Testament church in her glorious time of enlargement, after the Jews are converted. Thus the outward and literal as well as the internal and spiritual are preserved.

[1] The Temple of Ezekiel, etc., p. 18.

We object to the second, because it gives a view of the Jewish prophet and his utterances essentially Christian. It takes the seer out of his own dispensation, and throws him forward into the Christian one. It makes him speak forth Christian sentiments in a Jewish envelope. All his discourse is idealised. It is converted into symbol and allegory. No Jewish basis belongs to it, or Jewish stand-point; the prophet soars away into the high region of spiritual truths in the cumbrous wrappings of Judaism. Such transmutation is inadmissible. It has no analogy in Old Testament prophecy. Yet Hävernick seems to lose himself in symbol and allegory, spiritualising the language of Ezekiel till it becomes thoroughly Christian in purport and sense. Nor is Hengstenberg's modification of Hävernick's view any better. That the whole representation is only a complicated symbol of the stability and prosperity of the divine kingdom, especially under the gospel dispensation, can only be maintained by taking the prophet out of his own time, and converting him into an ideal spiritualiser, whom his contemporaries could not understand. It is to no purpose to allege that the description is a *vision*; that circumstance does not make it to be of an ideal character merely. The individuality of a prophet and his ordinary range of waking ideas did not vanish in such visions as those of Ezekiel.

We object to the third interpretation, because it implies the doctrine of premonitory fulfilments, implying that one thing was but the type and instalment of another—that prophecy has a springing and germinant, as well as an ultimate, sense. That something under the New Testament may be the consummation of a similar thing under the Jewish dispensation is admitted; but we cannot allow that a prophet *intended* to predict both a Jewish institution and a Christian one at the same time. He did not mean to describe the restoration of the temple and its services along with the New Testament time of glorious prosperity as foreshadowed by the other. This were to convert *an adaptation* of Old Testament things, which we make ourselves, into an *interpretation* of the prophet's language, and then to ascribe to the writer such complex meaning, consciously on his part. Ezekiel had no ulterior idea than hoping and wishing for such a restoration of the Jewish state in Palestine as he has described. The picture he draws is such as seemed to him most appropriate. If it be not a high or splendid one, we can only attribute it to his idiosyncracy in connection with that foresight which the probable circumstances of the future directed.

The first interpretation is the only one that appears admissible. It may be thought narrow and Jewish; but why should

it be Christian? The prophecy must be explained literally. This does not exclude symbol and figure from the vision, because the description necessarily embraces what is spiritual. Figures of speech cannot be dispensed with in poetry. We do not blame the advocates of a literal interpretation here, unless they adhere to it so closely as to look for the literal accomplishment of everything, however set forth. Ideal traits may be thrown in by the seer here and there to embellish his portrait. These were not meant to have their literal fulfilment in the future. Thus the vision of the holy waters issuing from under the threshold of the temple, becoming a river and running into the sea, was meant for a mere symbol. Judaising Christians err in looking for their literal accomplishment. There is a crucible of narrow exegesis, into which some put prophecies like the present, and believe that they depict what will happen to the letter in the future. All the fulfilment is past, and nothing more need be expected. The Jews returned to their country and rebuilt their temple. If their restoration took place in a different manner from what the prophet projected, and the circumstances attending it were a poor counterpart of his imaginings, if the reality was but a dwarfish fulfilment of the prophecy, the event shews the imperfection of Ezekiel's foreshadowing. But the comprehensive outline he projected was only a model—the best he could devise, yet not absolutely binding nor meant to be infallibly followed. It was the prophet's *ideal;* and probably he did not expect that it would be carried out in all its integrity and details. The way in which the people returned, and the numbers who remained behind, deprived the prophecy of its extensive accomplishment. Not that Ezekiel believed that *all* the Israelites would return to their fatherland. Jeremiah thought so, not Ezekiel. On the contrary, the latter thought that only the better portion would be sharers in the new state, as we infer from xx. 33, etc. Yet the meagre restoration and its immediate results fell short of prophetic hopes. The longed-for event was unattended with the glory so fondly anticipated by patriotic poets and seers. Henderson is right in saying that the discrepancies which have been detected between the ancient temple and that described by Ezekiel are non-essential. But what becomes of Ezekiel's assumed infallible inspiration and power of predicting future events in that case? Truly he did not cease to be a man when he became a prophet.

Those who wish to see a minute and lengthened exposition of the temple and its buildings, as described in Ezekiel, should consult Böttcher's Proben (pp. 218-365), to which two plates are prefixed, shewing the outlines and proportions of the prophet's architecture. To this learned work may be added that of

Solomon Bennett entitled, "The Temple of Ezekiel, viz., an elucidation of the fortieth, forty-first, forty-second, etc., chapters of Ezekiel, consistently with the Hebrew original." Here are given a ground plan and view. Thenius's elaborate appendix to his Commentary on Kings should also be studied, "Das vorexilische Jerusalem und desen Tempel," where remarks on Ezekiel's temple are given, in addition to minute descriptions and careful plans of Solomon's. We should hesitate, however, to adopt all his calculations and measurements, especially several in § 12.

THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

I. CONTENTS.—In the third year of Jehoiakim's reign, when Jerusalem was taken by Nebuchadnezzar, and part of the sacred vessels belonging to the temple were carried away to the land of Shinar, Daniel and three other youths of distinction were transported as captives to Babylon. There they lived at the court, and were instructed in the language and literature of the Chaldeans. To avoid uncleanness, they abstained from the royal food and drink, living on pulse and drinking nothing but water.

Their progress in knowledge was very great, so that, after a time, the king found they excelled all the wise men of his kingdom in understanding. Daniel, in particular, had a wonderful insight into visions and dreams. It is added that Daniel continued (in Babylon) till the first year of king Cyrus, when the exiles received permission to return home (i.).

In the second year of his reign, Nebuchadnezzar had a disquieting dream, and sent for the magicians, astrologers, sorcerers, and Chaldeans, to tell him the dream, as well as its interpretation. But none could do so. A command was therefore issued to destroy them all, Daniel and his fellows included. Daniel begged for a little respite, and prayed to Jehovah in the emergency, who revealed the dream and its meaning to him in a night vision. After both had been communicated to the king, he acknowledged the power and omniscience of God; worshipped Daniel and offered oblations to him; gave him great presents; appointed him ruler over the province of Babylon, and president of all the wise men. His companions were also set over the affairs of the kingdom; but Daniel himself remained at court. In the dream a great image was seen, with a head of gold, breast and arms of silver, belly and thighs of brass, feet partly of iron and partly of clay. But a stone formed out of the mountain without hands broke the whole of it in pieces. The head of gold represents the Babylonian dynasty; the silver breast and arms, the Median; the brazen belly and thighs, the Persian dynasty; the legs and feet, partly of iron and partly of

clay, *i.e.*, partly strong and partly weak, the Græco-Macedonian dynasty, which was divided after the death of Alexander the great and his successors. The stone cut out of the mountain without hands signifies the kingdom of Messiah, which is to become universal (ii.).

The third chapter relates that Nebuchadnezzar set up a huge image of gold in the plain of Dura, whose height was sixty cubits, and the breadth six; that he assembled all his princes and officials at its dedication; and commanded, by a herald, that whoever would not fall down before it and worship at the sound of musical instruments, should be thrown into a fiery oven. Daniel's three companions refused, and were accused before the king, but persisted in their refusal, and were cast into the furnace heated to an unusual strength, where they were miraculously preserved. The king, astonished at the occurrence, acknowledged the power of their God, and issued a decree threatening death to any who should dare to speak against Him. The three were promoted to places of dignity (iij.).

The fourth chapter contains a letter of Nebuchadnezzar's addressed to all peoples and nations, describing how Daniel had interpreted a dream of his, which all the magicians could not interpret, and which was fulfilled at the end of twelve months. The king was punished for his boastful pride with a peculiar malady. For seven years he was with the beasts of the field, living like them and eating grass, till his understanding returned; after which he praised the power and greatness of the Highest, and was reinstated in his kingdom. He extolled the God of heaven, and became a changed man (iv.).

Belshazzar, son of Nebuchadnezzar, made a great feast, at which he commanded the sacred vessels to be brought that his father had carried away from the temple at Jerusalem, in order that his nobles, wives, and concubines might drink out of them. This they did, and praised their idols the while. Suddenly the king saw a hand writing something on the plaister of the wall, to the effect that he should lose his kingdom, and that the Medes and Persians should receive it. All the wise men of Babylon having in vain tried to decipher the mysterious hand-writing, Daniel was applied to, and interpreted it. That same night the monarch was slain, and the dynasty transferred to Darius the Mede (v.).

The sixth chapter relates that king Darius appointed 120 princes over the entire kingdom, and over them three presidents, of whom Daniel was chief. But the other princes and presidents enviously sought an opportunity of bringing about his downfall. For this purpose they persuaded the king to issue a decree, irrevocable by the law of the Medes and Persians, for-

bidding all persons for the space of thirty days to prefer a petition to any man or God, except to the king. But Daniel continued his usual habit of prayer three times a day, with windows open toward Jerusalem. Being accused before the king, the latter feels himself reluctantly obliged to cast the defaulter into a den of lions. On rising early and repairing to the den, he finds Daniel unhurt. Rejoiced at the deliverance, he orders him to be drawn out, and his accusers, with their families, to be thrown in. A decree is then issued to all peoples on the earth, that they should worship the God of Daniel, the living, Almighty ruler and wonder-worker (vi.).

In the first year of Belshazzar, Daniel had a dream-vision, which he wrote down. He saw four great beasts ascending out of the sea in succession, the first like a lion with eagle's wings and the heart of a man; the second like a bear with three ribs in the mouth, to which the command was addressed to eat much flesh; the third like a leopard with four wings and four heads, to which dominion was given; the fourth with great iron teeth devouring and breaking in pieces, having ten horns. Between these ten another little horn sprang up, before which three others were eradicated, having the eyes of a man and a mouth speaking great things. The Ancient of days then appears seated on His throne of judgment. The beast is slain because of the great words spoken by the horn, and his body cast into the fire. Dominion is also taken away from the rest of the beasts, yet their lives are lengthened for a season. One like the Son of man now comes with the clouds of heaven, to whom is given dominion, glory, and an everlasting kingdom. The interpretation of the vision is given to Daniel. The four beasts are four kingdoms or dynasties: but the saints shall take and possess the kingdom for ever. The fourth beast and his horns are particularly explained. It symbolises a kingdom different from the others; and the ten horns are ten kings springing out of it, after which another should arise different from the preceding. The last one should subdue three kings, utter blasphemies against the Most High, think to change festival seasons and laws, and to wear out the saints themselves. But they are given over to his power only for three years and a half, till the judgment sits and his dominion is taken away; at which time the sovereignty of all kingdoms on earth shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High for ever (vii.).

The eighth chapter contains a vision which Daniel had in the third year of Belshazzar. He was transported to Shushan, in the province of Elam, by the river Ulai, and saw a ram with two horns, one higher than the other. It pushed westward, northward, and southward, till a he-goat from the west with a

notable horn, spread over the earth, ran and smote the ram, breaking his two horns and stamping upon him on the ground. When the goat had become very strong his great horn was broken, and in its place four came up towards the four quarters of heaven. Out of one of them sprang up a little horn, which grew very great towards the south, east, and Judea, till it elevated itself to the host of heaven and the very prince of the host, taking away even the daily sacrifice, and casting down the sanctuary. The angel Gabriel then explains the vision to Daniel. The ram with the two horns denotes the kings of Media and Persia; the he-goat the Grecian monarchy, whose great horn was the first king—*i.e.*, Alexander the great; the four horns springing up instead of him, but not having his power, are the four kingdoms which arose out of Alexander's. The little horn is a king fierce and cunning, whose power and success should be great, so that he should even stand up against the prince of princes; but he should be broken without hand. The seer is commanded to shut up the vision, which extends to many days. He faints, and is sick for a time (viii).

In the first year of Darius, son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes, Daniel was considering the number of the years, respecting which Jeremiah had prophesied that Jerusalem should be in ruins seventy years. He had recourse to prayer, with fasting, sackcloth, and ashes, supplicating the removal of sin, and the taking away of the divine wrath from Zion. While he was praying, Gabriel appeared and unfolded the prophecy of the seventy years. Seventy weeks or weeks of years were to elapse till the guilt of the people should be expiated, the prediction fulfilled, and the most holy place consecrated. The period is then divided into three smaller ones, viz.: seven years from the issuing of the commandment respecting the restoration of Jerusalem till an anointed prince; sixty-two sevens of years, within which the city should be rebuilt, though in times of distress; after these sixty-two sevens added to the first seven—*i.e.*, after the lapse of sixty-nine weeks of years—an anointed one should be cut off, and the people of a following prince should destroy the city and sanctuary. That prince should enter into a covenant with many; and during the last half of the seventh year-week put a stop to the sacrifice and oblation, till destruction come upon the desolator (ix).

The last three chapters contain the fourth prophetic vision, which Daniel had in the third year of Cyrus. After the prophet had mourned and fasted three weeks, an angel appears, who refers to the contentions he had with the guardian angels of Persia and Greece, in which Michael helped him; and then gives him to understand future events (x). Beginning with the

Persian kings that followed Cyrus, he comes to Alexander and his successors, referring minutely to the relations between the kings of Syria and Egypt, and particularly to a certain king of the north—*i.e.* Epiphanes—in his wars with Egypt, his violent deeds against the Jews, and his impious conduct generally, till he should come to an end (xi). To this is appended the announcement, that at a time of unparalleled distress the people of Daniel should be delivered—all written in the book. Many of them that sleep should awake, partly to life everlasting, partly to shame. The prophet is again commanded by the angel to shut up the words and seal the book till the time of the end. After this he hears that the time from the taking away of the daily sacrifice should be 1290 days; and a blessing is pronounced upon him who should continue steadfast till 1335 days (xii).

II. UNITY OF THE BOOK.—It is now no longer denied that the book was written by one person. Eichhorn assumed two authors, one to chapters ii. 4-vi., the other to vii.-xii. and i. 1-ii. 3.[1] Bertholdt, followed by Augusti, regarded different sections as the productions of different authors. He makes out as many as nine.[2] It is unnecessary to enter upon a refutation of his view, as it is now abandoned. The two leading divisions are so related that the one implies the existence of the other. Both have the same characteristic of style, spirit, ideas, and manner. Thus i. 17 refers to ii. 16, etc.; i. 19, 20, and ii. 49, refer to iii. 12, etc.; i. 2 is meant to prepare the way for v. 2. Comp. iii. 12 with ii. 49; v. 11 and ii. 48; v. 21 and iv. 22; vi. 1 and v. 30; viii. 1 and vii. 2; ix. 21 and viii. 16; xii. 7 and vii. 25. Not only do the constituents of the two parts hang together among themselves, presenting similar features, but they also refer to one another. Hence ii. 4-vi. and vii.-xii., with i., ii.-3, cannot be assigned to two authors, the second prior to the first, and having the latter as an introduction to it. They have the strongest similarity in language and tenour, pointing unmistakeably to one and the same author.

III. AUTHENTICITY.—The external arguments in favour of the book's authenticity are the following:—

1. The reception of the book into the canon is a witness for its authenticity. The collectors of the canonical books would not have been so credulous and devoid of conscientiousness as to receive among the sacred writings held to be divine by the people, a supposititious book ascribed to the old prophet Daniel, which appeared in the Maccabean period.

[1] Einleitung, vol. iv., § 615 c., p. 515, et seqq. [2] Einleitung, vol. iv., § 389.

This argument is neutralised by facts connected with the place of the book in relation to the rest. The collectors of the canonical books are unknown. We cannot tell what principle or principles they acted upon; if indeed they had any to guide them in selecting and rejecting. Their critical ability is a thing unknown. They did not live at one time. They were not united in a body. In receiving the book of Daniel into the list they need not be thought unconscientious. Probably it was deemed worthy of a place among the Hagiographa. Its authorship had little to do with the reception of it. No imposture was practised in writing it under the name of the old prophet; but an existing tradition was employed by the author for a laudable purpose. The nation needed consolation; and he designed to impart it through the medium of a work like the present.

2. The Jewish synagogue has uniformly acknowledged its authenticity. So it would have admitted any book belonging to the national collection, however inferior to Daniel. The testimony of the Jewish synagogue is often insecure and baseless.

3. In 1 Mac. ii. 59, 60, we read: "Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, by believing were saved out of the flame. Daniel for his innocency was delivered from the mouth of lions." These words are ascribed to Mattathias, who addressed his sons in a speech before his death, recorded by the writer of the book. The allusion of the dying hero seems to point to the contents of Dan. iii. 6. From the manner in which the heroes are adduced by Mattathias, we believe that the book of Daniel was followed. But the allusion to such examples of fortitude must be put to the account of the later narrator, who has put his own thoughts and words into the mouth of the dying Mattathias. It is surprising to find Stuart inferring from the passage that *the book* of Daniel was regarded as sacred in the time of Hyrcanus, when 1 Mac. was written.[1] Nothing can be rightly deduced from the allusion to Daniel and his companions as to *the position* which the Hebrew book occupied in the estimation of the Jews. Besides, 1 Mac. was written after John Hyrcanus's death. It must, says Hävernick, have a historical background. This may be allowed.

4. Josephus relates that the Jews shewed Alexander the great the prophecies in the book of Daniel relating to him, when he entered Jerusalem as victor; and that he treated them better on that account.[2] This story is of very suspicious credit. It has the air of embellishment. Hengstenberg and Hävernick attempt to justify its historical truth, but unsuccessfully.

5. The book of Daniel was used by the writer of Baruch,

[1] Commentary on the Book of Daniel, p. 410.

[2] Antiqq., xi., 8, 4.

who belonged to the Maccabean period. This appears from a comparison of Bar. i. and ii. with Dan. ix. Hitzig accounts for the resemblance by attributing both works to the same person;[1] a position which can hardly be maintained, as Fritzsche has shewn.[2] The fact that the author of Baruch was acquainted with Daniel cannot be denied. But it only shews the prior existence of the latter. Fritzsche puts the origin of Baruch into the later Maccabean period, which allows of sufficient time for another date of Daniel than the Babylonian one. The connexion between the Hebrew original and the Greek of Baruch cannot now be discovered. We deny, however, that the latter is full of imitations of Daniel, especially of the ninth chapter, as Zündel asserts.[3]

6. The Alexandrine translation of the Pentateuch shews traces of acquaintance with the book of Daniel, by bringing into Deut. xxxii. 8 the doctrine of guardian angels over heathen kingdoms—a doctrine derived from Daniel: "When the Most High divided the nations, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the nations according to the numbers of the angels of God."

Did the translator get this idea from the book of Daniel? Was there no other source? It is *assumed* that he got it in one quarter alone; whereas it may have been, and probably was, a Jewish notion not uncommon in his time. It was of foreign, not Jewish, origin.

7. The first book of Maccabees shews traces of acquaintance with the LXX. In proof of this hypothesis we are directed to compare i. 54 with Dan. ix. 27; ii. 59, etc., with Dan. iii.

The Greek translator of 1 Mac. certainly shews familiarity with the Septuagint. Reminiscences of passages in the latter occur pretty frequently, if not in i. 54, which, however, we are inclined to accept, at least in vii. 9, ix. 23, xiv. 9. The only example of acquaintance with the Septuagint version *of Daniel* is the first of these. But what follows from this admission? Is it fatal to a Maccabean origin of the book? Certainly not. As the author of 1 Mac. wrote in Hebrew about 70 B.C., his Greek translator must have lived after that time. And is it not perfectly consistent with the late appearance of Daniel, in which the best critics are now agreed, that the Greek translator of 1 Maccabees should have known the Septuagint translation of Daniel? A book written in the time of Epiphanes could have been already translated, and the version have become a source of reference, even if the original work first appeared at that time.

[1] Die Psalmen, u. s. w., vol. ii., p. 120.
[2] Exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apokryphen, I. p. 173.
[3] Untersuchungen, p. 191.

8. The Septuagint version of Daniel is of a nature to shew that it was made a considerable time after the Hebrew, not contemporaneously with it. It is not so much a translation as a free handling of the original. The book had already attained to great authority among the Alexandrians. A number of traditions and legends had been appended, shewing a long acquaintance with the work. The Greek contains special allusions to the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes; implying that the impression they produced was still fresh. Thus in xi. 30, where the Hebrew has, "The ships of Chittim shall come against him, and he shall be disheartened," the Septuagint runs, "The Romans shall come and expel him," referring to the interference of the Romans with Antiochus when he was about to seize upon the capital of Egypt. Again, in Dan. ix. 26 the Greek has, "after seven, and seventy and sixty-two, anointing shall cease;" *i.e.*, after the 139th year of the Seleucidæ, 173 B.C., the high priest Onias III. shall be ejected out of his office by Antiochus. In short, the translator himself belonged to the Maccabean period, and therefore the author of the Hebrew Daniel could neither have been alive then, nor recently dead.

This argument is weak. Any allusions there are to Antiochus Epiphanes shew that the translator in paraphrasing applied certain passages to him, and made the original more specific. His contemporaneousness with the events of the Maccabean time does not appear from that. That he made his paraphrase soon after the Hebrew may be admitted, without rendering it probable that the Hebrew was written in the sixth century before Christ. The traditional explications to which the book was subjected in the Greek, with the stories and legends attached to it, do not prove that the original belongs to a much more ancient period; as we see from the apocryphal additions to Esther. Rather do they indicate that the Hebrew work embodied in part traditional materials, which were not exhausted, or which gave rise to others of the same sort. The Greek received either what was left, or what sprung out of it. And this would be done soon; while the feeling still existed that the Hebrew embodied legendary matter. It would hardly be done after a long interval, because the Hebrew gradually acquired a more sacred character; and the superstitious Jews would reverence it so highly as not to take extensive liberties with it, even in a version. The philosophical Jews of Alexandria paraphrased and added to the book, because they seem to have been aware of the time, object, and character of it. Had it been an exile work, giving the literal history of Daniel, and the facts of his life, the true visions he had and the wonderful dreams he interpreted, they would not have put along with it the hymn of

the three martyrs in the furnace, or the story of Susanna and of Bel and the Dragon—legends which they must have considered of equal authority and value with the canonical parts.

9. Josephus not only regarded Daniel as a prophet but the greatest of all the prophets. The Jews of his day universally cherished the same sentiment. How comes it, then, that such productions as the Sybilline oracles, the book of Enoch, and the like, never gained such credit among the Jews? If the Hebrews of that period were so credulous and easily deceived about books, how comes it that other works of the same nature were rejected as apocryphal? So Stuart reasons.[1]

It is impossible to tell the degree of reverence which Josephus had for Daniel, or the precise light in which he regarded him. The same may be said of the Jews of his day. To speak of the credulity of the Jews, and their being easily deceived in accepting the book of Daniel in the Maccabean period, is beside the mark. We do not admit that they were deceived in the matter. That they did not put the Sybilline books and Enoch in the same position arose from various circumstances which cannot be precisely determined at the present day. Inferiority of character, times, places, and the like, influenced the judgment, and so fixed the books in their respective degrees of esteem. There was no infallible tribunal for the purpose. The canonical list was an indefinite thing, not looked upon as *absolutely* settled till the time of Christ. Hence the difference in the cases of putting the book of Daniel among the Hagiographa and Enoch did not arise from the Jews being deceived in the one case and not the other. Neither did it necessarily arise from their supposing the one divine, the other not. The distinction depended on other circumstances; some of them accidental perhaps. If the Maccabean Jews did not place them on a par, they probably separated them by no impassable gulf from one another; for absence from the canon or presence in it is no proper criterion of the value assigned to a book by the Jews of the day, any more than of its internal worth. Many err in believing, that being *in* and *out of* the canon are two things so widely different as to involve discordant opinions of their origin.

10. The state of the language employed corresponds to the time of the captivity. The writer is familiar both with Hebrew and Chaldee, passing with ease from one to another according to the nature of the subject. The fact implies that the readers were acquainted with both. This is unsuited to the Maccabean period, at which time the Hebrew had been supplanted by the Aramæan. The people had learned the Chaldee by intercourse

[1] Commentary on Daniel, p. 413.

with the Babylonians, and had not yet forgotten their mother tongue, the Hebrew.

The Hebrew language continued in use after the exile, especially among the learned. This is evident from the fact of post-exile books being written in it, as Chronicles, Ecclesiastes, etc. Even in the Maccabean period it had not been supplanted by Aramæan. The language of intercourse was Chaldee; that of books of the same class as the old prophetic writings and the sacred literature of the nation, was Hebrew. The latter still lingered in the affections of those who looked back upon their history with mingled feelings of pride and sadness.

11. The Hebrew of the book has very great affinity to the language current during the exile, especially to that of Ezekiel. Thus *son of man*, viii. 17, as in Ezekiel; זֹהַר *splendour*, xii. 3, Ezek. viii. 2; חַיֵּב *to cause to forfeit*, i. 10, and חוֹב *debt, guilt*, only in Ezek. xviii. 7; כְּתָב for סֵפֶר x. 21, Ezek. xiii. 9; לָבוּשׁ בַּדִּים *clothed in linen*, x. 5, and Ezek. ix. 2, 3; פַּתְבַּג *the king's meat*, i. 5, and בַּג *meat*, Ezek. xxv. 7; חַמְדִּי *the pleasant land of Israel*, viii. 9, and Ezek. xx. 6, 15; מְלֻלָל *polished*, x. 6, and Ezek. i. 7.

There is little doubt that the writer was acquainted with Ezekiel. He has copied him in various particulars, as well as in certain words. The argument properly stated proves too much and therefore nothing. There are many coincidences of expression with writings of the latest epoch, as Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther. Hence we might infer with equal, if not greater, pertinency, that the book belongs to the post-exile period—to that of Esther and Chronicles.

12. The Chaldee of the book strikingly coincides with the Chaldee of Ezra, and is distinguished from the Chaldee dialect of the oldest Targums by many Hebraisms. This conformity, it is added, cannot have arisen from imitation, since both shew their independence by a number of forms.

The Aramæan in Ezra does *not* agree throughout with that of Daniel. In the former we find לְכֹם לְהֹם, a form nearer the original than that in Daniel, viz. לְכֹן לְהֹן.

That the Chaldee of the book is distinguished from that of the oldest Targums is explained by the fact, that the oldest Targums are separated from it in time by upwards of a century, even on the hypothesis of Daniel's Maccabean origin.

13. The writer shews an exact acquaintance with the historical relations, customs, and manners belonging to the time of Daniel.

On the supposition of this statement being unimpeachable, it

could scarcely be considered a valid argument for the authenticity of the book. We shall afterwards see that it is liable to serious objections.

14. Christ himself recognises the prophecies of Daniel as real and true. Thus, in Matt. xxiv. 15: "When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place (whoso readeth, let him understand)." His discourses respecting his second coming also rest upon the book (comp. Matt. x. 23; xvi. 27, etc.; xix. 28; xxiv. 30; xxv. 31; xxvi. 64).

Agreeably to his usual manner of speaking to and arguing with the Jews, Jesus could not proceed on critical grounds. He spoke after the manner of his contemporaries in Palestine, in all cases except when it was of importance to correct their ideas. Hence he could readily term Daniel a *prophet*, and refer to the writings called after him as *prophecies*, because such was the current view. The book was accepted as a prophetic work by the Jews, and a certain interpretation was assigned to its contents. Christ did not assume to be a critical authority, because certain errors were doctrinally harmless, having no proper connection with his religious teaching. Besides, we cannot tell how far the words of Christ in Matt. xxiv. have been exactly reported in the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew. Internal evidence indicates more or less confusion in the chapter, whose difficulties cannot be cleared away at present on any fair system of exposition. We suspect that the original form of these discourses was modified by the ideas and expectations of the apostolic age.

A good deal of idle declamation is wasted on this argument by Stuart. "To suppose the Saviour," says he, "to make such an appeal to a book that was the comparatively recent work of an impostor—or at least a forger of romances—is to suppose Christ himself to be either ignorant of the state of facts, or else willing to foster the false regard which was paid to the book by the Jews."[1] Neither alternative should be assumed. Critical questions, like the present, did not need Christ's judgment respecting them. His argumentation was sufficiently valid to the Jews without it. As a Jew, he spoke to the Jews after their own manner, and about their own Scriptures, without pronouncing on points foreign to the nature of his mission. Because he did not say many things, it does not follow that he fostered erroneous notions regarding them. Because he used the *argumentum ad hominem* it should not be inferred that he was ignorant of any other. The parenthetic words in Matt. xxiv. 15, "whoso

[1] Commentary, p. 404.

readeth let him understand," are not Christ's, but the evangelist's. To say that the question of the genuineness and authenticity of Daniel cannot be separated from that of the fallibility or infallibility of the Saviour, is to assert what is false. The two things *can* and *ought* to be separated. Their connection is *not necessary*.

On the other hand, against the authenticity of the work, may be adduced:—

1. Its position in the Hebrew canon. It is not among the prophets, but in the Hagiographa, and there too as one of the last books. The second division of the canonical Scriptures was not made till the time of Ezra at least. If therefore the book had been written in the time of the exile by Daniel, why was it not put with the other prophets? The answer is, that it did not then exist. The work was too important to be passed by. No probable motive can be alleged for its rejection. Hence we believe that it did not exist for nearly a hundred years after Daniel—the interval between his time and that of Ezra or Nehemiah.

To meet this argument, Hengstenberg, Hävernick, and others have resorted to hypotheses which cannot stand the test of criticism. They have attributed to the compilers of the canon the knowledge that Daniel was not a נָבִיא, but only a חוֹזֶה; or that he had merely the prophetic *gift*, not the prophetic *office;* and that he did not fulfil his functions among his own countrymen but in a foreign land, at the court of a heathen king. Here the distinction made between a *prophet* and a *seer*, as far as it concerns Daniel, is baseless. He had *visions* as well as other prophets. The books of Amos, Ezekiel, and Zechariah, consist for the most part of *visions;* yet they are among the נביאים. Jonah was a prophet in a heathen land; yet he is classed among the same. The difference made between the prophetic *gift* and prophetic *office* cannot be sustained. The importance and definiteness assigned to the distinction by Vitringa are foreign to ancient Judaism. The passages referred to by Hävernick in support of it are invalid.[1] And when he draws an argument for the authenticity of the book from its position in the Hagiographa, he takes for granted what should be proved. It is solitary in that division; hence it owes it to design; for if unauthentic it would have been classed among the other prophets. So the commentator reasons.[2] And it is decidedly incorrect to suppose, as Auberlen does, that Ezra in arranging the canon put Daniel immediately before his own book, because he was conscious in spirit of having himself introduced and described

[1] Einleitung, Theil I., 2, p. 56, et seqq. [2] Einleit. II., 2, p. 450, et seqq.

the commencement of fulfilling what the angel had promised in Dan. ix.[1] Zündel's explanation of the position of the book is equally groundless, viz., that the Hagiographa-division contains the books meant for the private use of the pious Israelites, and could not therefore admit Daniel which expressly says that the things in it should be sealed up. The second division, or prophetic books, was meant, it is affirmed, to be read in public, as supplying the place of the prophets among the people; and Daniel could not be received into it because of xii. 9.[2] All this is imaginary.

Stuart conceives that the ancient Jews classified Daniel with the prophets, and therefore that the present Talmudic arrangement is not the original one. He founds this opinion on Josephus who places Daniel among the prophets. There is proof that the Jewish historian gives the original arrangement of the books in their three divisions—the law, prophets, and Hagiographa.[3] Josephus enumerates the books in his own fashion. There cannot be a doubt that the Talmudic arrangement is the oldest. It is best attested as such. According to it, Daniel belongs to the third and last division, not the second. Appeal cannot be successfully made to the Septuagint where Daniel appears after Ezekiel, because it is admitted that such was not its original place. It is very improbable that the book would ever have been displaced had it stood in the second division. The Jews in the fourth century would not have altered its position, as Storr asserts they did: too great authority was attached to the prophet at that time to allow of the deterioration. It is impossible to give any adequate reason for the position of the book in the last division of the canonical writings, except that it had no existence when the second was made. If so, it was certainly later than Daniel himself.

It is strange that Rawlinson is so dull as not to see the nature of this argument.[4] Because De Wette states that the book is later than Malachi from its being among the Hagiographa, Rawlinson meets it with the reply, that, by the same argument, the book of Job and the Proverbs of Solomon are later than Malachi. Is he so blind as not to see where the point of the argument lies—in Malachi and Daniel being *prophets?* One division of the Jewish writings consists of the prophets. Why is Malachi in that division and Daniel not? The cause must be sought in the fact, that the book of Daniel was not written till after Malachi's?

2. The silence of Jesus Sirach in the forty-ninth chapter respecting Daniel is significant, because the historical position

[1] Der Prophet Daniel, p. 131.
[2] Kritische Untersuchungen, p. 223, et seqq.
[3] Commentary, p. 426.
[4] Bampton Lecture for 1859, p. 434.

of the prophet makes him important. From the forty-fourth to the fiftieth chapter the writer praises the most distinguished men of his nation, beginning with the patriarch Enoch and concluding with Simon the high priest. Jeremiah and Ezekiel are mentioned; why not Daniel? We are reminded that Ezra and Mordecai are passed over, while Zerubbabel, Joshua, and Nehemiah, less important personages, are highly extolled. The cases of Ezra and Daniel are different. The former was a priest and scribe; the latter a prophet and worker of miracles. Mordecai and Joshua are insignificant persons beside Daniel. The book of Esther, relating to the former, had not attained to general recognition in the time of Jesus Sirach. We are also reminded that the twelve minor prophets are not mentioned; but this assumes that the passage respecting them is spurious, which is unsustained by evidence. We are aware of Bretschneider's attempt to prove the spuriousness of the words in xlix. 10 *καὶ τῶν—αὐτῶν*; but agree with Fritzsche in merely supposing that they are displaced, and should succeed *ἐλπίδος*[1] at the end of the verse. It is inconceivable that Sirach should mention the three greater prophets, and pass by the minor ones whose oracles then existed in one collection. We cannot assume, with Bretschneider, that the words were copied from xlvi. 12. Doubtless Sirach made a collection of worthies, since he did not specify Ezra. But we cannot find the principle of selection in the fact that he intended to include only those who had been active in Palestine. The two leading particulars in his view at the time of the restoration were the building of the temple and city. Ezra is omitted because the writer's attention was directed to things, not persons. But when Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel are specified—when the twelve minor prophets are classed together in a body—it is singular that Daniel is omitted; a prophet so well known as he must have been—one who had such visions, and performed the wonderful things narrated in his book. Thus the only explanation which appears probable is, that the book of Daniel was unknown to Jesus Sirach, *i.e.* about 200–180 B.C.

3. Had the book existed before the post-exile prophets, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, we should naturally have expected some traces of its influence upon them. But none is apparent. Zechariah in particular might have exhibited marks of acquaintance with Daniel's visions. The Messianic idea of "one like to the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven," appears to have been unknown to Zechariah. In like manner, the angelology of Daniel has neither influenced nor modified that of the alleged later prophet. On the contrary, it is itself

[1] Exeget. Handbuch zu den Apokryphen, 5 Lieferung, p. 292.

more developed. Jeremiah's predictions respecting Messiah have had an effect on Zechariah's writing. Why should not the more striking and definite ones of Daniel vii. 13, 14?

4. The prophecies are definite in character. A particularity and precision belong to them contrary to the analogy of other Old Testament predictions. The future is indicated in minuter lines than elsewhere. Remote events appear in individual traits to a degree unexampled in Hebrew prophecy which foreshadows the distant future in vague and general outline, without speciality or detail. Hebrew prophecy does not deal in *minute* and *accurate predictions*. In denying it that character it must not be thought that we disbelieve in the prophetic gift, or resolve it into a natural foresight anticipating the consequences of present facts and circumstances. Reckless writers may say so: they ought to know better. The true argument against Daniel's authenticity does *not* lie in denying the reality of miracles and *predictions*, as Auberlen asserts. Right-minded critics, like Ewald and De Wette, do not deny *prediction*, but *that kind* of it which the school of Hengstenberg vainly tries to uphold—viz., *the prediction of distant events in definite and distinct outlines*. There cannot be a doubt that a peculiar character—that of historical detail—attaches to the prophecies before us. It has been said, that we have no right to assume that there will be a uniform law of prophetic inspiration, much less that we shall be able to discover it. But what has this to do with the case? There is as much right to assume that there will be a uniform law as the contrary. If the impugners of Daniel's authenticity make the one assumption, the defenders of it make the other. But we do not *assume* an uniform law. The law is gathered inductively from the prophetic Scriptures. All the facts are carefully studied, and a general conclusion deduced. As long as the book of Daniel is a subject of debate, it must be excluded from the induction of particulars. We admit that induction should be from *all* the instances; but when the very question is whether the book of Daniel comes within the range of true prophetic inspiration, it cannot but be left out of the account. It has *not* the amount of external sanction which any other has, because among other facts it is not in the prophetic division of the Scriptures. The law of prophetical inspiration, as deduced from all other books of the Old Testament, is violated in Daniel. We reject its authenticity until it be shewn that there are exceptions to the law, of which the book before us is one example. It is useless to say that the minute exactness in these prophecies *may have been* adapted to peculiar circumstances in the history of the Jews, or have had some unknown object. We cannot argue on the ground of the *possible* or *imaginary*. Auberlen *supposes*

an object to be served by the peculiar character of the prophecies. Criticism rejects his supposition. Thus the individual contests of two dynasties from whom the Jews suffered much, viz., the dynasty of the Seleucidæ (the king of the north) and that of the Lagidæ (the king of the south), are depicted in the form of history with considerable detail (chap. xi). At the time of Daniel these kingdoms had no existence. On the contrary, they were formed on the ruins of the empire founded by Alexander the great, which was also future. The detailed prediction is continued to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, whose cruelty to the Jews, and impious attempt to suppress their public worship, are graphically described. Nothing specific is given after the death of this tyrant. The Messianic kingdom is alluded to in connexion with the deliverance of the people from all their enemies; and the resurrection of the dead is appended, in an indefinite manner analogous to other Messianic predictions. If the alleged predictions of remote events be really such, why are details discontinued at the death of Antiochus? Why does the narrative read like history up to that date and no farther? Why are minute events respecting rulers whose existence still lay in the womb of the future given in a way which prophecy does not know? We do not affirm that Daniel is a mere book of history, describing the time from the overthrow of the Persian dynasty to Antiochus Epiphanes. But we *do* assert, that some parts of it which bear the form of prediction, read like history, definite and special in its narratives. What makes this more striking is the *chronological* details of the future, which are both more numerous and exact than the analogy of Hebrew prophecy allows. Thus in viii. 14, 2300 days are specified; and in xii. 11, 12, 1290 and 1335 days. Prophecy deals in round numbers, as we have already seen; the passages giving exact dates being usually interpolations, or unauthentic.

5. The analogy of prophecy would lead us to expect that a seer living in the Babylonian captivity and writing about the future of his country, would first glance at the deliverance from oppression to be soon realised, to which a greater deliverance in the Messianic age might be appended. With the return from Babylon, Messianic hopes would naturally unite themselves. This is done in the Deutero-Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Jeremiah. Setting out from the relations and necessities of the present, the aspirations of these prophets ascend to the Messianic kingdom. Their starting point is their own time; whence they glance at the immediate future and soar into the ideal reign of Messiah. But here the writer, supposing him to be Daniel, projects his vision as far as the deliverance from Antiochus Epiphanes, and supposes it to be succeeded immediately by the Messianic.

salvation. Deliverance from Babylon is not predicted. That event, which might be considered of greatest importance in the eye of a Hebrew seer living in Babylon whither he had been carried captive, is unnoticed. It is the salvation from the tyranny of Antiochus in which his predictions culminate.

The only natural explanation of the book is, that the writer belonged to the Maccabean period and the time of Epiphanes. The people groaning under the Syrian yoke sighed for the manifestation of the great King already announced by prophets, who should introduce a reign of victory and peace. The pious longed for the promised Messiah, under whom their oppression should cease for ever, fulfilling their hopes of a golden age. It is apparent, that their worship was grievously impeded when the visions were penned. Antiochus was trying by the most violent means to abolish it. On the assumption that the writer lived while the Syrian's despotic conduct towards the Jews at Jerusalem was being acted out, we can explain the nature and form of the visions, in harmony with the genius of Hebrew prophecy; but if the writer were a Jewish captive in Babylon, his visions cannot be interpreted naturally. In the latter he projects himself forward into the period of a dynasty which did not attain to greatness till several centuries afterwards, and overleaps the present to concentrate his pictorial power on a cruel persecutor of the saints.

6. The miracles recorded in the book are lavishly accumulated without any apparent object, and differ from those elsewhere related. Their prodigal expenditure is unworthy of the Deity. They are also of a colossal nature, imposing and overawing in form. They could hardly have been wrought to strengthen the weak faith of the exiled people, and preserve them from idolatry, because at the commencement of the captivity God is represented as having given them up a prey to their enemies. It would therefore have been inconsistent with the divine procedure to have wrought stupendous wonders for their benefit. The captivity was not a time of miracles like that of Moses. Nor was it the most disastrous epoch in the national history. The Maccabean was much more destructive. Yet no miracles, as far as we know, were then wrought to support the faith and strengthen the religion of the suffering people. Nor could the object of the wonders have been to exalt Daniel and his companions, or to convince the heathens of Jehovah's omnipotence. If it were so, they usually failed. Belshazzar and his nobles appear to have been unacquainted with Daniel and his miracles, as the fifth chapter shews. Nebuchadnezzar has always to be convinced anew. The array of marvels wrought through the instrumentality of Daniel made little impression on the

monarchs and their people. Nor is there any evidence for thinking that Daniel prepared the way for the termination of the exile and the decree of Cyrus; though Hengstenberg assumes the fact. We are persuaded that the more the miracles are considered, the less likely will they appear. Some are improbable in themselves, as the changing of the nature of fire so that it did not hurt Daniel's three friends though they were exposed to its fiercest fury. The author shews a desire to make the marvel as surprising as possible by representing the furnace to have been heated seven times more than usual, while the flame caught the men who threw them in and slew them. He makes the Hebrews walk about through the flame without even the smell of fire passing on them, etc. These and other minor circumstances are thrown in to heighten the marvellous. In like manner, the deliverance of Daniel from the lions' den partakes of the improbable. God is said to have sent an angel to shut the lions' mouths so that they did him no harm. And how did the animals live in a cistern-like den? Did an angel give them air to breathe, whose vitalising property could not be exhausted? It is difficult to see how life could have been long supported in the place. Lions would soon have died in it. As a contrast to Daniel's wonderful preservation, it is stated that when his accusers, their wives and children, were cast into the den, all their bones were broken in pieces before they reached the bottom. The mysterious hand-writing on the wall is another most peculiar miracle. During the royal banquet fingers of a man's hand came forth and wrote over against the candlestick on the plaister of the wall. The words written relating to the future were read by Daniel.

7. The prophetic contents of the book are distinguished from other prophetic works by their *apocalyptic* character. There is a greater array of symbolical visions. This apocalyptic taste originated with the later Jews at a time when independent prophecy was forsaking Israel. It is a mark of decay. Already is it seen in Ezekiel and Zechariah, but not to the same extent or degree. Imitation of real visions had begun. But Daniel and those prophets differ both in the character and abundance of the visions. Historical and political details do not enter into the essential composition of symbolical pictures presented by the latter. Their outlines and shades are mostly the offspring of fancy. But in Daniel the visions are usually made up of features having their counterpart in real history. *History in the form of vision* is the main element. In Ezekiel and Zechariah, the main element is imaginative, illustrating one or two leading facts. This difference between the apocalyptic tenor of the respective prophecies is precisely such as would arise out of the

respective times at which they were written. The taste having begun would increase. When genuine prophecy died out, the apocalyptic character would become more marked and abundant.

Certain truths were clothed in the form of visions, and put into the mouth of one celebrated for wisdom, whose personal weight might procure for them general acceptance. In such a case the writer's object was good, viz., to comfort and strengthen his oppressed countrymen by pointing them to the nearness of deliverance and salvation. The Deuteronomist and Coheleth had set forth truths under the garb of Moses and Solomon long before. But their purpose was not the same as the present writer. It was not to sustain and animate their suffering people under the yoke of oppression with the hope of a bright future. Hence they did not communicate their ideas in the *prophetic* method. The author of our book appears *as a prophet*. Hence he employs visions, and those in abundance. That they were not real divine visions to him is shewn by the mould in which they are cast—an artificial and historical mould wanting the true inspiration of antiquity whose pulsation they merely imitate. The Sybilline oracles present an analogy in Jewish literature to the book of Daniel. The third book of this apocryphal work belongs to the same time as ours, and was written by an Alexandrian Jew. In it the leading kingdoms of the world, particularly the Roman and Egyptian, are threatened with destruction. Antiochus Epiphanes's fall is predicted. A general revolution is at hand, in which the order of existing things is to be changed: the people of God are to extend their dominion over the whole earth for ever under a King sent by God; idolatry and all the ungodly are to be destroyed together, and the true God to be worshipped universally. The object of the Sybilline oracles is the same as that of Daniel, viz., the announcement of the speedy disappearance of everything opposed to the people of God, and their uninterrupted peace. The Jewish writer put the threatening and Messianic proclamations into the mouth of the Sybil as a prophetess of renown, because they were mainly intended for the Greeks of his locality. To the same class of analogous apocalyptic literature belong the fourth book of Ezra, the book of Enoch, the ascension of Isaiah, and the Testament of the twelve patriarchs. Both Jewish and Christian literature, in the later period of the former and the earlier one of the latter, present analogies to the visions of Daniel. Imitation of prior prophecies, especially of Zechariah's and Ezekiel's, characterises all such apocalyptic productions.

In conformity with the apocalyptic taste, Jehovah is described as *the Ancient of days*, vii. 9, etc., *i.e., an old person, one full of days*. His name is thus described by predicates and compari-

sons only in later times, not in the true prophets. A similar phraseology occurs in the book of Enoch (xlvi. 1), imitated from Daniel. The Apocalypse also follows Daniel in this respect. Such an epithet is foreign to old canonical prophecy, and savours of a degenerate Judaism. The expression seems to have owed its origin in part to the "time without bounds" of the Magian religion, where it is an attribute of Ormuzd.[1]

8. The doctrinal and ethical ideas of the book often differ from the notions entertained at the time of the exile and immediately after; while they agree with the Maccabean age, as is seen by parallels in the apocryphal books.

Thus the Christology is much more developed than it is in prophets of the captivity like Ezekiel. Here the Messiah appears a superhuman being: "I saw in the night visions, and, behold one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him" (vii. 13). A heavenly scene is depicted. The Son of man is seen riding on the clouds and coming into the immediate presence of Jehovah, the Ancient of days. He is a superhuman and super-earthly being, as Hävernick himself admits. This doctrine is not found in any other passage of the Old Testament. The original of vii. 13 is evidently Ezek. i. 26-28; but there Jehovah himself is described as having some resemblance to a human form; whereas Messiah is the subject in Daniel. Though the later Jews transferred qualities and attributes from Jehovah to Messiah, the early ones kept both apart; because they did not believe Messiah to be other than human.

The passage before us does *not* imply that he was true God and true man, as Hävernick asserts. Were that so, the authenticity of the book could not be maintained. In the canonical Old Testament it is never implied that the Messiah was *true God*. Such an idea was repugnant to Jewish monotheism. Still less is it implied that Messiah should be true God and true man. He is pourtrayed as a victorious king, having some of the highest attributes of humanity, splendid and magnificent. Here he is presented in a higher aspect than in any of the prophets; a heavenly being or messenger. Hence the Christology of the book differs from that of other canonical ones, shewing so much development as implies the lapse of a considerable time between the latest prophet and Daniel. We deem it unnecessary to *prove* that a divine nature, such as belongs to Jehovah, is no where attributed to Messiah in the Old Testament; though Stuart and others combat the position by quoting Ps. ii. 7, xlv. 7, 8; cx.; Is. ix. 5, xi. 2-4; Mic. v. 2; Ps. lxxii.; Mal. iii. 1; Is. vi. 1-4,

[1] Comp. Hallische allgemeine Literaturzeitung, for 1845, No. 73.

compared with John xii. 41. Most of these passages are non-Messianic; and all fail to shew the proper deity of Messiah.

In connexion with the Christology, Stuart has argued, that as the Messianic predictions in all the Apocrypha are very few and general, and those of Daniel more numerous in proportion to the length of his book than any other writer of the Old Testament, the latter could not have belonged to the Maccabean period. The critic, however, has not only overstrained his case in enumerating more Messianic passages in Daniel than the book really exhibits but overlooked the essential point of his comparison—the point that destroys all its pertinency.[1] None of the apocryphal books is *prophetic*, like Daniel's. It is therefore useless to look for as many Messianic passages in these productions as in Daniel. Sirach, Tobit, and Maccabees do not belong to the same class of compositions. Hence all the declamation employed in contrasting them and the prophecies of Daniel is irrelevant. The latter is mainly prophetic or apocalyptic, consisting of dreams and visions with their interpretation. Besides, it contains comparatively little that is Messianic; the most striking example adduced by many in ix. 24-27 being inappropriate.

The angelology of the book points to a late origin. Thus the names Gabriel and Michael first appear in it; the former as prince of the Jewish people. Guardian or tutelary angels preside over kingdoms and nations. Hence we read of the prince of the kingdom of Persia, the prince of Grecia, etc. (x. 13, 20, 21; ix. 21; xii. 1). There are also traces of a heavenly senate or court of judgment. Thus in chap. vii., it is said that the thrones were set (ver. 9), implying that throne-like elevations or seats were appointed for the angel-assessors composing the Almighty's judicial court, before which the books are opened having in them a record of the good and bad actions of individuals and nations. "The watchers and the holy ones" (iv. 17) appear as this heavenly senate. In iv. 13, 14, *a watcher* is spoken of as a delegate to announce the decree of this senate. These watchers or holy ones remind us of the Amshashpands of the Zend-avesta, which issue from the seven planets, and are worshipped as the first seven spirits of heaven to whom Ormuzd entrusted the oversight of the Universe, and who *watch* out of the height over the soul.[2] Hence the original is in Parsism. The heavenly senate was thought to consist of seventy "watchers and holy ones;"[3] implying a familiarity with the doctrine of Amshashpands. The seventy guardian angels seem not to have been identical at first with the senate, but were subsequently confounded with it. In the eighth chapter (13th ver.),

[1] Commentary on Daniel, p. 435.
[2] See Kleuker's Zend-avesta, ii., 257.
[3] See Sohar II., 275*b*., III., 67*b*., 231*a*.

one angel speaks to another, and another asks of the one that spake, how long shall these woes continue, etc. Higher and lower angels are distinguished; for Gabriel is commanded by another (16th ver.). Michael is called one of the angel-princes (x. 13), and the great prince (xii. 1). He is not identical with the captain of the Lord's host in Josh. v. 13-15, as Prof. Mill thinks. One of the guardian angels contends with another for twenty-one days, and helps another. Here we see the influence of Parsism on Judaism. It would require a generation or two to develop this out of the prior Israelite angelology, under Persian influence. Such definite distinctions among angels as that they bear peculiar names, and have separate countries put under their protection, did not appear among the Israelites before the Persian period, when they came in contact with the adherents of Magianism. Ex. xxxii. 34, where Jehovah's angel is spoken of, is not similar; nor can a proper analogy be found in any other canonical book. It is therefore useless to refer to the seraphim in Is. vi. 2; or to the captain of the Lord's host in Josh. v. 14; or to angel-interpreters in Ezekiel and Zechariah. Stuart mistakes the point of the argument. It is not that distinctions of angels, but distinctions of *a specific kind*, first appear in Daniel. Countries have their respective guardian spirits who even thwart and resist one another in offices of benevolence.

9. The habit of Daniel to pray three times a day, points to a time at which religious ideas had penetrated out of India into the neighbouring countries to the west. There is also an atoning efficacy attributed to alms in iv. 27: "Wherefore, O king, let my counsel be acceptable unto thee, and break off thy sins by righteousness (alms), and thine iniquities by shewing mercy to the poor; (to try) if continuance be to thy prosperity." We differ from Herzfeld,[1] who thinks that this virtue might be attributed to almsgiving as early as the exile, when there was no want of poor, and the absence of sacrifice might further it. Neither in the exile nor post-exile books does the idea occur. But the occasional manifestation of an ascetic Pharisaism is not inconsistent with a date soon after the exile. Exaggerated and excessive notions of the value of prayer betray a later Judaism; not later, however, than what may have been developed in Judaism, under the influence of Parsism, a generation or two after the return from Babylon. Thus Daniel prays and makes supplication with windows open towards Jerusalem, though he knew that a royal decree was signed condemning any one that did so to be cast into the den of lions. He mourned and fasted

[1] Geschichte des Volkes Israel, vol. i., p. 295.

three full weeks (x. 2, 3). A secret was revealed to him in answer to prayer (ii. 18). He also abstained from the king's meat and wine as profane, and lived on pulse (i. 12). These particulars are not valid arguments in favour of a very recent date. The prevailing power of prayer and of fasting is amply taught in the Old Testament; and abstinence from certain kinds of meat is enjoined there. An ascetic tendency, which lays undue stress on the externals of religion, was fostered by the strict ritualism that set in after the second temple was built. In Daniel's character and conduct a spirit of this kind appears, not very prominently, it is true, but distinctly enough on certain occasions. Outward observances of a Pharisaic tinge are attributed to him which cannot be strictly paralleled in the earlier books. Things right and proper in themselves may be carried to excess or magnified, as fasting, prayer, and abstinence from the meats of a heathen palace. They may be set forth as of more value in the sight of God than Judaism allowed. Yet we cannot see that the characteristics in question militate against a time nearly the same as that of Ezra, especially when foreign influences began to shew themselves more plainly on the face of Judaism.

10. The work presents a number of historical difficulties and improbabilities that betray its spuriousness.

(a) The heathen kings of whom we read are represented as acknowledging the almighty power of the God worshipped by Daniel and his companions—the God who alone is able to save—and issue royal edicts to all their subjects commanding them to fear and worship the God of Daniel, and to speak nothing amiss against Him, on pain of utter destruction. This is not consonant with the character of Chaldean and Median monarchs. It might be admitted, perhaps, that they themselves should confess the mighty power of Daniel's God after witnessing the marvellous deliverance he had wrought; but that they should issue decrees to every people, nation, and language to tremble and fear before Him, and not speak against His name, lest they be cut in pieces and their houses made a dunghill, is highly improbable. How could such kings suppose that all the subjects of their vast empires would know aught of the God of Daniel, "the living God and steadfast for ever, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed," as Darius describes him? The language attributed to these heathen monarchs belongs to a Jew, and does not comport with the persons into whose mouths it is put.

(b) In the first verse of the first chapter we read, "in the *third* year of the reign of Jehoiakim king of Judah came Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon unto Jerusalem, and besieged it."

But according to Jer. xxv. 1, the first year of Nebuchadnezzar was the *fourth* of Jehoiakim. It also appears from Jer. xxxvi. 9, 29, xxxv. 11, comp. v. 1, that the Chaldeans had not besieged Jerusalem even in the ninth month of Jehoiakim's *fifth* year.

Hengstenberg, followed by Keil, endeavours to solve the difficulty by assuming that the third year of Jehoiakim may be regarded as the *terminus a quo* of Nebuchadnezzar's expedition. He *set out* or *put his army in motion* in that year. In the fourth year of Jehoiakim he overthrew Pharaoh Necho at Carchemish (Jer. xlvi. 2), which event was followed immediately by the reduction of Jerusalem. According to this view the fourth of Jehoiakim might be *the first* of Nebuchadnezzar. The fast in the fifth year of Jehoiakim may have been instituted as a time of mourning for the taking of Jerusalem in the preceding year, not to avert the invasion of the Chaldeans.

Here is a number of baseless hypotheses. The verb בּוֹא does not mean *to set out*, an idea expressed by עָלָה (2 Kings xxiii. 29; xxiv. 1, 10; 2 Chron. xii. 9; xxxvi. 6), but *to arrive at* (comp. 2 Kings xv. 19, 29; xxiv. 11; 2 Chron. xxxii. 1), as is proved by the following word וַיָּצַר *and besieged:* "he came to Jerusalem and besieged it." Hävernick erroneously appeals to Jer. xlvi. 13, in support of the sense given to בּוֹא,[1] but there לָבוֹא לְהַכּוֹת does not mean *when he set out to smite*, but *when he came or arrived to smite.* The *fourth* year of Jehoiakim is said to coincide with the *first* year of Nebuchadnezzar in Jer. xxv. 1, because the Jews first became acquainted with him at that time; but it cannot thence be proved that Nebuchadnezzar reigned jointly with his father when he set out on the exhibition against Jerusalem (Dan. i. 1); nor does it follow from Berosus's words in Josephus (Antiqq. x. 11, 1), as Hengstenberg and Hävernick believe. The twenty-fifth chapter of Jeremiah disagrees with the view that Jerusalem was taken in Jehoiakim's fourth year. There the prophet says he had declared the word of God to the Jewish people from Josiah's thirteenth year, *even unto this day;* but they had not hearkened (ver. 3). In like manner the Lord had sent to them all his servants, the prophets, but the people had not hearkened to them (ver. 4). The burden of those prophets' message was, "Turn ye again now every one from his evil way, and from the evil of your doings, and dwell in the land that the Lord hath given unto you and to your fathers for ever and ever. And go not after other gods to serve them, and to worship them, and provoke me not to anger with the works of your hands, *and I will do you no hurt*" (ver. 5, 6). The pro-

[1] Commentar ueber das Buch Daniel, p. 5.

phet himself continues, "Therefore thus saith the Lord of hosts: Because ye have not heard my words, behold, I will send and take all the families of the north, saith the Lord, and Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon my servant, and will bring them against this land and against the inhabitants thereof," etc. (8, 9). Thus God had done the people no hurt up to the time when this prophecy was delivered, which was in the fourth year of Jehoiakim (xxv. 1). Hence we infer that what is related at the commencement of Daniel's book had not happened in the *third* year of Jehoiakim. If it be said that the total destruction of the Jewish state is threatened in Jer. xxv. 9-11, whereas the occurrences of Dan. i. 1-4 do not amount to that, we reply that the latter were at least a severe punishment. But the language of Jer. xxv. 1-7 implies no such punishment. God had done them no hurt at that time, *i.e.*, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim.[1]

Hofmann, Hävernick, Oehler, and Stuart suppose that the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar occurred the year before the battle at Carchemish, *i.e.*, in the third year of Jehoiakim. The twenty-fifth chapter of Jeremiah is opposed to this, for the fourth year of Jehoiakim is there mentioned in such a way as precludes an invasion of Judea by the Chaldeans the preceding year. Had the metropolis been taken a year before by the king of Babylon, and Jehoiakim made tributary, an emphatic prophecy of this nature from the mouth of the prophet, specifying the fourth year of Jehoiakim, is inexplicable. According to Berosus, it was in the fourth year of Jehoiakim that the battle of Carchemish took place; and that must have been before the taking of Judea; for Nebuchadnezzar had subjugated all Egypt when he heard that his father was dying, and hastened back to Babylon. Nabopolassar's death is supposed by Berosus to have taken place in the sixth year of Jehoiakim; and the invasion of Judea and Jerusalem followed the campaign in which Egypt was subjugated by the Chaldeans. Jer. xxxvi. 9 shews that Nebuchadnezzar had not taken Jerusalem in the fifth of Jehoiakim; for the fast there mentioned, which took place on the ninth month of the fifth year, could not have been one of the great national festivals. The great fast was on the tenth day of every seventh month (Lev. xxiii. 27).

There is evidently a chronological mistake here.

(*c*) There is a historical contradiction between ii. 1, etc., and i. 1, etc. In the former place, Nebuchadnezzar is said to have had dreams, which Daniel interpreted, in the second year of his reign. But in the latter, Nebuchadnezzar is termed king when

[1] Herbst's Einleitung, ii. 2, p. 106, et seqq.

he came and took Jerusalem, carrying away Daniel and his companions as captives, after which they were educated three years. It is very improbable that the interpretation of the dream happened before the expiration of those three years. Hengstenberg and Hävernick suppose that when Nebuchadnezzar took the city he had not ascended the throne as sole king. He was associated with his father in the government, and was leader of his armies. He was not *sole* sovereign. Hence Daniel and his friends completed their course of training in the second year of Nebuchadnezzar's *sole* reign.

That Nebuchadnezzar was associated with Nabopolassar on the throne is unproved. Granting that he was however, the proposed solution does not stand. Jerusalem was taken in the year 604 B.C.; not 606, as Hengstenberg assumes. If Nebuchadnezzar became sole monarch in that year, the education was completed in 601; but Daniel appears in the second chapter as dream-interpreter in 602. Herzfeld thinks that for *second* in ii. 1, we should read *twelfth*. Of course this is a mere conjecture.

(*d*) The conduct of Nebuchadnezzar toward the magicians, astrologers, sorcerers, and Chaldeans of his empire, bears the improbable on its face. He demands not only the interpretation of his dream, but the dream itself; and threatens them with death in case of inability. Surely it is unlikely that he should have required *such* a thing from all classes of the wise men, instead of from the particular class to which the science belonged. The glaring injustice involved in his demand is apparent.

(*e*) That Daniel should have undertaken the office of *president* of the wise men in Babylon is unlikely, because it was connected with idolatry. A man so scrupulous in his religious views as Daniel, would have seen at once that he could not enter upon the duties of such an office without being involved in the idolatry of the land. The institution was a part of that idolatry. Daniel was not the person to do anything that militated against the honour and worship of the true God, whom he faithfully worshipped in the midst of perils. Let it not be said that "the wise men" were a learned class, *including* the priests, but not *identical with* them, and therefore foreigners of a different caste might be admitted among them. The words of v. 11 are express: "whom thy father made master of the magicians, astrologers, Chaldeans, soothsayers." Surely one of these classes consisted of priests. The question, too, is not whether a foreigner of another religion might be admitted into a class including priests, but whether a man so scrupulously averse to heathen notions and practices as Daniel would undertake the

duty of presiding over a priestly caste; or at least over a class containing idolatrous priests. The thing is contrary to Daniel's known character.

(*f*) It is singular that Daniel should have been absent from the dedication of the golden image set up by Nebuchadnezzar in the plain of Dura. The three friends were there; and it is difficult to account for his absence. Assumptions are ready to explain the fact, but all are improbable. It is not likely that the position in which he stood towards the king prevented his accusers from trying to ensnare him; or that they made a first attempt with the three by way of experiment. Herzfeld supposes that all the dignitaries of the empire were not invited, and that Daniel was one of the uninvited. But this is contrary to the words of the proclamation, which specified the gathering together of "the princes, the governors, the captains, the judges, the treasurers, the counsellors, the sheriffs, and *all the rulers* of the provinces," etc. Surely this included *all* officials.

(*g*) The seven years' malady of Nebuchadnezzar is strange and improbable: "thy dwelling shall be with the beasts of the field, and they shall make thee to eat grass as oxen, and they shall wet thee with the dews of heaven, and seven times shall pass over thee," etc (iv. 25). The changes in the empire necessarily consequent on such an illness must have been great. The absence of the head of an empire from its government for seven years, not his death, was no ordinary occurrence. The nature of the disease, too, "eating grass as oxen, and living with the cattle as though he were one of them" is peculiar. The whole case could hardly have been passed over by historians, however briefly they touched upon the life and reign of Nebuchadnezzar. No trace of its mention has been found elsewhere. We see from the extract of Berosus given by Josephus, that *he* did not notice it. After all the torture to which Hengstenberg has subjected Berosus's words, they say no more than that Nebuchadnezzar fell sick and died. Ἐμπεσὼν εἰς ἀῤῥωστίαν μετηλλάξατο τὸν βίον, is nearly the same as is stated of his father; Ναβουχοδνοσόρῳ συνέβη κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν ἀῤῥωστήσαντι μεταλλάξαι τὸν βίον. It is gratuitous to draw a distinction between ἐμπεσὼν εἰς ἀῤῥωστίαν and ἀῤῥωστήσας, as Hengstenberg does, for there is no perceptible difference between them.[1] A fragment of Abydenus in Eusebius is also appealed to by the same critic, which runs thus: "It is said by the Chaldeans that Nebuchadnosor mounted to the heights of his palace when he was seized by a divine inspiration, and called out thence, O Babylonians, I announce to you an impending calamity which neither my

[1] Beiträge, p. 106.

progenitor Belus, nor queen Beltis, could persuade the fates to avert, viz., a mule will come from Persia, having the help of your gods, and will impose upon you a yoke of bondage, whose associate in the work will be a Mede. Would that some whirlpool would first swallow him up, or that he would wander through the desert where there are no cities, no path of men, where the wild beasts have their pasture and birds fly, straying about solitary among the rocks and clefts. After he had uttered this prophecy, he suddenly disappeared." What is said here about the Babylonian king resembles Daniel's story of Nebuchadnezzar. Hence Hengstenberg assumes a transference of the one account to the other, or an intentional distortion of it, or a false apprehension of the Chaldean tradition on the part of Abydenus. And how does the bold critic interpret the expression that Nebuchadnezzar suddenly disappeared after uttering the prophetic words. He admits that Abydenus, or the tradition he gives, supposed that Nebuchadnezzar died soon after his declaration of the future. But it disagrees with Daniel, who says of Nebuchadnezzar that he was again "established in his kingdom, and excellent majesty was added to him" (iv. 36). According to our book the Chaldean king lived and flourished after his madness; whereas, according to Abydenus, he immediately disappeared. In short, Abydenus never speaks of *such* a condition of Nebuchadnezzar as is described in Daniel. The monarch's *madness* is not mentioned. What appears to us probable is, that at the end of his life a peculiar sort of malady befell Nebuchadnezzar. The tradition respecting it took different shapes among the Jews and Babylonians, agreeably to their opinions of the king; the former have given their version of the legend in Daniel, which is unfavourable to Nebuchadnezzar; the latter having dressed it out so as to redound to his praise, for they represent him to have been seized with a divine *afflatus*. The same fact, whatever it was, lies at the foundation of both accounts. The Biblical one had for its object the honour of Jehovah and exaltation of Daniel. Jehovah is acknowledged to be the true God on the part of the monarch after his recovery. But the fact of this remarkable change of mind is unhistorical; else the Deutero-Isaiah and Ezekiel would have mentioned it. The importance attached to the story by Hengstenberg and his school is of no service to their cause, as long as the great difference exists between Abydenus and Daniel. It is easy *to assume* the literal correctness of the latter, and then to twist the former into harmony with it. Manipulation will effect a sort of agreement; but its one-sidedness is plain. The only way in which a critic can shew their connection is by supposing some fact to have lain at their basis, which was dressed

out as a legend by different peoples, according to their inclinations and tastes.

It is sometimes said that Berosus would not tarnish the glory of his country's greatest monarch by mentioning so debasing an affliction. If that is insufficient, it is suggested that he was not aware of it, because all monuments belonging to the time of Nebuchadnezzar's malady would have been subject to his own revision; and if any record of it was allowed to descend to posterity, care would have been taken that the truth was not made too plain. How easy it is to frame excuses for a thing that does not appear. If the language in Dan. iv. 34-37 be really that of Nebuchadnezzar, a monarch humbled and converted to the knowledge of the true God, he might be expected to proclaim and record what had happened to him. He attained to greater majesty than before by the gracious interference of the God of heaven. The supposition that the "Standard Inscription," which, as read by Sir H. Rawlinson, refers to a cessation of the works of Nebuchadnezzar, and so contains the royal version of the mysterious malady told of by Daniel, appears to us very improbable.[1] Granting the correctness of Rawlinson's interpretation, how can such statements as "he did not build high places—he did not lay up treasures—he did not sing the praises of his lord, Merodach—he did not offer him sacrifice—he did not keep up the works of irrigation," refer to the event in his life which Daniel relates? The likeness is far-fetched indeed.

(h) In the fifth chapter a great number of events are crowded into a single night—so great that there does not seem sufficient time for all. Belshazzar gave a great feast to a thousand of his lords. During the drinking of wine he commanded that the gold and silver vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had taken from the temple should be brought. They were so accordingly; and wine was profanely drunk out of them by himself, his princes, his wives and concubines, while they praised their own idols. After this the handwriting on the wall appeared. Then the astrologers, Chaldeans, and soothsayers were summoned, and urged to explain the writing by the promise of great rewards. These must have spent a considerable time in attempting to decipher it, before they confessed their inability. After this Daniel was brought in according to the advice of the queen. Why he should not have been applied to before is not clear. A man whom Nebuchadnezzar had made master of the magicians, astrologers, Chaldeans, soothsayers, was not likely to be very obscure or unknown. Yet he was so. The queen alone recollected him. Hengstenberg indeed appeals to the oriental prac-

[1] In Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. ii. p. 586.

tice of removing astrologers from office at the death of a Persian monarch, and supposes that the same happened to Daniel at the decease of Nebuchadnezzar; while Hävernick conjectures that another and lower office was then conferred upon him; but a man like Daniel, set over all the wise men in the kingdom because he had done so marvellous things in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, was not likely to be put aside at his death. He was neither an astrologer nor a physician. He had occupied a position of pre-eminence far above any Chaldean philosopher; and was separated from them by worship as well as knowledge. Besides, Belshazzar does not seem entirely ignorant of his person; for he says, "art thou that Daniel, which art of the captivity of the children of Judah, whom the king my father brought out of Jewry?" (ver. 13). After Daniel read the mysterious writing in a manner so unfavourable to the king, the latter not only accepted the explanation at once, though he could not tell whether it was right or not, but invested him with a purple robe, put a gold chain about his neck, and proclaimed him third in rank in the kingdom. In the same night Belshazzar was slain. It is very difficult to conceive of all these events in the course of a single night.

Another difficulty in the fifth chapter is the immediate succession of Darius called the *Mede*, described as the son of Ahasuerus, *i.e.* Xerxes, in the ninth chapter (ver. 1). Thus a Median dynasty immediately succeeded the Babylonian. This fact may be questioned with reason, though attested by Xenophon and Josephus. According to these historians, Cyrus conquered Babylon for his father-in-law Cyaxares II., son of Astyages. Accordingly Darius the Mede is identified with Cyaxares II. Many critics follow this view. On the other hand, Herodotus knows nothing of this Cyaxares II. between Astyages and Cyrus. He says that after Astyages had reigned thirty-five years, he was conquered by Cyrus at Parsagada, and died childless. Ctesias agrees. Dionysius of Halicarnassus has the same view, though he was Herodotus's opponent. The latter chapters of Isaiah, from the fortieth onward, represent Cyrus as an independent prince conquering Babylon; so that the dominion passed from the Babylonians to the Medo-Persians.

The books of Chronicles and Ezra speak of Cyrus alone, without mention of Cyaxares; and the story of Bel and the Dragon begins: "After the death of king Astyages, the kingdom came to Cyrus the Persian." Thus no Cyaxares II. was known to the Jews any more than to Herodotus and Ctesias. Hence he seems to be an imaginary person, inserted between Astyages and Cyrus to fill up an empty space. How then does Xenophon speak of Cyaxares as uncle of Cyrus, and a weak, voluptuous

monarch who entrusted his nephew with the management of affairs, and gave him his daughter in marriage, so that Cyrus succeeded to the Median throne? We cannot attach historical importance to the Cyropædia of this writer. The work is a didactic romance, not true history. Respecting Astyages, Cyaxares, and Cyrus, Xenophon followed uncertain tradition, not authentic sources. The Cyropædia-account disagrees with that in the Anabasis, as well as with the Persian writer Mirchond. Herodotus, too, expressly states that the fabulous was connected with the decease of Cyrus, but that he himself relates what seems to come nearest the truth. His account differs from Xenophon's. Yet the author of Daniel does not follow the same tradition with Xenophon. He deviates from the Greek historian in various points. Why then does he put Darius the Mede where Xenophon has Cyaxares? He chose the name Darius, which was a common one in the Bible, and put to it *the Mede*, because Darius is always the name of a Persian king, to indicate the succession of another dynasty. Persian appellations like Darius were often mere *surnames* or *titles;* and therefore they could be readily used in cases where the proper name was unknown.

Those who identify Darius the Mede with Astyages, or with Neriglissar, or with Nabonadius, make hypotheses beset with great difficulties. The first, which is the most plausible, is exposed to the objection that Darius the Mede was the son of Ahasuerus or Xerxes; while Astyages was son of Cyaxares. Besides, Darius the Mede was only sixty-two in B.C. 538; whereas Astyages must have been seventy-five at that time. Nor can he have been a Median noble, whom Cyrus entrusted with the government of Babylon, as Schleyer supposes,[1] because vi. 1, etc., does not agree with that notion. He appeals indeed to vi. 1, where it is said "he *took* the kingdom" (קִבֵּל מַלְכוּתָא); but that expression by no means implies that he received it at the hands of another. Equally ineffectual is it to lay any stress on הָמְלַךְ, the Hophal in ix. 1, as if it involved the idea of *being made king by another*.[2] Auberlen repeats what Schleyer says.[3]

The last king of Babylon is called Belshazzar, Nebuchadnezzar's *son* (v. 11, 13), and is said to have been slain when Babylon was taken by Cyrus. These particulars cannot be reconciled with history. Berosus calls the last king Nabonnedus; Ptolemy, Nabonadius; Alexander Polyhistor, Nabodenus; Megasthenes, Nabonedochus. Most critics have identified Belshazzar with this monarch, because it is plainly implied

[1] Würdigung der Einwürfe, u. s. w., p. 185, et seqq.
[2] See Bleek, Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie, fünfter Band, i., p. 65.
[3] Der Prophet Daniel, u. s. w., p. 190, first edition.

in Daniel (v. 28, 30, 31; vi. 1) that the Babylonian dynasty terminated with him. Hence those who suppose Belshazzar to be Evilmerodach (2 Kings xxv. 27), or Neriglissar, or Laborosoarchod, are mistaken. He is the Labynetus of Herodotus, who was evidently misled in the name by the similarity of Nabonnedus and Labynetus. That he was not the son of Nebuchadnezzar, as Herodotus and Daniel say, appears from the statements of Berosus, Megasthenes, and Abydenus, which agree in substance. Berosus says that Nabonnedus was one of the conspirators against Laborosoarchod; that he had reigned seventeen years when Cyrus invaded Babylonia; that he went to meet Cyrus in the open field, was vanquished, and threw himself into the fortress Borsippa, and having afterwards surrendered, was allowed to dwell in Caramania where he died a natural death.[1] Abydenus differs from this only in the unimportant point that Nabonnedus was made governor of Caramania after Babylon was taken. Berosus calls him merely *τινὰ τῶν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος*, involving a denial that he was of royal blood, and had no claim to the throne—a statement confirmed by Megasthenes. In opposition to Stuart,[2] we believe that the words of Berosus and Megasthenes involve a denial of Belshazzar's descent from Nebuchadnezzar; and are alike contradictory to Daniel's statement, whether בַּר be taken as *son*, *grandson*, or *descendant*. But the natural sense of אָב (ver. 10), and בַּר (ver. 22), is *father* and *son*, not *forefather* and *descendant* or *grandson*. Vaihinger conjectures that Nabonnedus was a younger son of Nebuchadnezzar, his mother being Nitocris the queen of Nebuchadnezzar. Berosus is an old and credible writer, who drew his materials from Babylonian records or tradition.

In 1854 cylinders of Nabonadius were brought by Rawlinson from the temple of Shin at Mugheir, containing the name of a prince *Bilshar-uzur* (Rawlinson), or *Binhlu-sar-yuzhur* (Hincks), the Belshazzar of Daniel. From the inscriptions on the cylinders, it has been inferred that Belshazzar, as Nabonadius's son, was associated with him on the throne during the latter part of his reign, with the royal title. It is also conjectured that *he* conducted the defence of Babylon, and was slain at its capture, while his father at Borsippa surrendered.

According to Hincks, who has carefully examined the cuneatic inscriptions, they establish three facts:—1st. Nabonadius was king of Babylon till the conquest of the city by Cyrus. 2nd. His eldest son was named Belshazzar. 3rd. The impostors in the time of Darius, who headed the Babylonian revolts, styled

[1] Apud Joseph. c. Apion i., 20; and Apud Megasthenes or Abydenus in Euseb. Præpar. Evangelica, ix., 40, 41.

[2] Commentary on Daniel, pp. 144, 145.

themselves Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabonadius. The same scholar adds, that the last fact leads by fair inference to two others, viz., 4th, Belshazzar, the eldest son of Nabonadius, died in so public a manner that no impostor could pretend to be he; 5th, Nabonadius having called his younger son Nebuchadnezzar, and not being himself a member of the family of that king, was, in all probability, married to his daughter, the widow of Neriglissar.[1]

The passage in the inscription is made to sustain a fabric of considerable strength. Imagination and conjecture, especially on the part of Rev. Dr. Rawlinson, as one of his paragraphs about Belshazzar testifies,[2] play their part well. But intractable difficulties remain. Though Rawlinson and Hincks try to bring profane history, and the family history as far as we have it on inscriptions, into accordance with the book of Daniel, which they always do on the assumption of the latter's unquestionable correctness, they have not succeeded. In relation to the chief points we observe—

First. Belshazzar is not styled *king* in the inscription, either *sole king* or *in conjunction with* his father. Nothing more is *implied* than that he was heir-apparent to the crown. Daniel's narrative disagrees with the assumption that Belshazzar was merely his father's *associate* on the throne. Throughout the fifth chapter he appears as sole king. In the hand-writing on the wall, as interpreted by Daniel, we find, "thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians." We also read, "in that night was Belshazzar *the king of the Chaldeans* slain."

Secondly. "Belshazzar could not have been more than sixteen years old at the time when Babylon was taken. It is not very probable, though it is certainly possible, that he was given the royal title at the age of thirteen or fourteen. It is much more likely that this took place shortly before the capture of the city. Besides, if the year 539 B.C. were the third of Belshazzar, the year 541 B.C. must have been his first; and yet Ptolemy, in his canon, reckons the whole seventeen years which preceded 538 B.C. as years of Nabonadius; and there are also two tablets in the British Museum which (apparently at least) bear date in the sixteenth year of *Nabuna'hid*. It seems strange, and it appears to us, we admit, unaccountable, that if Belshazzar were then king, in conjunction with his father, he should not be named with him on these tablets."[3]

This difficulty is attempted to be removed by the supposition that the king, in whose sixteenth year these tablets are dated, was not the Nabonadius of the canon, but another king who

[1] Journal of Sacred Literature for January, 1862, p. 409.
[2] Herodotus, vol. i. p. 525. [3] Hincks in Journal of Sac. Lit., pp. 410, 411.

bore the same name; in other words, that the Nabopolassar of the canon was also called Nabonadius.[1] Here some conjecture is resorted to, for the purpose of removing a "Biblical difficulty."

Another way of overcoming the difficulty, suggested by Hincks, is to suppose Belshazzar a corrupt reading for Nergalshazzar. Here another conjecture is advanced.

Thirdly. It is only an *assumption* that Nabonadius married a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar.

Fourthly. If he did so, בַּר in Daniel must mean *grandson*, not *son*, which, to say the least, is very improbable in the absence of a context to justify the meaning.

Fifthly. In Daniel, Belshazzar is always spoken of in connection with Nebuchadnezzar, not Nabonadius, as if the former was his father, not the latter: "thou, his son, O Belshazzar, hast not humbled thine heart," etc. (v. 22).

Sixthly. Herodotus says that the king in Babylon at the time of its capture was the son of Nitocris, and that he had the name of his father Labynetus=Nabonadius.

Seventhly. The manner in which Berosus speaks of Babylon's capture does not suit either Belshazzar's co-regency, or sole kingship. This native historian states that "the king of Babylon marched against the enemy, but was conquered, and threw himself into Borsippa." Hereupon it is added, Cyrus took Babylon and then marched against Borsippa, as though the city were taken as a matter of course, after the king was conquered. Who would imagine from this that Belshazzar was king within the capital, or the king's son with the royal title, conducting its defence? Berosus speaks of Nabonadius alone.

These observations indicate our belief that the obscurities in Daniel's narrative respecting Belshazzar are not removed by the cuneatic inscriptions of Nabonadius, though the latter have been read and explained by scholars favourable to the truth of the Biblical narrative. The sacred history may be correct. But it is liable to the charge of incorrectness as yet, because various particulars disagree with profane history and the inscriptions. It is easy to throw discredit on the Babylonian historian in this instance, as Hengstenberg does, supposing him to be actuated by a desire to lessen the disgrace of Babylon's fall;[2] but why impeach Abydenus and Megasthenes too? They were *Greek* writers, to whom the alleged motive hardly applies. It is vain for Zündel to assume that the connection of vi. 1 and v. 30, a connection indicated by the copulative ו, is not one of *immediate*

[1] Hincks in Journal of Sac. Lit., p. 411.
[2] Die Authentie des Daniel, u. s. w. pp. 325, 326.

succession in time, and therefore that Belshazzar was not the last king of Babylon, but Evilmerodach,[1] as he supposes. The context plainly implies that the taking of Babylon by Darius followed the slaying of Belshazzar in rapid succession. Herodotus agrees with this.

(i) It is hardly credible that the king (called Darius the Mede) should have promulgated such a decree to his subjects under pain of death as that mentioned in vi. 7—viz., that whoever should ask a petition of any God or man for the space of thirty days, except of the king, should be cast into the den of lions. Why for thirty days only? And how could the presidents of the kingdom, the governors, princes, counsellors and captains have been in Babylon out of the whole empire for a considerable time, apparently with their wives and families too (ver. 25). Hengstenberg supposes that the Medo-Persians looked upon the king as the incarnation of Ormuzd, and that divine honours were offered to his person; whence the decree must have been intended by the king and his counsellors to elevate the Medo-Persian religion to a position of universality through the whole empire.[2] Had the king, however, commanded a kind of worship which was deeply rooted in the Magian religion, he would have been doing a superfluous thing to his own subjects, who had no need of force to compel them to perform the duties of their native religion.

11. Daniel is spoken of in a laudatory manner which could hardly have proceeded from himself. Honourable epithets are attached to his name (i. 17, 19, etc.; v. 11, etc.; vi. 4; ix. 23; x. 11).

To this Hengstenberg and Keil reply, that some of the laudatory expressions proceed from others, and are no more than a faithful record of what was said of him or to him. Of this nature is v. 11, 12, where the queen says to Belshazzar, "There is a man in thy kingdom in whom is the spirit of the holy gods; and in the days of thy father, light and understanding and wisdom like the wisdom of the gods was found in him," etc. Sometimes these epithets were meant to glorify God who endowed his servant with marvellous wisdom, as in i. 17, 19; etc.; vi. 4; or they served to fill out a description which would otherwise be incomplete. And all may be compared with similar expressions of the Apostle Paul respecting himself, in the epistles to the Corinthians. They contain no self-laudation inconsistent with the fact that the book was composed by Daniel himself.

This answer is unsatisfactory. Passages like i. 19, 20; vi. 4,

[1] Kritische Untersuchungen ueber die Abfassungszeit des Buches Daniel, p. 30, et seqq.

[2] Beiträge, p. 134.

are not thus accounted for: "Among them all was found none like Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah," etc., etc. . . . . "And in all matters of wisdom and understanding that the king enquired of them, he found them ten times better than all the magicians and astrologers that were in all his realm." "Then the presidents and princes sought to find occasion against Daniel concerning the kingdom; but they could find none occasion nor fault; forasmuch as he was faithful, neither was there any error or fault found in him." This language is not necessary to fill out the description; nor is it similar to what Paul says of himself. Some of the passages are unsuitable in the mouth of Daniel himself, who would scarcely have said or written them.

12. In the third chapter the names of several musical instruments occur which are almost Greek; as קִיתָרוֹס *κίθαρις*; פְּסַנְתֵּרִין *ψαλτήριον*; סוּמְפֹּנְיָה *συμφωνία*; שַׂבְּכָא *σαμβύκη* (verses 5, 7, 10).

Hengstenberg and Hävernick deny the Grecian origin of these words. The latter derives סוּמְפֹּנְיָה from סוּף a reed, and tries to give it an oriental etymology;[1] but Polybius, Athenæus, and others represent it as a *single musical instrument;* and were it derived from סוּף it would not have its present form. The two unreliable ones are קִיתָרוֹס, which though identical with the Greek *κίθαρις* is of Asiatic origin; Persian *Si-tareh,* six-stringed; and שַׂבְּכָא, representative of an instrument which Athenæus holds to be an invention of the Syrians.[2] The other two are unquestionably Greek. It is of no use for Fürst and Meier to assert that *symphonia* is a Semitic word; the contrary is too apparent to be denied. The *ipse-dixit* of men who *try* to differ from Gesenius is little worth. It is *possible* that the instruments and their names may have been taken from Greece to Babylon by intercourse between the two peoples: But it is improbable that the reception of Greek words into the Aramæan took place before Alexander the Great. All the influence exerted by the Greek over the Babylonian till then was comparatively unimportant; whereas Greek instruments with Greek names presuppose very considerable influence over the upper Asiatics. The writer, whoever he was, must have got the names of these instruments from the Greeks either directly or indirectly. Is it at all likely that Daniel would have done so? But a Palestinian Jew, living in the period of Alexander's Hellenic successors might very naturally use the words in question. They suit his age and position much better than that of a Jew in the Babylonian captivity,

[1] Commentar, p. 108.

[2] Lib. iv., cap. 23.

when the influence of Greek on Aramæan must have been small.

13. The language is such as to betray a late time. The style is awkward in places; the mode of expression careless, embarrassed, obscure. As the Hebrew was gradually dying out, its mastery was difficult. Hence the laboured expression occasionally observable. In breadth and disposition the mode of writing is inferior to that of Ezekiel and Zechariah. Examples occur in רָוָא דְנָה גְּלִי לִי (i. 21); וַיְהִי דָּנִיֵּאל עַד־שְׁנַת אַחַת לְכוֹרֶשׁ הַמֶּלֶךְ (ii. 30); אִשְׁתְּיו חַמְרָא (v. 4); וְאֵין לוֹ (ix. 26); וּזְרֹעוֹ (xi. 6); דִּבַּר חָכְמַת בִּינָה (i. 20). The author does not use *vau conversive*, and omits the article when there can be no ambiguity, as in viii. 12. He also imitates Jeremiah, who was nearly contemporary with Daniel, a Babylonian captive, as in i. 5, where the expressions are obviously derived from Jer. lii. 33, 34, and xii. 1, compared with Jer. xxx. 7. He also makes use of Ezekiel; compare viii. 26 with Ezek. xii. 27. The vision in viii. 2, in regard to its locality, is analogous to Ezek. i. 1. Dan. x. 6 is from Ezek. i. 7, 14-16, 24. The prayer in the ninth chapter has verbal reminiscences of Neh. ix. 9-38. Ver. 4 is evidently from Neh. i. 5, compare ix. 32. A number of words occur, which appear elsewhere only in the latest canonical books, Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles, and Esther, as פָּרָס v. 28; vi. 9, 13, etc., which is also in Ezra and 2 Chron. Neh. xii. 22 has the Gentile פַּרְסִי; הֵיךְ Dan. x. 17 and 1 Chron. xiii. 12; מַרְעִית Dan. x. 11 and Ezra x. 9; מַדָּע Dan. i. 4, 17 and 2 Chron. i. 10, 11; Eccles. x. 20; כְּתָב Dan. v. 8, 15, etc., and Ezra vi. 18, vii. 22; זְהַר *splendour*, Dan. xii. 3; Ezek. viii. 2.

The following are peculiar to Daniel. They belong to a later period of the language, and are partly Aramæan and Persian. פַּרְתְּמִים i. 3, *nobles:* this is Persian. אַפַּדָּן *palace:* this is Syriac and Arabic. אַשָּׁף *an enchanter*, i. 20, ii. 2: Hebrew and Aramæan. גִּיל *an age* or *generation*, i. 10; מַכְמַנִּים *treasures*, xi. 43; הַתָּמִיד, without עוֹלַת or מִנְחַת, viii. 11-13, xi. 31, xii. 11, *the daily sacrifice;* חָתַךְ *to decree*, ix. 24; רָשַׁם *to record*, x. 21; פַּלְמֹנִי viii. 13, *such an one;* קַדִּישִׁים *saints, i.e.* the Jews; כְּרַז *to proclaim*, v. 29, is Sanscrit and Persian; כָּרוֹז *a herald*, iii. 4; נִבְזְבָה *a gift*, ii. 6, perhaps Persian; זְרָעִים and זֵרְעוֹנִים greens or vegetables, *food made from them*, is a Talmudic word, Dan. i. 12, 16. The proverbial expression *none can stay his hand* (iv. 35), is found only in the Talmud and Targumists.

The degenerate and late character of the Hebrew used in the

book cannot be denied. Nor can the style be called good. It is prosaic even in the prophetic parts; though they are more rhetorical and lively. The historical descriptions are prolix in their details. Though the author uses Chaldee and Hebrew alternately, it is obvious that the former was easier and more natural to him than the latter. Hence he slides into the Chaldee awkwardly at ii. 4. At vii. 2, Daniel speaks and continues to do so; yet the author retains the Chaldee. As he proceeds, however, he begins to think that it would be more appropriate for the old prophet to speak Hebrew; and therefore he relapses into it after the seventh chapter. This alternate use of Hebrew and Chaldee is perfectly consistent with the Maccabean period. It is a mistake to say that it is only natural at a time when both languages were currently *spoken* by the Jews; because Hebrew was written by the educated after it ceased to be spoken. Both are in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, whose date cannot be before 330 B.C., long after the captivity. The Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach was also written in Hebrew, whose date is about 180 B.C.

14. In ix. 2, we read that Daniel had been searching into the Old Testament Scriptures, especially the prophecies of Jeremiah, to ascertain the time when the seventy years' desolation of Jerusalem should be accomplished: "I Daniel understood by books," or "by the books," בַּסְּפָרִים. The expression refers to the Old Testament collection, equivalent to τὰ *βιβλία, the books;* so that Jeremiah's prophecies are supposed to belong to a collection of canonical books already made. Wieseler's hypothesis that allusion is made to the two Scripture rolls (Jer. xxv. and xxix.; comp. xxv. 19, and xxix. 1) is improbable, because of the article prefixed. Those chapters could scarcely be called "the books."[1] Hävernick would translate,[2] *the letter, i.e.* Jeremiah's letter to the captives; and thus the reference is to Jer. xxix. 10; but the verse before us has a clearer connexion with Jer. xxv. 11, 12, where mention is made of the period during which Jerusalem was to lie waste. It would not be stated that the prophet came to the knowledge of the seventy years' duration of exile by Jeremiah's letter, because, as a captive in Babylon, he would have known that before. Hengstenberg supposes the allusion to be to one of the *private collections of the sacred writings* in use before the exile.[3] But it cannot be assumed that Jeremiah was in every such collection. Daniel's reckoning attaches itself to the twenty-fifth chapter, not to the twenty-ninth; and the existence of private collections of the holy books with Jeremiah

[1] Die siebzig Wochen, u. s. w., p. 4.
[2] Commentar, pp. 327, 328.
[3] Beiträge, pp. 33, 34.

in them is conjectural. The reference is therefore to *the recognised, well-known* collection of sacred books made before the Maccabean period. It is useless to say, with Hengstenberg, that the technical term in use among the later Jews to denote the canonical collection was not הַסְּפָרִים but הַכְּתוּבִים, because the former is equivalent to *τὰ βιβλία*, an expression frequently applied to the whole canon. Indeed, among the Rabbins ספרים and כתובים, with הקדוש, are interchangeably employed.

In the first year of Darius the Mede, the time to which the vision refers, the prophetic writings could not have been put together in one book. It is impossible to conceive of that being done before Cyrus. Had the Daniel supposed to be the writer of the book lived during the exile, he could not have instituted inquiries about the completion of the seventy years till they had elapsed or were on the point of completion; because the idea that they were anything but seventy natural years was then out of the question. Till *about* or *after* their completion he could be in no doubt respecting the thing he inquired into. But after the greater part of the people had returned home and were in disastrous circumstances, their worship being hindered and their spirits fallen, a feeling would naturally arise in their minds that the deliverance predicted by the prophets had not yet taken place, and that the prophecy was essentially unfulfilled. As the pious reflected on the seventy years, they would begin to think that they should be understood in another than the literal sense. Oppression would induce them to look anew into the predictions of former prophets, and particularly the seventy years' period of Jeremiah, to discover whether they allowed of an application to *their* times, and a speedy fulfilment of the divine promises. Accordingly an intimation to Daniel is here put into the mouth of Gabriel, that the seventy period should soon elapse. The close was to be marked by the tyranny of Antiochus Epiphanes; Jehovah would then fulfil all his declarations of good. In every point of view it is unlikely that Daniel, were he nearly contemporary with Jeremiah, should think it necessary or desirable to search into the prophecies of the latter respecting the seventy years' exile. The author of our book must have lived at a period when the theocratic truths that nourished the spirits of the pious were not new. Men studied old books. They felt doubts and scruples pressing upon their mind. They possessed old prophecies, for whose accomplishment they longed, fondly hoping that their application was still future. Hence they began to explain former oracles, or to transform them into another shape; as is done in the ninth chapter, where Jeremiah's prediction respecting the seventy years is recast; though Jeremiah was

almost contemporary with Daniel, the Babylonian captive. No such *interpretation* of the prophets can be supposed before Ezra.

Sometimes the author consciously or unconsciously betrays his position. He gives repeated assurances that his prophecies contain truth (ii. 45, viii. 26, x. 1). He also remarks that the visions are sealed, and must remain secret till the time of their fulfilment (viii. 26, xii. 4). This is unlike an old prophet. When Stuart asks, "Are not such assurances frequent in Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and other prophets, and especially in the Apocalypse?"[1] we answer *no*. The Apocalypse, which largely imitates Daniel, should not be brought into the comparison, because it is not in the Old Testament region of prophecy.

15. There is considerable uniformity of matter and manner. The same elements appear throughout. What befalls Daniel and his companions is usually the same. Astrologers are unsuccessful; and then Daniel steps forth in all his wisdom. The three are thrown into a fiery furnace and delivered by an angel. Daniel is cast into the lions' den and saved by an angel. He fasts repeatedly, and prays for revelations which are brought to him by an angel. He attains to new honours and dignities at the close of each narrative. The sections often conclude with the praises of Jehovah. The prophetic visions have one issue—the death of Antiochus Epiphanes; but the last closes with the Messianic salvation. The kings issue decrees to their subjects, commanding all to worship Jehovah. An independent prophet would scarcely write thus. His oracles would present more variety of subject and manner. Were the book authentic, the author would not make the heathen kings speak like Jews: "The king answered and said, Of a truth it is, that your God is a God of gods, and a Lord of kings, and a revealer of secrets, seeing thou couldest reveal this secret" (ii. 4). Comp. also iii. 29; iv. 34-37; vi. 26, 27. We are unable to see how Stuart can deny this uniformity, except by exaggerating it into *sameness*—an echoing of the same thing in nearly the same language. This he does, and then boldly asserts that nothing can be farther from the truth than such a charge.[2] No real critic says that there is "a tame, dull sameness" in the book. It does exhibit, however, a large degree of uniformity in the mould of its descriptions and the apparent object for which they were written. They are frequently cast into the same type, and terminate similarly. The exaltation of Daniel and his companions pervades a great part of the work; while the devastations committed by the insane Epiphanes and the Messianic deliverance from them are repeatedly adduced, as though the whole writing grew out of the time in which An-

[1] Commentary, p. 474.

[2] Commentary, p. 477.

tiochus came in contact with the Jews, and was meant to strengthen the people in their endurance against him.

16. It is unlikely that the future should have been revealed to Nebuchadnezzar in a dream by Jehovah himself, either symbolically or otherwise. It is equally improbable that Belshazzar should have received intimation of his kingdom passing away. Does the Lord disclose what is to come to heathen monarchs in this manner? We believe not. The dream of the Babylonian monarch is most marvellous. God made known to him "what should be in the latter days," as Daniel expressly states. Yet at the same time the knowledge communicated in the dream was allowed to escape his memory, that the prophet might have an opportunity of shewing his skill in interpretation. What is said to have been miraculously done to Belshazzar is also strange, if historical. Jehovah made known his fate to him in a very peculiar way, apparently to terrify him, since no time seems to have been granted for repentance. Such wonderful manifestations of the future to heathen kings are unlike His dealings towards them elsewhere, and transcend any known law of miracles that can be discovered. Is it not obvious that the exaltation of the hero of the book, Daniel, lies at their root? They are wrought to magnify the seer, rather than to disclose secrets worthy of God, or appropriate to the parties concerned. Had they occurred with the view of rescuing the Jewish people from imminent peril, or of assuring them of immediate relief from enemies, we might not consider them unhistorical. Had they even been done for the spiritual or moral benefit of a true prophet, to instruct him in what was to happen in the circle of his country's affairs, we might not be much surprised. But they are wonders done to heathens who ruled over the exiled Jews—the communication to them of a peculiar knowledge having no near relation to the fortunes of the chosen people—and cannot be thought to have effected as much as the conversion of the individuals themselves. We believe, therefore, that impartial critics will look on them as unhistorical; though a germ of the actual may possibly lie at their foundation.

17. The river Ulai is the scene of one of Daniel's visions, at Shushan, the residence of the Persian kings; but the river Chebar in the land of the Chaldeans—a river which runs into the Euphrates—is Ezekiel's locality. How are the different theatres to be explained in relation to Jewish captives nearly contemporary? Does not Ulai point to a time later than Cyrus? the Euphrates to the reign of a Babylonian king? Yet Daniel is said to have had the vision at Ulai, *in the reign of Belshazzar*. Hence the improbable allegation often made, that he prophesied during the whole of the captivity, and that his last prophecy

was delivered two years later, does not solve the Ulai-theatre of the vision during a *Babylonian* monarch's reign. And in the tenth chapter the prophet is said to have been by the side of the Hiddekel or Tigris, in the third year of Cyrus. Why was he *then* there, and not by the Euphrates, on which Babylon was built?

IV. ORIGIN AND AUTHORSHIP.—The historical chapters i.-vi. do not profess to have been composed by Daniel himself. The writer speaks throughout in the third person, both of himself and his companions. In the second part, however, it is said that Daniel had a dream and wrote it. In the succeeding visions the first person is regularly employed; as if Daniel himself were the narrator. Thus the latter portion is directly attributed to Daniel. And the first part is so intimately connected with the second as to shew unity of authorship. If so, the whole work claims to proceed from Daniel himself, who lived throughout the Babylonian captivity till the third year of Cyrus. But other considerations internal and external outweigh this testimony, bringing it down three centuries and a-half later, and pointing to an author contemporary with Antiochus Epiphanes. What then is to be affirmed of its professing to be the work of Daniel? Did the writer forge and falsify? Can he be convicted of dishonesty and deceit? Did he put on a mask to mislead his readers? Was he a bad man by resorting to dissimulation? By no means. It is wrong to view the matter in this light. He was no deceiver or dishonest man. His motive was good and right. To effect his purpose the more successfully, he chose a prophet renowned for wisdom in the tradition of his nation as the medium of communicating theocratic truths to his suffering countrymen. He uses Daniel and apocalyptic visions supposed to be revealed to him, as harmless but effectual drapery to set forth ideas fitted to sustain the oppressed people of God in the midst of persecution. When Daniel appears as the writer and relates his visions, it is nothing more than the literary envelope of a didactic or hortatory purpose. Similar phenomena are present in Ecclesiastes and Deuteronomy. The author of the book of Daniel, like Coheleth, was not desirous to mislead. He betrays his standpoint and age with sufficient clearness. All that he was intent upon concerned the energetic and skilful presentation of truths appropriate to his down-trodden countrymen at the time—truths conveyed in a form likely to sustain their faith, and to keep alive the hope of speedy deliverance from tyranny. He chose the vehicle that seemed best; and who shall blame him for it? He should not be judged by a modern standard of casuistry; nor accused of doing what may appear problematical in the eyes of modern theologians. A

harmless envelope for his thoughts is not equivalent to falsehood or forgery. If men have been misled by the form he assumed for the accomplishment of his object, the fault should not be laid to his door, but to their deficient sagacity. It is incorrect to say, as Hengstenberg and many others have done, that the series of opponents to the authenticity of the book was opened by Porphyry in the third century. Porphyry was certainly a heathen, and wrote against the Christian religion. But he was not the first impugner of Daniel. Hippolytus, a Roman bishop and orthodox Christian writer, also referred the work to the Maccabean period and Antiochus Epiphanes; as we know from his explanations of the book, partly Greek and partly Syriac.[1]

V. TIME WHEN THE BOOK WAS WRITTEN.—We have already seen that the work was unknown to Jesus Sirach, who lived B.C. 200-180. In many places the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes is referred to. His conduct towards the Jewish people is depicted, and his death predicted (comp. viii. 9, etc., 23, etc.; ix. 27; xi. 21-45; xii. 7, 11). The prophecies break off with his destruction. All that goes beyond the death of Antiochus relates to the establishment of the Messiah's kingdom, as in the twelfth chapter, where a promise of deliverance to the people is appended immediately to the insane procedure of Antiochus. We infer from ix. 25-27 that the Jews were already groaning under the cruel oppression of Antiochus; and that the worship of Jehovah in the temple was stopped by him. In the year 168 Antiochus was compelled by orders from Rome to forbear hostilities against the Ptolemies, to which he was obliged to submit. On his return he encamped on the shore of the Mediterranean, west of Jerusalem, "where tidings out of the east and north troubled him;" and therefore he "went forth with great fury to destroy and utterly to make away many. He planted the tabernacles of his palace between the seas in the glorious holy mountain" (xi. 44, 45). This still belongs to the year 168 B.C. In the same year the statue of Jupiter Olympius was set up in the temple. Beyond this time nothing appears to carry the reader. We may therefore date the work in 168, or at most 167, not long before the death of Antiochus. His cruelties had reached their height, and the pious were looking for his speedy destruction. The author was a Palestinian Jew, and probably lived at Jerusalem. Hitzig supposes that the book was written in Egypt by the high priest Onias IV., to whom he also assigns Is. xix. 16-25.[2] We cannot agree with him in this view; though he tries to shew its probability by a peculiar line of argument.

In Ezekiel we read: "Though these three men, Noah,

[1] See Ewald in the Göttingische Gelehrt. Anzeigen, 1859, pp. 270, 271.
[2] Das Buch Daniel, Vorbemerkungen, p. x.

Daniel, and Job were in it, they should deliver but their own souls by their righteousness, saith the Lord God. . . . . Though Noah, Daniel, and Job were in it, as I live, saith the Lord God, they shall deliver neither son nor daughter; they shall but deliver their own souls by their righteousness. . . . . Behold thou art wiser than Daniel; there is no secret they can hide from thee" (xiv. 14, 20; xxviii. 3). Do these places prove the historical existence of a prophet Daniel, who lived with Ezekiel in the time of the Babylonian captivity? The manner in which he is associated with Noah and Job favours his historical existence, though it is possible that he may be largely a poetical character, like Job. And it would appear that he belonged to an anterior age. He was a well-known character of the past. It is hardly credible that a young man could have attained to the fame for wisdom and righteousness which Ezekiel's language implies, when this prophet referred to him. A Jewish exile nearly contemporary with Ezekiel, like Daniel, can scarcely justify his juxta-position with Noah and Job, though he were thirteen or fourteen years absent from his native land, and elevated to a high station in Babylon. He is even spoken of as known to the prince of Tyre (Ezek. xxviii. 3), which is inconsistent with his new reputation acquired in Babylon. Hence we are unable to believe that the Daniel of Ezekiel and of the present book is identical. At the same time, we can hardly think that the details given of a captive in Babylon, and the circumstances of his life there, are fictitious—the offspring of the writer's invention. It is natural to look for a person of great piety and wisdom, like the Daniel of the book before us, whom we may bring into connection with the person whom Ezekiel meant. To suppose that the Daniel spoken of by Ezekiel, of whom nothing more was known than his reputation for uprightness and wisdom, was transplanted by the writer into the Babylonian captivity, and dressed out with all the imaginary traits given in the present book seems to us improbable. The case admits of various hypotheses.

(a) Bleek appears to think[1] that Ezekiel knew an older writing which treated of one Daniel, a man distinguished by legal piety and profound wisdom; but nothing definite respecting his age appeared in it. This book was lost at the time when ours was written. Hence the writer and his contemporaries had no other information about Daniel than what could be derived from Ezekiel. The want of such knowledge allowed of great freedom in treating of his person. Our author could frame his parabolic narratives in any way suitable for the hortatory purpose he had

[1] Einleitung, p. 608.

in view. The same critic accounts for the choice of the Babylonian captivity as the time in which the story was put, because it bore most resemblance to his own. At Babylon the Jews were without a temple and worship. They were surrounded by heathens, and in danger of participating in their idolatry. Daniel and his friends were exposed to the seductions of heathenism. Their faith was in peril. If they maintained it amid such circumstances, the more pious Jews in the time of Antiochus should do the same. The example ought to stimulate their zeal and animate their hopes.

(*b*) We are more inclined to adopt another hypothesis which the same critic mentions, viz., that there was a later Daniel among the Jews in exile.[1] In the history of Ezra and Nehemiah we meet with an individual of the same name, one of the exiles that returned with Ezra from Babylon, and who subsequently appears as a priest (Ezra viii. 2; Neh. x. 7). Contemporary with this Daniel, we meet with the names Azariah, Hananiah, and Mishael (Neh. x. 2, 23; Ezra viii. 4), the last of whom stood beside Ezra as he read the law in public. The coincidence of the names of all four is remarkable, and can scarcely be accidental, because *Mishael* is unusual. It is true that the times are different. The Daniel of Ezra is posterior to the Daniel of our book by about 160 years. Yet the author may have known some particulars of the history of the four persons which he has given in the book before us. They may have been handed down orally. We are inclined to believe that he borrowed more than their names—that he possessed information of their conduct, which was partly legendary and partly true history. In the account here given of Daniel, we must suppose, in any case, that the Daniel of Ezekiel was in the mind of the author, and moulded the portrait given.

If these observations have any truth, the writer of the book before us was not wholly a romancer. His production is partly historical. But the materials at his disposal were scanty and untrustworthy. In the mouths of the people they had acquired an exaggerated form. Fiction had done its part upon them. In addition to this, he felt free to embellish them himself, in conformity with the object he had in view. Although, therefore, there is a historical basis, it is all but impossible to separate it from the fictitious materials interwoven. The latter are probably the larger portion, though we cannot but think that Von Lengerke goes too far in holding everything in the book relating to Daniel himself to be pure fiction, the fifth chapter alone being a historical tradition.[2] It is hard to believe that a

[1] Einleitung, p. 609.

[2] Das Buch Daniel, p. xcv.

romance respecting Daniel could have gained acceptance among the people, or encouraged them to withstand tyranny to the death. Had Daniel's name and actions been current in the mouths of the people, we can suppose that the book would readily be received and fulfil its purpose; but romances do not make martyrs. In like manner we cannot agree with De Wette in believing that the third and sixth chapters are mere creations of the writer. That there is a historical element must be allowed with Gesenius and Kirms—an element more extensive than De Wette admits. The freedom given to the author by Von Lengerke and Bleek is too great. They would resolve nearly all into fiction.

Ewald thinks[1] that the Daniel of Ezekiel was a descendant of the ten tribes who lived at Nineveh. In this hypothesis he is followed by Bunsen.[2] The author of the book before us is also supposed to have known and used a work belonging to the time of Alexander, or soon after, in which prophecies about the empires of the world were put into the mouth of the Daniel, the Assyrian captive. These hypotheses will appear more or less probable to different minds. To us they seem unlikely. It is certainly true that Daniel is at the Tigris (x. 4), called the *great river;* but in viii. 2 he is in vision at Shushan in Media, from which it would be illogical to infer that he was a Medo-Persian. It is also true that Ezekiel, who wrote during the siege of Jerusalem, speaks of Daniel as a pious and wise man in the past (xiv. 14, 20; xxviii. 3), whereas the book of Daniel speaks of him as a youth who had been carried away to Babylon only ten years before Ezekiel (Jer. lii. 28); but the fact of his being associated with Noah and Job is scarcely sufficient to prove that he was an old seer, of whom traditional accounts existed long prior to Ezekiel. The fame of the youth had spread in Babylon, and reached his countrymen in Judea, before he had been ten years an exile. Having proved himself conspicuously *wise* and *righteous*, amid adverse circumstances and temptations, he was worthy of the association of Noah and Job. Several centuries do not seem necessary to justify the union with those ancient worthies.

VI. OBJECT.—The object which the writer had in view was to strengthen the faithful among the Jewish people under the tyranny of Antiochus Epiphanes, and to confirm them in their hope of deliverance. It can hardly be denied that the prophetic parts are well fitted for the purpose, especially the seventh, eighth, and twelfth chapters. The seer announces that the holy place should be purified; and those are pronounced happy who

[1] Die Propheten, vol. ii. p. 539, et seqq.
[2] Gott. in der Geschichte, vol. i. p. 514.

should wait and come to the thousand three hundred and five-and-thirty days. In xii. 1-3 it is true that the resurrection of the dead is brought into connection with the severe time of trouble; but there the resurrection of the Jews alone is meant, which is supposed to usher in the kingdom of Messiah. In the first verse (xii.) the seer receives the revelation, "thy people shall be delivered;" and in the second, he is informed that all the dead, exclusive of those just referred to as alive (ver. 1), should awake to life. The godly ones and martyrs should arise to everlasting life on earth, receiving compensation for the suffering they endured before; while shame and everlasting contempt, should befall the unfaithful. All this was highly encouraging to the oppressed, whom Antiochus had visited with cruel torture to turn them away from their religion. As no part of the book dates after Antiochus's death, the Jews needed all the admonition the author presents. We do not admit that Dan. viii. 14, 15, xi. 45, xii. 11, are posterior to the re-dedication of the temple by Judas, or the death of Antiochus. The whole was written *before* the tyrant's death; not contemporaneously, as Stähelin holds,[1] nor yet after. The close of the eleventh chapter, Antiochus's death is spoken of in a manner not at all conformable to history. Had that event happened *before* or *at the time of* writing, the book would have been different. Hence the argumentation of Herbst, to the effect that when the victory was won and the temple-worship restored, an Israelite could not well write that the dead should rise and all kingdoms of the world be given over to the Israelites since there was not the slightest symptom of such events, falls to the ground.[2] The first part, which is more historical than apocalyptic, was probably meant to shew the punishment which must necessarily overtake the oppressors of God's people, contrasted with the remarkable preservation of Jehovah's faithful servants, as the example of Daniel and his companions teaches. This harmonises with the main object of the whole work.

We doubt whether the picture of Nebuchadnezzar was expressly formed out of the writer's imagination to suggest a resemblance to Antiochus. The same remark we apply to Belshazzar and Darius. The dissimilarities are too numerous to justify the notion that they were presented for the purpose hinted at. None of the kings was well fitted to set before the reader a picture of Antiochus. The author followed traditional history, rather than his imagination. Hence the points of difference are many. In painting these monarchs, however, and Daniel's connection with them, it is probable that the writer

[1] Speciello Einleitung, u. s. w. p. 338, et seqq.
[2] Einleitung II. p. 97, et seqq.

wished them to suggest Antiochus Epiphanes. They interfered with the worship of Jehovah, or profaned his name. Daniel's steadfast resistance to the will of those who attempted to worship the true God is rewarded. He is delivered from persecution and death. Thus these very histories were fitted to encourage and comfort the people. The author's stirring narratives would make a sudden and salutary impression on his suffering countrymen. Expanding some of the national legends, we can well believe that his rolls dispersed among them would revive their spirits. If Daniel were delivered from the den of lions because he addressed petitions to his God, and not to the king as the nobles wished, why should not the suffering be rescued from the jaws of the tyrant who interrupted the daily sacrifice and set up an altar to Jupiter instead? If the three youths were snatched from a fiery furnace because they would not bow to an image, why should not the oppressed ones, who refused to abjure their religion, be saved from death? If Belshazzar lifted himself up against the Lord of heaven, and was suddenly cut off, why should not Antiochus be overthrown, and his kingdom come to an end? The times were peculiar. Thousands of the Jews had been murdered, and thousands were scattered in misery over the land; the sanctuary was defiled; the nation appeared on the verge of extinction. Men's hearts sank within them through fear and despondency. How eagerly would they seize and peruse these wonderful stories of godless monarchs, and faithful confessors under their rule? How readily would they compare the circumstances of the pious captives with their own; and the persons of heathen kings, as far as they opposed Jehovah or his servants, with Antiochus and his generals? They would listen to the old prophet revealing the fate of empires and of Antiochus in particular—the little horn which waxed exceeding great even to the host of heaven, who took away the daily sacrifice and prospered.

There is no difficulty in supposing that the Jews gave the book a place in the sacred collection, since they received Deuteronomy and Ecclesiastes, which are equally unauthentic. *That* did not need a re-opening of the closed canon, because the collection was not considered so sacred as that no book might be taken into it which did not reach a certain standard of excellence, or be the veritable production of him whose name it bore. The work was a strikingly prophetic one. It seemed to breathe the old spirit of prophecy again. The pious were not critical. How could they be so in the circumstances? They welcomed the book as a spirit-stirring and comforting one. Their successors followed their example; and it was accordingly admitted as a holy writing along with other late productions inferior in

value to itself. It is a modern view to suppose the Jews in possession of a fixed collection of canonical writings—sacred in its limits—at the time this book appeared, and yet inserting the supposititious prophecy. The canon, properly speaking, was never looked upon as *closed*. No precise barrier of inspiration belonged to it in the eyes of the Jews before Christ's advent. Their ideas of books that should or should not be put with the old writings, were vague and floating. Language and time were their guides, and not imperious ones. The prevailing spirit of the people determined the point. National taste, tone, and religious perception had some effect. *Definite canons* of ecclesiastical criticism were not the criteria employed. Till the time of Christ, or at least till the time when Judea was conquered by the Romans, the question remained in a somewhat loose state. And when the collection was finally settled, the result was brought about gradually—unconsciously for the most part to those concerned. It was not a *marked* thing. Nor did the time partake of the nature of an *era*.

VII. MANNER AND STYLE.—The descriptive power and style of the book vary in different places; but it may be said in general, that the first part is much superior to the second. The life of Daniel and his three friends, as far as it is given, shews a masterly skill in delineation. The visions present a lively imagination, attractive and elevating in its creations. But the prose in which they are embodied is dry and cold, particularly in the eleventh chapter. The language, too, is often awkward and obscure, indicating a writer who had considerable difficulty in employing the Hebrew, which had almost died out in his day. The prayer in the ninth chapter is better written than the rest. Aramæan was his natural tongue, and therefore he slides into it in the second chapter; but in the seventh he reluctantly reverts to the Hebrew, doubtless from the consciousness of its being the only becoming vehicle of prophecy. Thus the literary merits of the book are unequal; and though the author shews throughout no facility in writing Hebrew, he cannot be denied the possession of a vigorous imagination, and a superior skill in presenting his materials. Engrossed with the immediate present, he did not think of interspersing moral admonitions and exhortations, after the manner of the old prophets. The moral element is wanting, because his spiritual vision was filled with the terrible scenes through which his countrymen were passing, scenes in which he meant to animate, encourage, and strengthen them.

VIII. PASSAGES.—Chaps. ii. and vii.—It is commonly admitted that the same four dynasties are described in the second and seventh chapters. The imagery employed to represent them is

different; but the things themselves are identical. In the second chapter different parts of the human body, from the head to the feet, symbolise kingdoms; in the seventh, four great beasts rising up from the sea, *i.e.* from the contentions of the heathen nations, are employed for the same purpose. The fourth dynasty is described in terms almost identical in the two chapters (ii. 40, and vii. 7, 23). The feet and toes, partly iron and partly clay, symbolising a divided monarchy strong and weak at the same time (chap. ii.), correspond to the ten horns of the fourth beast (chap. vii). The little stone breaking the image in pieces is the Messianic kingdom (ii. 45), and is equivalent to the kingdom given to one like the Son of Man appearing with the clouds of heaven. This kingdom is made over to the saints of the Most High (vii. 14, 18). The Babylonian dynasty is the golden head of the image in chap. ii., as is said in the thirty-ninth verse; identical with the lion having eagle's wings of the seventh chapter. The three remaining dynasties are the subject of dispute. Thus some maintain:—

First. That they are the Medo-Persian, Macedo-Græcian, and Roman kingdoms. So Hengstenberg, Hävernick, Hofmann, Caspari, Keil, Auberlen, and others affirm.

Secondly. Redepenning and Hitzig understand by the head of gold, Nebuchadnezzar; by the silver breast and arms, Belshazzar; by the body, the Medo-Persian empire; and by the legs and feet, the Grecian one.

Thirdly. According to Bertholdt, Herzfeld, and Stuart, the second monarchy is the Medo-Persian; the third, that of Alexander; and the fourth, that of his successors.

Fourthly. Others make the second the Median, the third the Persian, and the fourth that of Alexander and his successors. This is affirmed by Eichhorn, Von Lengerke, Ewald, Bleek, Delitzsch, and others.

The last seems to us the correct view of the monarchies. In relation to the second, Darius *the Mede* is said to have taken the kingdom, after the Babylonian empire came to an end (vi. 1, ix. 1, xi. 1). Cyrus indeed, who conquered Babylon, is called king of *Persia* (x. 1), but he took it as general of Cyaxares II., who is probably identical with Darius the Mede. So Xenophon states the case, that Cyrus was not acting independently, but for Cyaxares. Whether it be historically correct is another question. The book of Daniel appears to sanction it. Herodotus and the Deutero-Isaiah state the case differently, viz., that Cyrus did not take Babylon for the Median king Cyaxares, but for himself. They describe him as the prince of the conquering people, the Medes and Persians. We believe this to be the more probable view. In viii. 3, where the two horns of the

ram symbolise Media and Persia, the one is represented as higher than the other and coming up after it—*i.e.*, Persia is represented in succession to the other and separate from it. This is not contrary to the fact that the dynasties of the Medes and Persians were united and coexisted (viii. 20, v. 28, vi. 9, 13, 16), because either view may be taken, and both the coexistence and succession be correct. At the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, and the overthrow of the empire by the Medo-Persians, the Persian had already the superiority over the Median element. Though the two were allied, their separate individualities were not obliterated. This second dynasty is said to be inferior to the first or Babylonian (ii. 39). Hence it cannot be the Medo-Persian, which was stronger. It is arbitrary to refer the inferiority, with Auberlen, to internal worth or value. If the second be the Median, the third must be the Persian. What then is the fourth? Not the Roman, as many suppose; for

(a) The little horn, which exalts itself and persecutes the people of God, arises out of the fourth empire, or from between the ten horns of it (vii. 8). In the eighth chapter the little horn arises out of one of four horns belonging to the dynasty symbolised by the he goat, which cannot be the Roman empire. If therefore the little horn described in the two chapters be the same—and of that there can be no doubt—the fourth kingdom of the seventh chapter and that represented by the he-goat in the eighth must be identical, since the little horn arises out of either alike. On the supposition that the little horn applies to Antiochus Epiphanes, which most allow, we see how it arose out of the dynasty of Alexander and his successors, *i.e.* the fourth empire. But Antiochus did not spring from the Roman empire. He was a Syrian.

(b) The commencement of the Messianic kingdom in the eighth and eleventh chapters is appended to the Macedonian kingdom and its shoots, especially to the downfall of Antiochus (viii. 19, xi. 45, xii. 1, etc). We may therefore expect by analogy that the same view should be given in ii. and vii. It is a mistake of Hooper's to say that the Jews have always understood the fourth beast to signify the Grecian kingdom; and that Josephus so interprets it. The words of the Jewish historian in his Antiquities (x. 10, 4)—"Daniel did also declare the meaning of the stone to the king; but I do not think proper to relate it, since I have only undertaken to describe things past or things present, but not things that are future"—shew that he regarded the fourth as the Roman empire, and expected its destruction by the kingdom of Messiah. With this agree Jonathan (on Hab. iii. 17), Bereshith-Rabba (cap. 44), and Tanchuma (cap. 31). Others, however, suppose the Persians, the Arabians, Gog, etc.,

to be the fourth empire. The Christians at a very early period explained it of the Roman empire. Thus Barnabas is thought to have entertained the view in question. But perhaps he only intended to assign a secondary application to the fourth beast.[1] It is also affirmed that our Lord refers to Dan. ix. 26, 27, as predicting the ruin of the Jewish state by the Romans; and therefore the fourth beast is not Alexander's empire. Till the twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew's Gospel, and corresponding parts of Mark xiii. be sifted, and the later ideas of the disciples and early christians be disentangled from the very words of Christ, this argument is of no weight.

(c) It is said of the fourth kingdom in ii. 40, "as iron that breaketh shall it break in pieces and bruise all these." How can this apply to the Roman empire, which hardly came into contact with the east beyond the Euphrates. It did not break in pieces the Median or Persian.

(d) The description suits the Græco-Macedonian dynasty better than the Roman which seems to have lain beyond the seer's horizon. The relation in which it stands to the Macedonian empire, and its distinction from it, do not agree well with the Roman. Thus in ii. 43, the expression "they shall mingle themselves with the seed of men" alludes to the marriage-alliances which the rulers of the divided kingdoms that sprang up after Alexander's death entered into at different times in order to restore mutual peace, but without any permanent effect. The alliances in question point particularly to the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ, because these princes came in contact with the Jewish people. Thus Ptolemy Philadelphus to bring about a peace married his daughter to Ptolemy Theos (B.C. 252). Ptolemy Epiphanes married the daughter of Antiochus the great (197 B.C.) Neither bond of union, however, continued long. Auberlen's explanation of this clause as applied to the Roman empire is unnatural and arbitrary.[2] The words evidently refer to marriage-alliances, not to the intermingling of different races with their peculiar national cultures, as the Germanic and Roman elements.

(e) The fourth dynasty is symbolised by a beast with ten horns. A passage in the Sybilline oracles[3] speaks of ten horns in connexion with Alexander the great, shewing that they represent his immediate successors. It would therefore appear that the Jews about the time of Antiochus Epiphanes were accustomed to regard the kingdoms of Alexander's successors as ten in number, symbolised by ten horns growing out of the founder's head. Zündel indeed attempts to show that the passage in the

[1] Chap. iii., 4-6. [2] Das Prophet Daniel, p. 224. [3] Book IV., 316, et seqq.

Sybilline is a citation from this of Daniel, but in vain.[1] Hilgenfeld holds the same opinion substantially, thinking that the number ten refers to a *successive* not contemporaneous series.[2] The number ten is indeed somewhat arbitrary; for there were upwards of thirty divisions in the empire of Alexander after his decease; but the principal were selected, and the rest omitted. The third book of the Sybillines and that of Daniel were too nearly contemporaneous to admit of the supposition that the number in the one was taken from the other. Both were drawn from the prevailing opinion of the time. It may be objected, that in the eighth chapter four monarchies (viii. 8) arise out of Alexander's empire; but this is merely another view of the same divided empire. Both views might be taken of it. The parts into which the dynasty was separated were sometimes reckoned as ten, after the generals who got possession of the chief provinces. Or, they were viewed as four, ruled over by Seleucus Nicator, Lysimachus, Ptolemy Lagi, and Cassander. The ten were Kraterus, Antipater, Lysimachus, Leonnatus, Antigonus, Cassander, Eumenes, Laomedon, Python, Ptolemy Lagi, ruling over Macedonia, Greece, Thrace, Phrygia at the Hellespont, greater Phrygia, Lycia and Pamphylia, Caria, Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, Syria and Palestine, Media, Egypt. These kingdoms existed *contemporaneously*, agreeably to the statement that the little horn came up *among them* (vii. 8). Hence we cannot adopt the opinion advocated by Bertholdt and others, that they were successive; nor that of Rosenmüller, that they were partly Syrian and partly Egyptian. The number ten denotes the ten parts into which Alexander's empire was divided, and is not a round number.

(*f*) We reject the opinion of the futurists, Burgh, Todd, Maitland, and others, that the fourth kingdom is yet to come. It rests on arbitrary and improbable interpretations of different passages. The *man of sin* and *antichrist* spoken of in the New Testament, are not identical with the little horn or Antiochus Epiphanes in Daniel, though they may have been suggested by the latter, and moulded after it. And expositors lose themselves in perplexity by attempting to find distinct references either to the first or second advents of Christ in the prophetic work called after Daniel. It is equally vain to find *the pope* in it. Many Protestants in their officious zeal, discover that dignitary where he was never meant to appear.

The LITTLE HORN is described in the following passages:—

"I considered the horns, and, behold, there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the

[1] Kritischen Untersuchungen, p. 112. [2] Jüdische Apokalypsen, p. 71, et seqq.

first horns plucked up by the roots: and, behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things. . . . . I beheld then because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake: I beheld even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed and given to the burning flame. [Then would I know the truth of] the ten horns that were in his head, and of the other which came up and before whom three fell; even of that horn that had eyes, and a mouth that spake very great things, whose look was more stout than his fellows. I beheld, and the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them, etc. . . . And another [king] shall rise after them; and he shall be diverse from the first, and he shall subdue three kings. And he shall speak great words against the most High, and shall wear out the saints of the most High, and think to change times and laws; and they shall be given into his hand until a time and times and the dividing of time. But the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion to consume and to destroy it unto the end" (vii. 8, 11, 20, 21, 24-26).

"And out of one of them came forth a little horn, which waxed exceeding great, toward the south, and toward the east, and toward the pleasant land. And it waxed great, even to the host of heaven; and it cast down some of the host and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them. Yea, he magnified himself even to the prince of the host, and by him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down. And an host was given him against the daily sacrifice by reason of transgression, and it cast down the truth to the ground; and it practised and prospered. . . . . Now that being broke whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power. And in the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance and understanding dark sentences shall stand up. And his power shall be mighty, but not by his own power: and he shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper and practice, and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people. And through his policy also he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand; and he shall magnify himself in his heart, and by peace shall destroy many; he shall also stand up against the prince of princes; but he shall be broken without hand" (viii. 9-12, 22-25).

"And in his estate shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom: but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries. And with the arms of a flood shall they be overflown from before him, and shall be broken; yea, also the prince of the covenant.

And after the league made with him he shall work deceitfully: for he shall come up, and shall become strong with a small people. He shall enter peaceably even upon the fattest places of the province; and he shall do that which his fathers have not done, nor his fathers' fathers; he shall scatter among them the prey, and spoil, and riches: yea, and he shall forecast his devices against the strongholds, even for a time. And he shall stir up his power and his courage against the king of the south with a great army; and the king of the south shall be stirred up to battle with a very great and mighty army; but he shall not stand: for they shall forecast devices against him. Yea, they that feed of the portion of his meat shall destroy him, and his army shall overflow: and many shall fall down slain," etc. (xi. 21, etc.).

These three descriptions refer to Antiochus Epiphanes. The third is the most minute and historical, delineating his progress and expeditions in a way that cannot be mistaken. Hence it is commonly admitted that all belong to the same person. Auberlen indeed denies that the individual pourtrayed in the seventh chapter is Antiochus, and applies the description to Antichrist who has not yet appeared. It does not in his opinion relate to the Jewish Antichrist, as he call Epiphanes, but to *the proper* Antichrist, who is still future. Nothing can be weaker than the arguments adduced for this purpose; such as the monotony and repetition assigned to the book by the uniform system of interpretation; the fact that the seventh chapter is in Chaldee, the eighth in Hebrew, shewing that the former belongs to the first part of the book, the latter to the second; and therefore that both visions should not be explained alike. But the identity is too strongly marked to be easily effaced. The only diversity is in its being said that the little horn comes up between the ten horns of the fourth beast in vii. 8; whereas in viii. 8 the little horn springs up out of one of the four notable horns that grew instead of the great horn which was broken. But this is a small difference, and is consistent with identity. One and the same thing is looked at in various points of view, and so represented variously. Not only is the portrait substantially the same in the three chapters, but the time during which the saints should be given up into the power of the little horn is the same. In viii. 14 it is 2,300 days or evening-mornings, *i.e.*, 1,150 days. In vii. 25, time, times, and half a time is also $3\frac{1}{2}$ years. In xii. 7 the period is the same.

Bishop Newton makes the little horn of the seventh chapter the pope of Rome or Antichrist; and the little horn of the eighth chapter, the Roman temporal power.[1] This is incon-

[1] Dissertations on the Prophecies, xiv. and xv.

sistent and incorrect. Antichrist is not the pope. And surely the Roman temporal power lasted more than 1,150 days (viii. 14). To say that days are *years* is to confound plain language. In prophecy, as elsewhere, days are nothing but days, except the contrary be specified. Sir Isaac Newton rejects the application of the little horn in both to Antiochus, and refers the former to the Pope. When the bishop asserts that the little horn continued to reign till the second coming of Christ in glory (vii. 21, 22, 26), whereas Antiochus died about 164 B.C., the kind of arguments on which he rested is apparent. Nothing shews a greater misapprehension of the meaning. It is both inconsistent and incorrect to interpret the little horns in chaps. vii. and viii. differently. Todd has convincingly proved their identity by enumerating their characteristic features, and pointing out the marks of correspondence between them;[1] and Birks, in trying to answer him, has only shewn his use of feeble logic and vituperative language.[2] Todd has rightly perceived that the wilful king of the eleventh chapter is identical with the little horns of the beast and the goat (vii. and viii.), and has shewn by a comparison of the three prophecies that the same character and actions are ascribed to the king in them all.[3]

IX. THE SEVENTY WEEKS.—Chap. ix. 24-27. The prophecy of the seventy weeks in the ninth chapter is difficult. Hence books and dissertations have been written upon it, almost innumerable. We shall give a correct translation, and subjoin a brief commentary. "Seventy sevens are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city to accomplish the apostasy and to fill up the sins, and to expiate iniquity and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up vision and prophet, and to anoint a most holy place. Know therefore and understand, from the going forth of the word to build Jerusalem again till an anointed one, a prince, shall be seven weeks; and for threescore and two weeks will it be rebuilt with streets and ditches, yet in distressful times. And after the threescore and two weeks shall an anointed one be cut off, and have no successor; and the people of a prince that shall come shall destroy the city and sanctuary, and his end will be in the flood; and yet till the end continues war, desolations decreed. And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week; and the half of the week will put a stop to the sacrifice and oblation; and upon the wing of abominations (comes) the desolator, even to the completion: then shall the decreed destruction be poured out on the waster."

[1] Discourses on the Prophecies relating to Antichrist, p. 109, et seqq.
[2] First elements of Sacred Prophecy, p. 119, et seqq.
[3] Discourses on the Prophecies relating to Antichrist, p. 147, et seqq.

Jeremiah had predicted that the captivity in Babylon should last seventy years, which must merely be a round number, not an exact one. The period ended with the downfall of Babylon, and the proclamation of Cyrus to the Jews allowing them to return. But Jeremiah and the Deutero-Isaiah had prophesied glorious things in connection with the restoration of the city and temple. The people were then to serve Jehovah with loyalty, and the Messianic kingdom was to be set up when the Lord should fulfil His gracious promises to them, and they should reign prosperously over all peoples in peace, purity, and blessedness. Such ideal delineations of the return and its consequences raised high hopes in the breasts of the pious—hopes which were doomed to suffer disappointment, because the fullness of prosperity predicted was not realised. The restoration of the state was a poor event when looked at in the glowing light of the poetical features with which prophecy had invested it. Hence the idea naturally arose in the minds of such as took prophecy *literally*, and the inspiration of the seers as infallibly correct, that the true fulfilment had not taken place. They looked therefore for a future period; and considered what the seventy years were intended to mean. The interpretation of *seventy years proper* now appeared to them incorrect. The seventy they thought must be otherwise understood. Accordingly the angel Gabriel gives Daniel to understand that they are *seventy sevens* or *weeks, seventy weeks* of years. So many periods were to elapse till the commencement of the Messianic time when God should remove all the guilt of his people, and fulfil all the promises of blessing to them, in their widest sense. The prophecy here put into the mouth of Gabriel has respect to the seventy years of Jeremiah, and is intended to reveal to Daniel what he had been searching into—the end of the desolations of Jerusalem. The seer wishes to know when oppression should cease and deliverance begin.

Seventy *weeks of years*, it is said, are the appointed time for allowing the sinfulness of the people to come to the full, when it should be for ever blotted out and everlasting salvation introduced. So long a period is needed to confirm the prophecy of Jeremiah relative to the seventy years' captivity. It is all but universally admitted, that seventy weeks *of years* is meant; so that Hooper's mystical reduction of the periods ($53 \times 7 = 371$ yrs.), must be rejected. We admit, with this commentator, that the original expresses simply *hebdomads;* but we maintain that they consist of *years*.[1] What is the meaning of וְלִמְשֹׁחַ קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים? Many take it to refer to the person of

[1] The Prophecies of Daniel collated and expounded, p. 9.

Messiah. So probably our translators, after the Vulgate, Syriac, and Luther. The Hebrew will not admit of this. "Christ," says Hengstenberg, "is here represented as a most holy thing." And again, "Christ may quite appropriately be designated a Holy of Holies."[1] This is contrary to usage and natural exegesis. Where is the *person* of Christ in the Old Testament treated as a *thing?* Is the Messiah regarded in this light by any Hebrew prophet or poet? He is not. And we may safely say that he *could not,* without lessening his dignity in the eyes of the writers. Nor can we explain it with Auberlen of the Messiah and his church, because that would have been unintelligible to the first readers. The only natural sense is that which refers the words to the re-dedication of the temple on mount Zion. The sanctuary was desolate, and needed to be restored. Had Daniel lived at the end of the captivity and received the present vision, surely the restoration of the sanctuary of Jehovah would have been predicted before the Messianic salvation, or at least in connexion with it. The Messiah's person would not have come in place of this, as the thing first announced at the close of the captivity. In other visions of the book, the commencement of the Messianic salvation is attached to the oppression of the people by Antiochus, and his putting a stop to the worship of Jehovah; we may therefore presume that the same representation substantially is given in this passage; and that the re-dedication of the sanctuary at Jerusalem, which had been profaned by Antiochus, is meant. Every view of the verse we can take is opposed to the interpretation so strenuously advocated by Hengstenberg, Hävernick, and Keil, that it refers to the manifestation of Jesus Christ, his death, and the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple. The twenty-fifth verse is certainly inconsistent with it. This verse is differently divided. Our English translation terminates the first half of it with "threescore and two weeks," so that seven weeks and sixty-two weeks are mentioned together as if they made up one number, viz. sixty-nine weeks. According to this division, which is that also of the Vulgate, Luther, Hengstenberg, Hävernick, and Auberlen, the restoration and rebuilding of Jerusalem do not refer to the seven weeks, but to the seven and sixty-two together; which is an idea repudiated by Hengstenberg and his orthodox brethren. And there is apparently no reason for severing sixty-nine weeks into seven and sixty-two. If the seven were of any importance, the case would be different; but no significance belongs to them. Besides, according to this division, we should have in the twenty-sixth verse, "after sixty-nine weeks shall an

[1] Christology, English version, second edition, vol. iii., pp. 123, 124.

anointed one be cut off," etc., because the seven and sixty-two make up one period. And Reichel pertinently remarks, that the copulative וְ should precede תָּשׁוּב, if the latter begins the second division of the verse.[1] The Masoretic punctuation appears to us right, and ought therefore to be adopted. According to it, וְשָׁבְעִים begins the second hemistich; and the two numbers seven and sixty-two belong to different divisions. Hengstenberg lays great stress on the accents as determining the division of the twenty-fourth verse. "Instead of dividing the verse into two halves of three clauses each, there are many who divide it into three parts of two clauses each: but the accents are decisive against this." By the same method of reasoning, the accents are decisive against Hengstenberg's division of the twenty-fifth verse. In the latter case, he tries to explain *athnach* away, because it did not suit his purpose.

What is the meaning of the word דָּבָר? According to Hävernick and many others it denotes the decree of the Persian king Artaxerxes Longimanus, in which he granted permission to Nehemiah to go to Jerusalem (Nehem. ii.) Hengstenberg's view that *the word* means a decree from God or from the heavenly council amounts to the same, because that decree was realised in the edict of the Persian monarch. It matters little whether it be dated from Artaxerxes's twentieth year (Nehem. ii.), as Hengstenberg contends; or from his seventh year, when Ezra set out from Babylon to Jerusalem, as Auberlen believes. But the letters of Artaxerxes have nothing in them about rebuilding *the city*. The permission granted to Ezra relates solely to the temple and its service; that to Nehemiah has respect to the gates of the fortress, the walls, and his own house. The city was already inhabited and extensively rebuilt before the twentieth year of Cyrus. Thus Haggai reproaches them with living in ceiled houses themselves, while they neglected the building of God's house (i. 4). We learn also from the letter addressed to the king by Rehum the chancellor, Shimshai the scribe, and others, that the Jews did not think it necessary to obtain the royal permission to rebuild the city. At that time, which was before Nehemiah and perhaps even Ezra arrived, they say that the Jews had come to Jerusalem and were building the rebellious and bad city, setting up its walls and joining the foundations (Ezra iv. 12). This shews that they thought the king's permission unnecessary for rebuilding the walls themselves. Had Daniel received the vision at the end of the Babylonian captivity, the *terminus a quo* for rebuilding the city would have been Cyrus's decree, or the divine decree realised in him,

[1] Studien und Kritiken for 1858, p. 741.

for this agrees with Is. xlv. 13; but Artaxerxes's edicts are remote from the point. Why should Cyrus and the return from captivity be omitted by a seer at that supposed time? Daniel had been searching for the termination of the seventy years of Jeremiah, to comfort himself and countrymen under their oppression; how could a remote *terminus a quo* of the years give light or consolation, when neither he nor his readers knew the period that was to elapse till then? How far distant it was they were not informed by the angel. The most natural reference of דָּבָר is to the *word of Jehovah* in the second verse (ix.), or the prophetic word relating to the seventy years of which Daniel was wishing an explanation. The prophecies of Jeremiah referred to in the דָּבָר date, according to the vision, from the beginning of the ruins of Jerusalem. The seventy years were to elapse until the ruins of the city should be removed. The words מָשִׁיחַ נָגִיד mean Cyrus, who is called מָשִׁיחַ in Is. xlv. 1, not Joshua the high priest. Hengstenberg renders the words "an anointed one, a prince," asserting that Daniel purposely selected the more indefinite expression; and instead of speaking of *the* anointed one, *the* prince (*κατ' ἐξοχήν*), merely spoke of *an* anointed one, *a* prince.[1] This is arbitrary assumption. Had the Messiah been intended, מָשִׁיחַ would have had the article prefixed. Thus the first division of the seventy weeks, viz. seven, reaches till Cyrus. It begins with the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans. The second division, viz. sixty-two weeks, begins where the first ends, with Cyrus's permission to the Jews to return home, and reaches to a week before the termination of the seventy. It includes the sixty-ninth week. The numbers in question are to be taken as round numbers, after the manner of Scripture. From 588 B.C., the year in which Jerusalem was taken and destroyed, till Cyrus's decree 536 B.C. is 51 years, equivalent to the week of years, the first seven, which is exactly 49 years, but is more correctly given by seven than by six or eight. It is a specimen of perverted interpretation to refer the first hemistich of the twenty-fifth verse, with Delitzsch, to the final rebuilding and restoration of Jerusalem, or the Messianic theocracy; and the second hemistich to a prior and literal rebuilding preceding the other. Thus the latter is a partial, the former a complete, fulfilment of the prophecy.[2] Violent transpositions of this nature should be avoided. It is clear enough that both hemistichs refer to the literal restoration of Jerusalem.

Verse 26. Here the principal word is מָשִׁיחַ, which cannot be translated the Messiah, because it wants the article. Hengsten-

[1] Christology, vol. iii., p. 133. [2] In Herzog's Encyklopædie, s. v. Daniel.

berg, indeed, says that the article is absent intentionally, in perfect accordance with the character of the whole prophecy; and that it was the more natural to leave it so, because an attentive and unprejudiced reader could easily gather from the context that *an* anointed one in the twenty-sixth verse must be *the* anointed one of the twenty-fifth. If the same person were intended by מָשִׁיחַ in both verses, the second מָשִׁיחַ must have the article. But the same individual is not meant in both, whether the word mean Jesus Christ or another. If it mean Jesus Christ here, how could his violent death be directly and abruptly referred to before his manifestation in the world? Should not his appearance or advent be first stated? As we refer the sixty-two weeks to the time immediately preceding the tyranny of Antiochus, *the anointed one* must be a person who met with a violent death about that time. We identify him with Seleucus IV. Philopator, son and successor of Antiochus the great, who after a twelve years' reign was cut off by Heliodorus. This is the view of Von Lengerke, Maurer, Ewald, and Bleek. But Eichhorn, Wieseler, Hitzig, and Reichel, suppose that the Jewish high priest Onias III. is meant, who was compelled to resign office in favour of his brother Jason, and was subsequently murdered by Andronicus. The clause וְאֵין לוֹ is very obscure. It cannot mean "and not for himself," as our English version renders; signifying "not for his own sake so much as for the sake of others." אֵין is never interchanged with לֹא, as Hengstenberg justly observes. Hence the translation must be rejected. It may either denote "there is none to it," *i.e.* "no anointed one to the people," as Stendel and Hofman suppose; or, "and he has none," *i.e.* no son to be his successor on the throne, as Ewald, Wieseler, and Bleek think. The explanations of Bertholdt, Rösch, Von Lengerke, and Maurer are the same in substance. The latter is favoured by the fact, that the author seems to have had in view the threatening address to Jehoiakim, "he shall have none to sit upon the throne of David," in Jer. xxxvi. 30. Hengstenberg's exposition is very far from the mark, "and there is no inheritance to him." When he was cut off he ceased to be prince over Israel. "The distinguishing characteristic of an anointed one was, that he was prince over God's inheritance, Israel. This ceased to be the case, the rule of the anointed one over his nation was overthrown, when through the guilt of that nation he was violently put to death."[1] We believe this exposition to be contrary to Hengstenberg's own ideas of the Messiah, as well as to all correct ones of his sufferings. How could his violent death be

[1] Christology, vol. iii., p. 153.

regarded as a deprivation of rights essentially belonging to him as a prince, caused by a guilty people? He suffered unjustly. According to Hengstenberg, he was both God and man. He could not, therefore, cease to be a prince. Death could not deprive him of that dignity; else his enemies really triumphed over him. How could they triumph over a being who was truly God, or deprive him of what was an essential prerogative? They might *say*, "we have no king but Cæsar;" but Christ is king notwithstanding, and king for ever, both over his enemies and friends. Antiochus Epiphanes took possession of the throne vacant by the death of his brother. He is called the prince *who comes* in place of the murdered one. Those who refer the verse to the death of Christ and the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, refer the *prince that comes* either to Titus or to Christ. The former is liable to the objection that Titus was not a prince at the Messiah's death; the latter that the Roman people cannot be properly called Christ's people even in the sense that he sent them to execute judgment upon the city. The people of the prince who comes to the throne of the anointed king who was cut off by a violent death, are the army of Antiochus, who destroy the city and sanctuary. The most natural application of the suffix in וְקִצּוֹ is to the נָגִיד just spoken of; *his end will be sudden and overwhelming, as with a flood.* The last clause of the verse runs, "and yet war, the decreed desolations, continues till the end (of the seventy weeks)." Though sudden destruction overtakes Antiochus, the desolating war will continue to the expiration of the full time.

Ver. 27. "And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week: and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate." Here it is apparent that the one week is the last of the seventy. The confirming a covenant with many of the Jewish people refers to the fact that, at the first invasion of Judea by Antiochus, many Jews connected themselves with that king, from their attachment to Grecian manners and culture. The Grecising party were in league with the despot for a time, here designated roundly as a *week*. The word חֲצִי does not mean *the middle* of a week, as Hofmann rightly observes,[1] but the space of *half* a week, of the seventieth, not the sixty-third, *i.e.*, three and a half years. Antiochus put a stop to the worship of Jehovah in the temple for that time. The last hemistich of the verse is difficult as far as the separate words and

[1] Die Weissagung und Erfüllung, erste Hälfte, p. 306.

construction are concerned, though the general sense is apparent. It refers to the profanation of the temple by the setting up of idolatrous things in it, especially an altar, on the altar of burnt-offering, for sacrificing to idols. This is the abomination of the destroyer, which is also alluded to in xi. 31, xii. 11. The verse ends with the destruction of the desolator Epiphanes. The subject to the verb תִּתַּךְ is וְנֶחֱרָצָה. With Hävernick and Auberlen the word should not be taken impersonally *it shall be poured down upon, i.e.*, the curse. Ewald renders, "and that too on account of the fearful climax of abominations;" כְּנַף שִׁקּוּצִים the acme or extremity of abominations, their highest point; but we agree with Bleek in thinking that the term כָּנָף can only be applied to the extremity of an object, not to the extreme point or height of a thing which is not physical. Hengstenberg translates, "and over the abomination pinnacle (the pinnacle of the temple desecrated by abomination) comes the waster." Reichel renders, "with the wings of abomination comes a waster," in which case the dual, not the singular, should be found. Von Lengerke and Maurer translate, "and over the abomination battlement comes the waster." Wieseler, "and that on account of the wasting bird of abomination," referring to the eagle as the attribute of Olympian Jove, to whom Epiphanes dedicated the temple at Jerusalem. Hofmann, "and that over a destroying idol-covering," referring to the covering of the idolatrous altar. Hitzig has, "and on the abomination of horror." Auberlen makes a long straggling sentence which is peculiarly inappropriate for a conclusion, as Hengstenberg well remarks. "And for the devastating climax of abominations, and indeed that which is determined, it will drip over that which is laid desolate." Stuart renders, "and a waster shall be over a winged fowl of abominations," referring to the statue of Jupiter with its winged symbolical bird. Where did he learn that the statue set up by Antiochus had that symbol? The literal and most correct translation is, "and upon the wing of abominations (comes) the desolator," etc., *i.e.*, on the temple defiled by idolatries comes Antiochus. Bleek, however, considers עַל־כְּנַף by itself as inapplicable to the temple,[1] though Ewald takes it as equivalent to the τὸ ἱερόν of the LXX. He conjectures that שִׁקּוּצִי should be read for שִׁקּוּצִים the *mem* at the end having been omitted by mistake, because of the following word beginning with the same letter. The sense would then be, "the abominations of the desolator (come) upon the temple." Hengstenberg and his school take חֲצִי הַשָּׁבוּעַ to denote "*the middle*

[1] In the Jahrbücher fur deutsche Theologie, vol. v. p. 94.

of the week," and refer it to the time of Christ's death. Jesus's public ministry lasted till the middle of the week, or three and a half years. But according to the same system of interpretation, the Messiah is cut off after the sixty-nine weeks (ver. 26), or at the beginning of the seventieth, not in the middle of it. And how can the close of the seventy weeks' sore visitation of the Jewish people be put three and a half years or half a week after Christ's death? In all other parts of the book, the putting a stop to the daily sacrifice and oblation is represented as the vicious procedure of an enemy to God and his people, which should cease on the introduction of the Messianic deliverance. The worship impiously prevented for a time, was to be restored, and the sanctuary cleansed. The consolation held out to his countrymen by the seer is, that the sacrifice and oblation should not be always in abeyance. Their cessation is considered a sore trial. But according to the orthodox view, their cessation is a good thing, the fruit of Messiah's better covenant (comp. vii. 25, viii. 11, xi. 31, xii. 11).

It has been already remarked that the first week reaches from the destruction of Jerusalem to Cyrus. The sixty-two weeks extend from Cyrus to Antiochus Epiphanes. The last week embraces the period of Antiochus's tyranny. These numbers are round, not exact ones. The sixty-two weeks make 434 years; but so long a time did not elapse between Cyrus and Antiochus. The period is considerably less. Fifty-two weeks would have been nearer. But there were no dates for the time in any prior work. The writer had no guide. He was therefore free to follow an inexact chronology, in a matter of no real importance. He adopts sixty-two, because he had one to take for Antiochus's reign, which is the nearest he could have for it without dividing weeks into fractional parts. Thus the seventy weeks are made up of the successive 7 + 62 + 1.

The main point to be looked at is, that the reckoning is not by a definite number of days, as in the eighth and twelfth chapters, but in round numbers based on the sacred number *seven*, having special reference to the seventy years of Jeremiah. The *symbolical* element predominates over the *chronological*. If the seventy years of Jeremiah be a round number, not an exact one, we cannot reasonably expect an exact coincidence in the seventy sevens. The first seven are specified as so many by themselves merely because they remain after the 62 + 1 are substracted from seventy.[1]

We object to the Messianic interpretation that it introduces singular disorder into the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh verses. The events according to it follow one another in this

[1] See Reichel, p. 748, et seqq.

manner: the death of Messiah; the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus; the establishment of the new covenant; the abolition of the old covenant; and the desolation of Jerusalem by Titus. We object to it also, that it does not harmonise well with the connexion in which the passage stands. The tenth and eleventh chapters may be regarded as a farther development of the contents of the eighth; for they give a brief history of the Persian and Macedonian dynasties till the death of Antiochus Epiphanes; his deeds being made especially prominent. Thus xi. 45 corresponds to viii. 25: "And he shall stir up his power and his courage against the king of the south with a great army; and the king of the south shall be stirred up to battle with a very great and mighty army; but he shall not stand: for they shall forecast devices against him" (xi. 45). "And through his policy also he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand; and he shall magnify himself in his heart, and by peace shall destroy many: he shall also stand up against the prince of princes; but he shall be broken without hand" (viii. 25). In consequence of this parallelism between the eighth chapter on the one hand, and the tenth with the eleventh on the other, it is probable that the ninth should bear the same relation to the eighth as the twelfth does to the tenth and eleventh. The twelfth chapter represents the glorification of God's people in Messiah's kingdom as consequent upon the death of Antiochus Epiphanes and the consummation of the saints' happiness; we may therefore expect the ninth chapter to point to the complete deliverance of the people by the destruction of sin and the establishment of an everlasting covenant in immediate connexion with the death of Antiochus. Daniel knows of but one period of sorest distress to the church of God, which precedes their final deliverance: that is the time of Antiochus. But if ix. 25-27 be explained of the time and death of Jesus Christ, the piece stands in an isolated position. It differs in that case both from what precedes and follows. If it be referred to Antiochus, it forms a supplement to the eighth chapter, corresponding to the sequel of the prophecy in the tenth and eleventh chapters, given in the twelfth.[1]

We do not believe with many, that the seven weeks should be disposed of *apart from* the seventy, but take them as *a portion* of the whole number. With some truth Hengstenberg remarks that Lengerke, Wieseler, Hofmann, Hitzig, and others are ready to sacrifice everything to get rid of these seven, that they may have only sixty-three to dispose of. Hitzig places them in the middle of the sixty-two, and as a part of them; Wieseler at the end of the sixty-three; but Hofmann makes them entirely

[1] See Reichel in the Studien und Kritiken for 1858, pp. 739, 740.

distinct, referring them to a period separated from the sixty-three by thousands of years. We think it very improbable that though mentioned *before*, they should be put *after*, the sixty-three. It is most natural to take them as the *first* part of the seventy, since they are named *first*. Whether the end of them and of the seventy is supposed to coincide or not, we cannot make them succeed the sixty-three. Delitzsch, who seems to follow Hofmann, thinks that a comparison of the twenty-fourth and twenty-seventh verses shews that the termination of the sixty-three and seventy cannot coincide, since it is marked by judgment on the desolator in the latter; but in the former by the fulfilment of prophecy and the finishing of transgression. He supposes that the seven were meant to be an object of search (ἐρευνᾶν) to the faithful, when the thing predicted did not take place at the close of the sixty-three weeks. This is unsatisfactory, because we find in history the close of the seven and the seventy, which critics like Hofmann and Delitzsch do not. The only advantage which is gained by separating the seven from the sixty-three weeks is, that the calculation fits much better. Sixty-two weeks, or 434 years, dated from 606 or 605 B.C., come down to 171 or 170 B.C., when the wicked conduct of Antiochus commenced, the last week reaching till his death, 164 B.C. But though the sixty-three weeks fill up the required space more accurately than the seventy, we cannot adopt the interpretation which separates them and the seven. Hofmann, Wieseler, and Hitzig in handling the seven, violate a natural exegesis, as Auberlen has shewn.

If it be objected that the writer is made very inexact in using round and approximative numbers, we reply that the orthodox view is exposed to inconsistency in the same region. The second clause of the twenty-sixth verse is said to denote the punishment inflicted on the Jews by the Romans under Titus for their rejection of Messiah, and evidently falls within the seventy weeks. The Messiah's death takes place after the sixty-ninth week. But the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple did not take place till six weeks of years after the cutting off of Messiah. Here there is no exact regard to numbers in the orthodox interpretation. Hengstenberg appeals to Matt. xxiv. 15 and Mark xiii. 14 for proof that the destruction of the Jewish state by the Romans was here predicted by Daniel. The quotation in Matt. xxiv. 15 refers to the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh verses. In Mark the words τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ Δανιὴλ τοῦ προφήτου are spurious. Stuart thinks that there is no *prediction*, but mere *similarity of events*. What Daniel described as happening once was about to happen again. Wieseler's interpretation amounts to the same, for it lays the whole stress on Daniel's *manner of*

expression, not on *the thing expressed*. This is contrary to the meaning intended. But it is impossible to tell what modifications the words of Christ respecting his second coming and the destruction of Jerusalem, underwent at the hands of his early disciples. It is certain that they have not been exactly reported. If they have been so reported in the present instance, a current interpretation was employed without correction, because it was sufficient for the speaker's purpose. No importance attached to its critical adjustment. Jesus did not sanction its *absolute correctness* by employing it as it was.

We have thus seen that the view maintained by Hengstenberg and his followers cannot stand on purely exegetical ground. It violates exegesis and probability at every step. Yet he has the boldness to say that "the theory which connects this prophecy with the Maccabean era, and the entire non-Messianic interpretation, will continue false as long as the word of Christ is true—that is, to all eternity."[1] On the contrary, the remarkable resemblance between this prophecy and others confessedly relating to Antiochus Epiphanes shews their subject to be the same. The resemblance is *not* caused by a misinterpretation, as Hengstenberg alleges. The misinterpretation is *his own*, not Hofmann's and Wieseler's. What leads us chiefly to reject the Messianic hypothesis is the implied assumption that Daniel, a seer living near the end of the captivity, should project himself into the far-distant future, without referring at the outset to the deliverance of his countrymen from their state of exile under the Chaldeans. His flight has thus no starting point in the present, or even in the immediate future, which is contrary to the analogy of prophecy. Besides, a suffering, atoning Messiah was foreign to Jewish conceptions. He is never so described in the Old Testament. In vain has Auberlen expended ingenuity and ability in the attempt to uphold the old view of the book of Daniel: his reactionary procedure has been exposed, and his arguments solidly confuted by one whose researches, throwing as they have done much light on the work before us, deserve all praise. Our lamented friend Bleek, with his catholic, truth-loving heart, was not removed from us till he had made his final examination of Daniel, and refuted Auberlen, the confident commentator of the book.

Dan. xi. 31, etc. It is strange that interpreters, who are agreed in the main respecting the preceding part of the prophecy, should differ widely in opinion from this point and onwards. There is no good reason for supposing that Antiochus Epiphanes is not the subject as before. Some understand the passage partly of the tyranny of Antiochus, and

[1] Christology, vol. iii. p. 259.

partly of the great apostacy of the latter days, or the days of the Roman empire. Others apply it wholly to the invasion and tyranny of the Romans, the subsequent corruptions in the church, and alterations in the empire. Others again, to a king who is still future, combining in himself the attributes of blasphemy, infidelity, and idolatry. There can be no doubt in the mind of any critic who understands the book that Antiochus alone is described. The strangeness of the interpretations put upon the language that it may apply to some other person or thing, is sufficient to prove unstable any exegesis except what results from the Grotian view of the book. Let us take the thirty-seventh and thirty-eighth verses:—"Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women, nor regard any god: for he shall magnify himself above all. But in his estate shall he honour the god of forces: and a god whom his fathers knew not shall he honour with gold, and silver, and with precious stones, and pleasant things." Here it is said that he shall not regard the gods of his fathers, *i.e.* the Syrian deities. He exalted the Grecian deities instead. Though Antiochus was one of the Seleucidæ, the writer glances here at his Syrian origin. *The true God* is not meant by the phrase. "Neither shall he regard the desire of women," viz. *Astarte* the Syrian goddess, the symbol of the highest sexual desire. It is absurd in Bishop Newton to explain this language of neglecting and discouraging marriage, as is done by the Papacy. The thirty-eighth verse states that he should honour the god of fortresses upon his pedestal—a god whom his fathers knew not shall he honour with gold and silver, with precious stones and costly things. The god of fortresses means *Jupiter Capitolinus.* The capitol was the acropolis of Rome. Hence it is used generally for *acropolis;* and Jupiter Capitolinus is considered the guardian deity of fortresses either by Antiochus or the author of the book. The statue of Jupiter Capitolinus was elevated on a pedestal of gold and ivory at Rome; and perhaps the same god was distinguished by occupying a similar seat in the splendid temple which the tyrant had built in Antioch. It is wholly incorrect to refer the word *Mahuzzim* (fortresses) with Mede, Sir Isaac Newton, and Bishop Newton, to the *saints, guardian angels, etc.,* worshipped in the Latin Church. The thirty-ninth verse says that Antiochus should proceed with the strongest holds according to their reception of the strange god; whoever acknowledged him (the god) he should increase with glory; and he made them (such as acknowledged his favourite deity) rulers over many, and divided the land among them for gain. This verse is as much misunderstood by Mede and Newton, as the preceding ones.

Chap. xii. 1, 2: "And at that time shall Michael stand up,

the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people: and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time: and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book. And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt." Here it is prophesied by Daniel that the judgment of the world should begin at the time of the Syrian persecution; and that the resurrection should also take place. The kingdom of God, the object of so much longing and hope on the part of prophets and saints, was then to appear on earth. The Messianic period was to begin. After the doctrine of a resurrection had been introduced among the Jews from eastern Magianism during the exile, as we see from Ezekiel, it was connected with the view commonly taken of the state after death and Messiah's kingdom. It was thought that the best of the deceased Israelites would be raised, in order to become sharers in the blessings of the new reign; and that the worst should also rise to undergo exemplary and everlasting punishment. Thus the resurrection was not supposed to be *general*. Only the best and most wicked were to rise—the best of Israel, the worst of the Israelites and heathen. We cannot tell how the writer judged respecting the lot of the large class intermediate between the two. He may have considered them deserving neither of the joys nor punishments respectively, of the coming age.

X. THE GREEK VERSION.—The Septuagint translation of Daniel was for a long time lost, till at last a copy was discovered in the Chigian Library at Rome, from which it was published by Simon de Magistris in a folio volume at Rome, A.D. 1772. This text was reprinted by Michaelis at Göttingen, 1773, 8vo., and 1774, 4to.; as also by Segaar at Utrecht, 1775, 8vo. The latter is a more critical and better edition than either of Michaelis's. A much purer and more complete text is given in the Syriac-hexaplar version of the year 616 or 617 A.D., from a MS. in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, published by Bugati at Milan, 1788, 4to. This edition has a Latin translation, preface, and critical notes. The edition of Hahn, 1845, 8vo., Leipzig, takes Segaar's as its basis, and makes great use of the Hexaplar-Syriac.

When this version adheres to the Hebrew text, it reaches considerable purity and beauty of expression. But it commonly departs from the original, forming a paraphrase rather than a translation. It either has large additions to the Hebrew, or omissions and abbreviations. Of additions, the prayer of Asarias and of the three men in the fiery furnace (iii. 25-90) is an example. Of omissions, iii. 31-33, viz., the beginning of

Nebuchadnezzar's edict; iv. 3-7, are specimens. In v. 17-25, 26-28, the text is considerably abridged. In iii. 46-50, the text is explained and dressed out with other features, such as that the flames rose forty-nine ells high out of the oven (ver. 47), that an angel descended into the oven (49), and that the fire was strengthened by naphtha, pitch, and other inflammable materials (46). Chap. v. 1-3 also varies from the original; and almost every verse of the sixth chapter presents deviations. Individual propositions and expressions are altered in i. 11, 17; ii. 8, 11, 28; vii. 6, 8; ix. 25. How are these variations accounted for? It has been thought that the Chaldee or Hebrew text has undergone various elaborations from different hands, because traces of a Hebrew original have been discovered by comparing Greek words with Aramæan equivalents. But the evidence for an Aramæan original is insufficient. It is more probable that the translator himself is chargeable with *some* deviations, because they evince design. They were meant to render the narratives clearer, to introduce a better connection into them, to soften what seemed exaggerated, and to make the description of miraculous occurrences more graphic. But the translator did not make *all* the alterations and additions. The principal ones were later and independent. They proceeded from different hands. Traditions which were being constantly repeated took different shapes from different hands. When once written, others revised and improved them.

XI. APOCRYPHAL ADDITIONS.—The principal additions are three:—

1. The Song of the Three Children, inserted in the third chapter between the twenty-third and twenty-fourth verses. The piece consists of a prayer, in which the three men who had been cast into the fiery furnace ask God to deliver them and put their enemies to shame (verses 1-21); a brief notice of the fact that the angel of the Lord protected the three from all harm, notwithstanding the fearful flame which consumed the Chaldeans about the oven (22-26); and a song of praise to God from the three together (27-67).

The position of this piece is after the psalms, in the form of hymns ix. and x., in the Codex Alexandrinus. Fritzsche thinks[1] that the hymns were so arranged in the old Latin version, since they are found in various MS. psalters. Their liturgical use caused this transposition. They often formed a part of liturgies, on which account they were both abridged and enlarged. The most natural place is after Dan. iii. 23.

Some have supposed the original text to have been Hebrew or Aramæan, because of its strong Hebraisms (comp. 8, 11, 13, 16,

[1] Exeget. Handbuch zu den Apokryphen, i., p. 112.

19, 20). Scholz adduces in argument that the names Ananias, Asarias, and Misael are Hebrew; and that the words δρόσος, ψύχος, occur twice (41, 45, 44, 48).[1] The Hebrew names, however, prove no more than that the Jewish author knew the right appellations of the three; and the two Greek words stand in a different connection each time. A Hellenist or Greek-speaking Jew, whose style had been largely formed by the Septuagint, could surely write in this manner. His diction must be Hebraic. Hence we believe, with Fritzsche, that Greek was the original. Theodotion's text is merely a copy of the LXX. text a little altered. The alterations have been made at different times. A tabular view of them is given by Eichhorn.[2]

It is useful to compare the old versions of this piece. The old Latin and Vulgate are literal, from Theodotion's text. The Arabic in the London Polyglott, from the same source, is still more literal. The Syriac in the Polyglott is free, and is also from Theodotion. The Syriac version published by Bugati is from the Hexaplar LXX.

Were the prayer of Asarias and the song of the three children by the same author? Hävernick and De Wette think that they proceeded from two persons, chiefly because of the contradiction between the fourteenth verse, which supposes the temple and its worship no longer to exist, and verses 30, 31, 61, 62, where the existence of both is implied. Fritzsche conjectures that the writer slipped in the part assumed. Forgetting himself in the fourteenth, he proceeds in the fifteenth to complain that there is no longer a prophet in the nation—a complaint which suits his *own time*, but not a time when there was neither temple nor worship. We agree with Hävernick and De Wette; because the other view makes the author exceedingly thoughtless. The style of both is certainly alike; but that does not militate against *two* writers.

2. The history of Susanna.

This piece has various inscriptions; such as, *Susanna, Daniel, the Judgment of Daniel, etc.* In MSS. it commonly stands before the first chapter of Daniel. The old Latin and Arabic have it so. But the LXX., Vulgate, Complutensian Polyglott, and Hexaplar-Syriac put it at the end, as Dan. xiii.

It was a subject of early debate whether the narrative be historical or not. Julius Africanus advanced several well-founded objections to it, and Origen replied. The best arguments were on the side of the former; as even the brief summary of the controversy given by Fritzsche suffices to shew.[3] The diffi-

[1] Einleitung in die heiligen Schriften, u. s. w., vol. iii., p. 520, et seqq.
[2] Einleitung in die Apokryphischen Schriften, p. 422, et seqq.
[3] Exeget. Handbuch, i., p. 116, et seqq.

culties of supposing the narrative a true history are great. The marvellous is of a kind to shew that the writer of it had a certain aim. Eichhorn thinks that it is a mere fable, and adduces the moral in the LXX. (verses 63, 64): "Therefore were the young men favourites with the posterity of Jacob on account of their simplicity. And let us esteem as sons young men of distinguished birth. For such shew their piety, and will ever have a spirit of knowledge and understanding." Instead of this we read in Theodotion, "from that day forth was Daniel had in great reputation in the sight of the people." Both reflections shew that the writer or reviser looked on it as true history. Without concurring with Jahn, who calls the narrative *a parable*, we believe that some truth lies at the basis of it. A traditional story supplied the writer with materials. Daniel, however, had nothing to do with the facts related. He has been arbitrarily brought into connection with them. Had he been concerned in them he must have occupied a different position in the narrative. Fabulous traits have been given to a true story. The foundation at least has all the marks of probability.

After the lapse of centuries the doubts of Africanus respecting the genuineness of the narrative were resumed by Protestants, with additions. The apologetic tone of Origen was taken up by Roman Catholics. Eichhorn and Bertholdt shewed the true critical method of dealing with the production. Moulinie and Scholz defended it, but without judgment.

The original is Greek. The Hebraisms proceed from a Hellenist, and no mistake in translation can be shewn. The paronomasias could not have come from a translator (54, 55, 58, 59). Hence Scholz's attempt to account for them, on the hypothesis of their proceeding from a translator, is baseless.

Theodotion's text differs from that of the LXX., of which it is a revised form. It is longer, giving the narrative greater probability and concinnity. Eichhorn has collected most of the deviations. In all the Greek MSS. the text is a mixed one.

The old Latin version follows the original of Theodotion very closely. The Vulgate and Arabic are also close renderings. There are three Syriac versions of the same text, that in the London Polyglott, the Philoxenian printed in the same work, and a third still unprinted, except the first six verses, by James of Edessa. The first two treat the text freely, altering and enlarging it each in its own way. But the Greek text had already received different shapes. The Philoxenian translator took greater liberties, omitting and adding more particulars. Bugati observes that it mostly follows the Peshito.[1] It is a

[1] Daniel secundem editionem LXX. interpretum ex tetraplis desumptam, etc., pp. 157, 158.

revision of the Peshito occasionally altered and enlarged after the Greek. The Hexaplar-Syriac follows its original very closely.

3. The third piece is the history of Bel and the Dragon, and stands as the fourteenth chapter in the LXX. Theodotion, however, attached it to that of Susanna. In the former it has the inscription "out of the prophecy of Habakkuk, son of Jesus, of the tribe of Levi." This shews that it was regarded as part of a prophecy written by Habakkuk. In the text of the LXX. the piece stands isolated, Daniel appearing in it as a priest, and one very imperfectly known. As Theodotion revised it with the view of appending it to Daniel, he omitted the inscription.

The story is fabulous, having no historical basis. The sixth chapter of Daniel's book gave rise to it, the design being to shew that Jehovah is a great and powerful God who preserved his faithful servants, in contrast with the falsehood and deception of idolatry. The book of Daniel is the type; but the copy exceeds the original in giving prominence to everything conducive to the main design. Daniel could not have destroyed the temple of Belus: according to Strabo and Arrian, Xerxes did so. It was destroyed in the time of Alexander the great, who wished to rebuild it. What is said of the worship of *living* serpents in Babylon is unwarranted in ancient history (ver. 23). Scholz refers to Diodorus Siculus, who speaks of large silver serpents which the obelisk of Rhea in the temple of Belus had beside it. This, however, does not shew the worship of *living animals*.

The original of the legend is Greek—the Hebraising language of a Hellenist. The Greek text of Theodotion in MSS. is a mixed one. The story in it is improved in various ways, as Eichhorn has shewn by a careful collation of the differences between them.

The Vulgate, Syriac, and Arabic versions follow Theodotion, with a few variations. They are literal, especially the Arabic.

As to *the time and place* of these additions to Daniel in the LXX., it does not appear they were known to Josephus. The passage in his Antiquities to which some appeal,[2] does not prove his acquaintance with them. The first mention of Susanna is in Ignatius's Epistle to the Magnesians, and in the Syriac Epistle, printed by Wetstein as Clement's of Rome. Clement wrote, as far as we know, but one epistle; at least only one of his is extant. But these additions must have been composed earlier, either in the second or first century before Christ. At that time the Hellenists or Greek-speaking Jews cultivated literature and philosophy; and there is little doubt that the

[1] Antiqq. x. 11, 7.

pieces originated in Egypt. They passed thence into other places, and were received by many. In the course of circulation they were dressed out with additional particulars, and translated into Aramæan, of which remains have been pointed out by Delitzsch.[1] Some knowledge of them extended even to the Mohammedans; at least the miraculous manner in which Daniel was fed was known to them. Hävernick is wrong in maintaining that the pieces proceeded from the Alexandrine translator.

Among the fathers they were current in various versions along with the canonical Daniel, and came into ecclesiastical use. It is clear that they were usually regarded as genuine, and ranked in authority with the canonical writings. The position they occupied in public estimation is shewn by the way in which Origen argues against Africanus in their favour. But the view of the latter was not without effect; for the fathers generally were afterwards led to separate them from the canonical portion of Daniel's book, not as inspired writings probably, but as of less value and authority. They still commented on them, and used them as homilies. Apollinaris and Eusebius rejected them. The cautious manner in which Jerome speaks of them, and the place he gave them in his translation, shews his private opinion to have been unfavourable. "Daniel, as received among the Hebrews, contains neither the history of Susanna, nor the hymn of the Three Children, nor the fable of Bel and the Dragon, all which, as they are dispersed throughout the world, we have added lest we should appear to the ignorant to have cut off a considerable part of the book, transfixing them at the same time with a dagger."[2] Alber affirms that Jerome uses the word *fabula* here in a good sense, meaning a true narrative; but the context shews the reverse, for he is speaking of apocryphal *fabulæ* contrasted with the canonical Scriptures. Rufinus was on the orthodox side. Theodoret has explained the hymn of the three young men, but omitted the history of Susanna and of Bel and the Dragon. By a decree of the Council of Trent, the church of Rome allows these additions to be of equal authority with the rest of the book, and gives them the same place as the canonical Scriptures. The Protestant churches have separated them from the *canonical*, and regarded them as *apocryphal* writings. Yet the Anglican and Lutheran churches still read them for instruction. Thus their ecclesiastical use is not debarred.

[1] De Habacuci prophetæ vita atque ætate, p. 31.

[2] Præfat. in Daniel.

THE BOOK OF HOSEA.

I. AUTHOR.—Hosea (Hebrew, הוֹשֵׁעַ, *salvation*; LXX., Ὡσηέ; Vulgate, Osee) was the son of Beeri, an unknown citizen of the kingdom of Israel. So we learn from the title prefixed to his book, i. 1. Some Rabbis have confounded the father with Beerah (1 Chron. v. 6). But the names and persons are different. The traditional accounts relative to the birth-place of Hosea, in Belemoth, in the tribe of Issachar, are untrustworthy. A gloss in Jerome has the reading "Beth-semes," for Belemoth, which Drusius and Huet substitute, in Dorotheus, for Belemon, because they consider the latter a false reading.

II. INSCRIPTION.—According to the inscription, Hosea prophesied under Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah, as also under Jeroboam II., king of Israel. This period cannot be accurately computed, because we cannot tell how long he began to prophesy before Uzziah's death, and the length of time he prophesied under Hezekiah. From the death of Uzziah to the first year of Hezekiah was thirty-two years. Jeroboam II. died before Uzziah fourteen years at least (2 Kings xv. 8), perhaps many more, twenty-six probably. These twenty-six added to the thirty-two make 58 for the duration of Hosea's ministry. Keil makes the period 65 years; Rosenmüller, 40; Stuck, 55. The reason of these varying opinions lies in the books of Kings and Chronicles, where the accounts of the kings of Judah and Israel do not always harmonise with one another in their chronology. So long a duration of office as sixty-five or sixty is very improbable. Yet the inscription may be explained in conformity with a period of upwards of fifty.

It is singular that Jeroboam II. should be the only Israelite king mentioned in the inscription, while four kings of Judah are specified. And the singularity is increased by the fact that the king of Israel's reign did not extend to the death of Uzziah. Why are none of the Israelite kings contemporary with Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, specified? The reason can hardly be that

Jeroboam II. was the last king by whom the Lord sent help to his people (2 Kings xiv. 27); and his successors scarcely deserved the name of sovereign. Dates do not take into account the piety of kings. Hence we reject the explanation of Hävernick and Stuck,[1] which Cocceius had given before. Nor does Hengstenberg's argument suffice to justify the names of these sovereigns, viz., that the pious in Israel generally, and the prophets in particular, stood in an intimate relation to the kingdom of Judah, considering the separation both religious and civil as an apostacy from God.[2] It is nugatory to say that it was necessary for correct chronology that the kings of both peoples should be mentioned. It is equally nugatory to affirm that the title meant to limit the reign of Uzziah by reference to Jeroboam—that it was intended to give Uzziah as contemporary with Jeroboam, and therefore that the *terminus a quo* was not later than 783 B.C. Such is not the method of the prophetic inscriptions; to give kings out of two kingdoms, a king in one limiting a king in the other, without specifying the commencing date by the year of the reign of either. There is good reason for doubting the authenticity of the inscription. It seems to have been taken from Is. i. 1 by a later hand. And the connection of the second verse with the first is awkward: "The word of the Lord that came unto Hosea," etc. "The beginning of the word of the Lord by Hosea." Here are two commencements or inscriptions. Bleek conjectures that Uzziah and Jeroboam stood originally in the title, which referred to the first two or three chapters only; and that the three other kings were added when the whole book was put together by Hosea himself.[3] But it is most unlikely that the prophet would have allowed such a title to stand, especially as it is followed by another in the second verse. We infer, therefore, that the first verse is later than Hosea.

III. CONTENTS.—The book may be divided into two parts, viz., chaps. i.-iii.; iv.-xiv.

At the command of God the prophet took for wife Gomer, the daughter of Diblaim, who is called a *wife of whoredoms*, and the children she bare to him, *children of whoredoms*. These children receive symbolical names, because their mother and they signify the apostate relation of the people to Jehovah (i. 1-9). To this is appended a promise of the restoration of Judah and Israel under one head, and their coming up to Jerusalem to worship (ii. 1-3). The remainder of the second chapter points out the idolatry of the people and the divine judgments against them, to which is annexed a promise of reconciliation (ii. 4-25).

[1] Einleitung, II., 2, p. 279; and Hoseas, p. 133.
[2] Christologie, iii., p. 1.
[3] Einleitung, p. 524.

The third chapter contains another symbolical transaction, by which is shewed the desolation of Israel before the restoration. The second part of the book contains, for the most part, threatening messages, describing God's judgments against the sins of priests and the people, intermingled with exhortations to repentance.

IV. WHEN AND WHERE HE PROPHESIED.—The prophecies refer principally to the kingdom of Ephraim or Israel. Judah is also mentioned, but only incidentally, as is apparent from i. 7; ii. 2; iv. 15; v. 5, 10, 14; vi. 4, 11; viii. 14; x. 11; xii. 1, 3. Hence Horsley is wrong in writing, "it has been the occasion of much misinterpretation to suppose that his prophecies are almost wholly against the kingdom of Israel."[1] Unquestionably they have mainly to do with this kingdom, though Judah is occasionally introduced and threatened with the same punishment. Hence it is probable that the prophet belonged to Israel, not to Judah as Maurer argues. If indeed the mention of the kings of Judah in the inscription were authentic, we should hesitate to assume that Hosea belonged to Israel, but the posteriority of the title to the prophet himself deprives the argument of its force. Hengstenberg has not replied to the argument conclusively on the assumption that the inscription is authentic. It cannot be inferred with Maurer, from the fact that he is milder towards the inhabitants of Judah and severer against those of Israel, that he belonged to the former,[2] because love of country was always subordinate with the prophets to love of truth, and Israel deserved greater blame than Judah. The circumstance that Hosea speaks of Judah oftener than Amos proves nothing. It is true that the inscription of Amos proves that prophets of Judah-origin sometimes exercised their ministry in Israel; but the example of Amos is a solitary one, except the case in 1 Kings xiii. 1, and was looked upon by his contemporaries as unusual (Amos vii. 12). Thus the arguments of Maurer are not conclusive. Hosea's Israelitish origin is attested by the rough, Aramæising diction, pointing to the northern part of Palestine, and by his intimate knowledge of the localities of Ephraim, v. 1; vi. 8, 9; xii. 12; xiv. 6, etc. In i, 2, he calls the land of Israel "the land;" and in vii. 5, the king is "our king."

It is difficult to tell exactly the time or times of the prophecies, because internal evidence is deficient. In i. 4 we see that the house of Jehu was upon the throne, whence we may infer that Jeroboam II. was king. From v. 13 we conclude that Ahaz then reigned over Judah. Most of the prophecies

[1] Hosea, Preface. [2] Commentationes Theologicæ, II. 1, p. 294.

suit a time of anarchy and disorder, such as succeeded the death of Jeroboam II. No passage implies that the kingdom of Israel was dissolved. All precedes Hezekiah's sixth year. The only argument in favour of any portion being composed in Hezekiah's reign is founded on x. 14: "Therefore shall a tumult arise among thy people, and all thy fortresses shall be spoiled, as Shalman spoiled Beth-arbel in the day of battle: the mother was dashed in pieces upon her children." Here it is supposed that there is an allusion to an expedition of Shalmaneser against Hoshea, which took place in the beginning of Hezekiah's reign. It is doubtful, however, whether *Shalman* be king Shalmaneser. Rather was he an unknown Assyrian king. The town Beth-arbel, mentioned in the same verse, is not Arbela in Galilee, as Gesenius, Rosenmüller, Maurer, Hävernick, and De Wette think; but Arbela on the Tigris.

Ewald supposes that after the prophet had been long active in the northern kingdom he came to Judah, and put his prophecies into writing there.[1] As an evidence for this opinion the learned critic adduces v. 8, where in the description of the alarm advancing from north to south we read, "after thee, O Benjamin." Surely the argument is invalid. The hypothesis might be allowed if we could hold that the four kings of Judah in the title were put there by Hosea himself, which we cannot assume. The brief notices of Judah here and there do not support the view in question, and imply no more knowledge of the southern kingdom than what the prophet may have possessed while he was in Israel. Had he written his prophecies in Judah, it is likely that the references to it would have been more extensive. If indeed he prophesied beyond the sixth year of Hezekiah, it is highly probable that he came from Israel to Judah on the dissolution of the former kingdom and promulgated his prophecies in the latter; but the evidence for his ministry having reached to the reign of Hezekiah is insufficient. We suppose therefore that he lived and wrote in Israel down to the time immediately before its destruction. His book would soon find its way into Judah, after the subversion of the northern state, and be read there. Jeremiah has frequently followed it in his representations of Israel. Some places even in Isaiah shew the use of Hosea, as viii. 4 (Is. xxx. 1), and ix. 15 (Is. i. 23).

Although the second division appears to form a connected whole, various attempts have been made by Stuck, Maurer, and Hitzig to divide it into smaller prophetic utterances, and even to arrange them chronologically. It is difficult to define, and place in their order of delivery or composition, the minor prophecies of which it consists. No clear marks indicate the com-

[1] Die Propheten, u. s. w., vol. i., p. 119.

mencement and termination of separate pieces or discourses. A chronological index does not appear. We do not deny the existence of different prophecies. It is very probable that the division contains portions at least of several. But the prophet selected and wrote them in the way they now appear, at once. This we infer from the careful distribution and equable strophes. Thus we can divide iv.-xiv. into iv., v.-vi.-11*a*, vi. 11*b*-ix. 9, ix. 10-xi. 11, xi. 12-xiv.

V. THE PROPHECIES ARRANGED BY HOSEA.—That Hosea arranged the prophecies as they stand at present cannot well be doubted. The first two chapters contain the substance of what he did and wrote while the house of Jehu was still on the throne, *i.e.*, in the days of Jeroboam II. The last twelve refer to the time after the death of Jeroboam, which was an unsettled and lawless age, when Israel was inclined to apply for help, sometimes to Egypt, sometimes to Assyria. Kings were set up and deposed in rapid succession; and military power was trusted in rather than Jehovah. It is not surprising, therefore, that the prophet denounces and threatens. The guilt of Israel, their refractory spirit, and the heavy judgments that awaited them, are set forth in striking language, though consolation is mingled with denouncement, and promises of pardon with severe castigation.

VI. INTEGRITY.—Redslob is the only critic who has questioned the integrity of the book. He supposes that the passage in vii. 4-10 is made up of marginal glosses, which is a very arbitrary hypothesis not demanding a refutation.

VII. INTERPRETATION OF HOSEA'S SYMBOLICAL ACTIONS.—The nature and meaning of the symbolical acts recorded in the first and third chapters have been largely canvassed. When the prophet was commanded to go and take a wife of whoredoms and children of whoredoms (i. 2), and again to go and love a woman beloved of her friend, yet an adulteress, (iii. 1), was he enjoined to do these things literally? Three views have been entertained by interpreters:—

1. Many hold that the events here narrated took place *outwardly* and *actually*. This opinion was advanced by Theodoret, Cyril of Alexandria, and Augustine; by most belonging to the Lutheran and Reformed Churches; and more recently, by Stuck, Hofmann, Horsley, Drake, and Henderson.

2. Others look upon it as a parabolical representation. So Calvin, Rosenmüller, Hitzig, Simson, and others. Luther's singular opinion was a modification of this, viz., that the prophet had only ascribed to his own chaste wife the name and works of an adulteress, and hence had performed with her, before the people, a kind of play.

3. Others suppose that the prophet narrates events which took place *actually* but not *outwardly*. This is the view of Jerome, Maimonides, Abenezra, Kimchi, Marckius, and Hengstenberg. The last critic has argued very successfully against the defenders of an outward transaction.[1] But we cannot adopt his own view, that it was a symbolical action which took place only internally —that it was an inward vision and nothing more. We adopt the second hypothesis, which does not differ essentially from that of Hengstenberg, though he seems to make a wide distinction between them. *Internal actuality*, for which he pleads so strenuously, is only a mental view, possessing a mere *subjective* existence.

The whole is spiritual machinery, what passed in the mind of the prophet himself being set forth pictorially as an objective thing. We cannot suppose that God commanded the prophet entering upon his office to do an immoral thing, which must have hindered its efficiency as a symbol. Years too must have been required for the performance of the external transactions recorded, so that the impressiveness of the symbol must have been greatly impaired. Indeed it is difficult to see how the things could have answered the object, or spoken to the moral consciousness of the people, if they extended over a number of years. How much more telling would be the influence of the transaction on the Israelites of Hosea's day if it were a compound symbolical representation—the dramatic bodying forth of inner ideas divinely inspired, to arrest the people's attention.

The meaning of the phrases *wife of whoredoms* and *children of whoredoms*, can scarcely be mistaken after the critical investigations of Hengstenberg and Hitzig. The idea is that of infidelity before and after marriage. The children are the two sons and daughter born after wedlock; but as their mother was an impure woman, their father could not be known. They were not the prophet's own. It is said indeed in the third verse that she bare him (לו) a son, but that does not necessarily imply that he was their true father. It is only in harmony with the fact of his being their mother's husband, and therefore nothing more than their *reputed* father. There is thus no need to expunge לו from the text, as some MSS. and copies of the Septuagint do. It is a genuine word. Gomer had been addicted to lasciviousness prior to her marriage; nor did she cease from her evil practices after it. The adulteress referred to in iii. 1 is not the same woman as she who was the prophet's wife in i. 2, 3. The names of both mother and children are significant. She is *Gomer*, finishing-stroke, *end, completion*. Her father is *Diblaim*,

[1] Christology, vol. i., p. 177, et seqq.

double-cake. The names of the children are Jezreel, Lo-ruhamah, and Lo-ammi, which are explained in the book itself. The figure of marriage and adultery is common in the Old Testament, representing the covenant-relation between Jehovah and the Jewish people, with the latter's apostasy. The people of the kingdom of Israel were to be scattered and punished because of their idolatry. The house of Jehu in particular should be visited with punishment because of the guilt contracted by the head of it in the plain of Jezreel. Horsley thinks that distinct parts of the nation were typified by the three children; the first son representing all the true servants of God scattered among the twelve tribes, who worshipped the everlasting God, in the hope of the Redeemer to come; the daughter typifying the people of the ten tribes in the enfeebled state of their declining monarchy; and the last child, the condition of the ten tribes expelled from their own country, dispersed in foreign lands, and destitute of any better guide than natural reason and heathen philosophy.[1] Browne assumes that the three children symbolised three Assyrian invasions.[2] All this is fanciful, if not absurd. Horsley falsely supposes that the eldest was the prophet's own son; while the other two were bastards. Others think that they refer to three successive generations of the Israelites.

The first child, Jezreel, refers to the first dynasty of Jeroboam I. and his successors, terminating in the blood of Ahab's house shed by Jehu at Jezreel. As Jehu and his family had degenerated, the scenes of Jezreel were to be re-enacted and Jehu's race must be extinguished. Thus the name of the first child connects past and future. The name of the second child *not pitied* relates to the effeminate period following the subversion of the first dynasty. Israel was weak and became an object of contempt. The third child symbolises the reign of Jeroboam II. when the kingdom revived and required new strength. Still as piety did not revive, the people were not God's people. Such is Palfrey's explanation of the three names as symbolising three successive generations.[3] It is too far-fetched and ingenious to be accepted. With Hengstenberg we take wife and children together, as symbolising the people of Israel. Though the marriage is mentioned first and the births of the children are described in succession, some time necessarily elapsing between the events, that circumstance does not require or recommend the usual exposition of three generations. The description is pictorial; and the method adopted, first the mother conveying the idea of unity, then the children intimating plurality arising from the unity, impressively sets forth the spreading, diversified

[1] Hosea, in Biblical Criticism, vol. ii., p. 144, et seqq.; edition 1844.
[2] Ordo Sæclorum, p. 697. [3] Academical Lectures, vol. ii. pp. 422, 423.

corruption of Israel—its unfaithfulness to the covenant entered into at Sinai.

VIII. Style and language.—Hosea employs the simple prophetic discourse. He has no visions, parables, or allegories. In presenting his ideas he employs vivid descriptions, which, however, are always brief. He has great wealth of comparisons and images. He frequently compares Jehovah to some of the lower animals, the lion, panther, bear; or to some sensible object, as the dew, the rain (v. 12, 14; vi. 3; xi. 10; xiii. 7, 8; xiv. 6). Paronomasias and plays on words occur in ii. 4, 18; iv. 15; viii. 7; xiii. 15. The style is peculiar. It is highly poetical and bold, lively and energetic, corresponding to the powerful conceptions it embodies. Yet there is much tenderness and softness. An elegiac plaintiveness is diffused throughout. Jerome has observed that the style is laconic and sententious. Lowth pronounces him the most difficult and perplexed of the prophets. The reasons of this obscurity are *not* the antiquity of the composition, nor the assumed fact that we have now only a small volume of his prophecies remaining, and these extant in a continued series with no marks of distinction as to the times when they were published, or of which they treat, as Lowth thinks; but the idiosyncracy of the prophet giving rise to peculiar idioms and frequent changes of person. As his mode of writing is energetic and concise, negligent of connecting particles and suddenly leaping from image to image, it approaches the obscure. The sentences are mostly short and abrupt, without roundness or fullness. The rhythm is lively, but hard; the parallelism deficient in evenness and periodic measurement. The language is pure, but peculiar and difficult. Among peculiar terms and unusual constructions may be noticed נַאֲפוּפִים ii. 4; נַבְלוּת ii. 12; אַהֲבוּ הֵבוּ iv. 18; גָּהָה v. 12; מֶלֶךְ יָרֵב v. 13, x. 6; הַבְהָבִים viii. 13; שְׁבָבִים viii. 6; מַשְׂטֵמָה ix. 7, 8; תַּלְאֻבֹת xiii. 5; אֱהִי *where*, xiii. 14; רְתֵת xiii. 1. Rare and singular forms are תִּרְגַּלְתִּי xi. 3; וָאֶמְאָסְאֹךְ iv. 6; חִבֵּי the infinitive, vi. 9; אוֹכִיל xi. 4; קָאם x. 14; תָּלוּא xi. 7; יַפְרִיא xiii. 15; קִימוֹשׁ ix. 6. Of constructions may be noticed, לֹא עַל vii. 16; אֶל־עַל xi. 7; צָפָה עִם ix. 8; נְשַׁלְּמָה פָּרִים שְׂפָתֵינוּ xiv. 3; כִּמְרִיבֵי כֹהֵן iv. 4; רֻבֵּי תּוֹרָתִי viii. 12; רָעַת רָעַתְכֶם x. 15. The first three chapters are in prose; the rest are poetical.

IX. Messianic passages.—There is but one special Messianic prophecy in Hosea. The others are *general* prophecies of a *Messianic nature*, as ii. 1-3, 16-25; iii. 5; xi. 8-11; xiv. 5-10. In these passages it is promised that, notwithstanding the apostasy of the people from Jehovah, mercy should be extended to

them. The covenant between their Lord and them should be restored. All the people should return to the house of David and dwell together for ever, in a land of great fruitfulness and plenty. No bow or sword should come again into their land. None should henceforward think of an idol, but all should seek God and their king. Such declarations are of a general import, and vague in their nature. The person of Messiah appears only in iii. 5, where he is termed David. When it is said (ii. 2) that the children of Israel and the children of Judah should appoint themselves one head, the prophet does not understand Messiah by the head; though Calvin and Hengstenberg after him say that Christ was intended. The head is here to be elected by *the people;* and it is absurd in Calvin to affirm that what properly belongs to God alone appears to be transferred to men. Nor does Hosea mean by the head Zerubbabel, as Newcome and Henderson suppose. He had no definite person in view. Palfrey need not ask, Do these passages contain "delineations of the mission of Jesus, and of its objects and results?"[1] because no true critic supposes that they describe Jesus or his work. They are of a general Messianic tenour, and are common in the Old Testament prophets, expressing the ideal hopes and longings of the Hebrew mind after a golden age of peace and prosperity.

The New Testament has different quotations from Hosea, as Matt. ii. 15, from Hosea xi. 1; Matt. ix. 13, xii. 7, from Hosea vi. 6; Rom. ix. 25, 26, from Hosea ii. 1 and 25. In the first of these the Evangelist has put an allegorical sense into the passage which it has not in the prophet. In the last text the apostle has *adapted* to his argument the words of Hosea, which do not refer to the Gentiles, in the historical connection they occupy, but to the restoration of the fallen kingdom of Israel. Bishop Horsley is wrong in affirming that Hosea alludes to the calling of our Lord from Egypt, and to the resurrection on the third day; that he touches upon the final overthrow of the Antichristian army in Palestine, by the immediate interposition of Jehovah, and that he celebrates in the loftiest strains of triumph and exaltation the Saviour's final victory over death and hell.[2] To put these fancies into the prophet's words, is to make him speak as a Christian living under the new dispensation. The main subject of description is Israel, respecting which kingdom, as well as that of Judah, the prophet indulges in ideal hopes, and delineates the future poetically, believing that glorious times of restoration and prosperity in the land were yet in store for his people, according to the infinite mercy of Jehovah their

[1] Academical Lectures, vol. ii. p. 427. [2] Biblical Criticism, vol. ii. p. 136.

covenant-God. Hosea *predicts* nothing of the ingrafting of the Gentiles into the church of God; though Horsley is pleased to say that he predicts it in the strongest and clearest terms. His mind was occupied with his own country and people, not with the Gentiles.

X. DEPENDENCE ON AND INDEPENDENCE OF OTHER PROPHETS.—Hengstenberg has tried to shew that Hosea has based his prophecies on the present Pentateuch. But the attempt is unsuccessful. All his proofs fail. That Hosea refers to Amos there is little doubt. There is a correspondence between the two in various passages that cannot be accidental. Amos was the older contemporary and may very probably have given an impulse to the mind of Hosea. Compare Hosea iv. 15 with Amos iv. 4, v. 5; Hosea vii. 10 with Amos vi. 8; Hosea x. 4 with Amos v. 7, vi. 12; Hosea viii. 14 with Amos ii. 5.

That Jeremiah used the prophecies of Hosea there can be no doubt, because the correspondences are numerous and plain. Comp. Jer. iv. 3 with Hosea x. 12; Jer. v. 6–9 with Hosea xiii. 7, 8; Jer. v. 7-9 with Hosea iv. 13, 14; Jer. viii. 5 with Hosea xi. 7; Jer. ix. 12 with Hosea xiv. 9; Jer. xii. 4 with Hosea iv. 3; Jer. xiii. 27 with Hosea viii. 5; Jer. xiv. 10 with Hosea viii. 13, ix. 9; Jer. xxxi. 20 with Hosea ii. 21, xi. 8; Jer. xxxi. 27 with Hosea ii. 25.[1]

XI. CHAP. VI. 7: "But they like men have transgressed the covenant: there have they dealt treacherously against me."

Among the many fictitious things in which theologians have indulged is "the covenant of works," or the constitution established by God with Adam during the period of his innocence. The present passage is adduced as a proof of such a covenant, being translated "But they like Adam have transgressed the covenant." This is an incorrect rendering. The true sense is, "But they are like men who transgressed the covenant." It is strange that such a scholar as Hitzig should adopt the *like-Adam* version. It is time that the "covenant-theology" of Witsius and others had disappeared from the department of dogmatics. Covenants or contracts between God and man there cannot be. The divine procedure towards sinful, erring creatures, is characterised by mercy, love, and faithfulness. The injurious effect of assuming a covenant between God and Adam is seen in the words of the Westminster divines: "The covenant being made with Adam, not only for himself, but for his posterity, all mankind descending from him by ordinary generation, sinned in him, and fell with him in his first transgression." The unscripturalness of this has been

[1] Kueper, Jeremias librorum sacrorum interpres atque vindex, p. 67, et seqq.

well pointed out by Taylor.[1] The covenant with Adam, whether it be called with some a covenant of works, or with others a covenant of grace, is a thing which theology should have repudiated. If it had, men would have been saved from many foolish, absurd, and false ideas, such as the imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity, their guilt in consequence of his sin, their exposure to the loss of chartered blessings, etc., etc.[2]

[1] The Scripture doctrine of Original Sin, p. 88 et seqq. ed. 1740.
[2] See Payne's doctrine of Original Sin, Lectures 1 to 5.

THE BOOK OF JOEL.

I. THE AUTHOR.—Joel, Hebrew יוֹאֵל, Septuagint Ἰωήλ, was the son of Pethuel. Of his birthplace nothing is known. The traditional account in Pseudo-Epiphanius, according to which he was of Bethom, a village in the tribe of Reuben, is unreliable. He prophesied in the kingdom of Judah, and probably at Jerusalem, as is inferred from various passages, i. 9, 13, 14, 16; ii. 1, 9, 15, 17; iii. 5; iv. 1, 2, 6, 16, etc. Here he makes frequent mention of priests, sacrifices, feasts, the temple, etc., speaking of them as of things present. He complains that the meat and drink offerings are cut off from the house of the Lord; and that the priests, the Lord's ministers, mourn. He summons the people to fasting, weeping, and humiliation, that Jehovah might bestow a blessing, which would lead to the restoration of the meat and drink offerings. Thus much value is attached to the forms of worship; more than is usual among the older prophets. He also exhibits great hatred against the heathen, who are assembled for slaughter in the valley of Jehoshaphat (iv. 11, etc., etc.), greater than is customary in the earlier prophets. Hence it is probable that he belonged to the tribe of Levi, or to the priestly order. Perhaps he was a Levite.[1]

II. CONTENTS OF THE BOOK.—The work consists of a single prophecy, and cannot well be divided. Indeed it has an unity which forbids formal division. Some, however, as Keil, make it consist of two parts, viz., i. 2-18, and ii. 19–iv. 21; the former containing a general call to repentance amid the fearful plague, the exhortation becoming more urgent towards the close; the second containing the divine promise respecting the removal of this judgment, the destruction of all nations hostile to the theocracy, and the glorification of that theocracy by the richest blessings of nature, and the Spirit's outpouring on all flesh. The two parts are said to be joined together by the historical remark intervening, "And the Lord answered and said unto his

[1] See Knobel, Der Prophetismus, II. pp. 133, 134.

people" (ii. 19), uniting both into one whole. Thus the prophecy, as far as it relates to the future, commences with part of the nineteenth verse, "Behold I will send you corn, and wine, and oil," etc.[1] This division is incorrect, because the eighteenth verse of the second chapter is not closely connected with the seventeenth. Rather should the separation be between the seventeenth and eighteenth. Hence Ewald, followed by E. Meier, makes two prophetic discourses in the work; the former consisting of i. 1–ii. 17; the latter of ii. 19*b*–iv. 21; and makes the words "then the Lord was jealous for his land and pitied his people, yea, the Lord answered and said unto his people" (ii. 18, 19*a*), the prophet's historical remark joining the two discourses together, intimating that Jehovah, in consequence of their repentance had again shewed mercy to His people, and speaks to them now in the promises that follow.[2] This is ingenious and plausible. We doubt, however, its correctness, as Bleek also does. The supposed historical remark of the prophet is rather a part of the prophetic discourse—an incipient promise. The verbs being in the imperfect with *vau* are no impediment; because such is usual in the prophets. The preterite varies and enlivens the narrative.[3]

The prophet commences with a call to the inhabitants to mourn because of a heavy plague desolating the whole land, so that the usual meat and drink offerings could not be brought before Jehovah in the temple. The priests are therefore enjoined to institute a general fast, and summon the people to mount Zion together. The plague is called *Jehovah's army, His camp*, the executor of his word; and ushers in *the day of the Lord* (i.-ii. 11). The prophet exhorts both priests and people to repent with fasting; perhaps Jehovah would turn and be gracious to them, so that the land should be blessed again with fruitfulness (ii. 12-17). He utters the confident assurance that the Lord would send corn, wine, and oil; that He would remove from them the northern army, casting it into two seas; that He would send the former and latter rain, so that the earth might yield abundant produce and the people praise the Lord (ii. 18-27). It is then announced, that Jehovah would pour out his Spirit on all flesh; that there should be extraordinary phenomena in heaven and earth; and that all calling on the name of the Lord at Jerusalem should be saved (iii. 1-5). Jehovah would bring back the captives of Judah and Jerusalem, and enter into judgment with all the peoples who had proved themselves the enemies of the Jews, of whom the Tyrians, Sidonians, and Edomites, are specially named (iv. 1-8). The

[1] Einleitung, p. 283, second edition.
[2] Die Propheten, vol. i. p. 66.
[3] Bleek, Einleitung, p. 528.

Gentiles round about are next commanded to prepare themselves for battle with Jehovah. In the valley of Jehoshaphat, in the valley of decision, they would be punished. Henceforth Jehovah should dwell in Jerusalem, which would no more be profaned by strangers (iv. 13-17). The book closes with a promise that the land should be blessed with rich abundance, and watered by a fountain issuing from the house of the Lord; whilst Egypt and Edom should be desolate because of their bloody deeds against the Jews. Judah and Jerusalem should dwell for ever, and Jehovah inhabiting Zion would purify his people from the blood-guiltiness still adhering to them (iv. 18-21).

III. NATURE OF THE DESCRIPTION IN THE FIRST AND SECOND CHAPTERS.—Is the description of the locusts in the first and second chapters literal or figurative? Is a real army of foes meant by the locusts who invade the land of Judah and desolate it; or does the language refer to those animals alone?

The question turns on the point whether *a future* or *present* calamity be meant; whether the writer describes a present plague or predicts a future one? Hävernick refers to i. 15 and ii. 1, 2 for proof that a future plague is predicted. Both speak of *the day of the Lord being at hand.* By this day the prophet means the time of general judgment, whose precursor he considers the plague.[1] The identity of the day with the desolation of the locusts is not implied, as that critic affirms; but the latter is the prognostic of the former. In i. 6, 7 we read, "a nation is come up upon my land, strong and without number, whose teeth are the teeth of a lion, and he hath the cheek teeth of a great lion. He hath laid my vine waste, and barked my fig-tree: he hath made it clean bare and cast it away; the branches thereof are made white." Again in ver. 10: "The field is wasted, the land mourneth; for the corn is wasted: the new wine is dried up, the oil languisheth." Thus the desolation is treated as a present thing; and on the ground of it Joel exhorts to repentance. The people saw it before their eyes; they knew what it was. It is not spoken of as a future thing of which they were ignorant, but as a present calamity. To regard the description as a *prediction* is against its whole tenour and spirit, for it is a plague that ushers in the great day of the Lord.

In favour of the figurative it is argued—

(*a*) That it is the oldest, the traditional interpretation, found as early as in the Targums, and therefore having in its favour a strong presumption. Even Isaiah xiii. 8 based on Joel ii. 6,

[1] Einleitung II., 2, pp. 293, 294.

and generally on the first and second chapters of this book is an authority for the figurative explanation; as is Jeremiah also (comp. Joel i. 13 with Jer. iv. 8; Joel ii. 9 with Jer. ix. 20).[1] In answer to this argument, it may be alleged that *traditional* exegesis has often to be rejected, because internal evidence requires its abandonment. And the prophets reproduce and use freely in their own way passages from their predecessors' writings; not adhering to the literal or figurative, because either the one or the other belongs to the original. They are not so slavishly dependent on the descriptions of others, but form their own discourse upon them with freedom and originality of method.

(b) The Pentateuch is the basis of Joel's symbolical picture, especially Ex. x. and Deut. xxviii. 38, 39. So too Hosea uses the utterances of the law in his symbolical description (Hosea i.-iii.); and Amos vii. 1-3 regards an approaching judgment in the light of a desolating swarm of locusts.[2] Besides the remarks just made in (*a*), it is surely unnecessary to state that every prophet has his own manner of description; one being no rule for another. It has not yet been proved, because it is impossible, that Joel, Hosea, and Amos made use of the present Pentateuch, which did not exist in their time.

(c) The close connection of the first and second part of Joel's prophecy shews the former to be figurative. The outpouring of the Spirit on the humbled covenant-people, and the judgment upon the anti-theocratic powers, presuppose a conflict in which the theocracy had been involved with heathenism. For this the latter meets with deserved punishment.[3] The close connection here presented does not require the sense put upon the first part of the prophecy, As the desolating locusts are the premonitory sign and symptom of the great judicial day, the latter is depicted as commencing with the heathen nations, who are judged for their former deeds of violence against the chosen people. From the transitions occurring in the prophets it should not be inferred that descriptions of the destruction of the heathens before the Messianic time, or at its introduction, should be necessarily preceded by an account of the evils they had inflicted on the chosen people.

(d) A number of passages in the first two chapters cannot be explained otherwise than figuratively. Thus in ii. 20 הַצְּפוֹנִי *the northern*, is unsuitable to locusts, and can only refer to the Assyrians and Chaldeans, the enemies of Israel living in the north and invading it from that quarter. In i. 6 the host is designated גּוֹי, the right appellation of the heathen. In ii. 17

[1] Hävernick, Einleit. II. 2, p. 296. [2] Ibid. pp. 296, 297. [3] Ibid. p. 297.

Jehovah is entreated not to give His heritage to reproach lest *the heathen should rule over them.*[1]

With regard to ii. 20, it may be said that swarms of locusts are met with in Syria, the Syrian desert, and Irak, which a north-east wind would bring from Syria to Judea; whence the word *northern* is applicable. Ewald points the word differently, צְפוֹנִי from the root צָפַן or צָפַת *to dispose in order*, to *marshal*, in Arabic and Aramæan. The word is thus an adjective from the substantive צְפוֹן *rank*, and denotes *well-arranged* or *marshalled* army. We are averse to shifts of this kind, though Meier follows Ewald, calling the conjecture an excellent one.[2] As the locusts are called an army and personified, גּוֹי is appropriate to them in i. 6. In ii. 17, the right translation is, "that the heathen should mock at them," לִמְשָׁל־בָּם גּוֹיִם. The verb מָשַׁל not only means *to rule*, but *to use a bye-word against, to mock*. This is shewn by its use in Ezek. xii. 23, xvi. 44, and Num. xxi. 27. In vain does Hengstenberg deny this signification, and attempt to explain the parallels otherwise.[3] His authority in philology cannot be accepted.

(*e*) If the vision of the locusts were not symbolical, "the hyperbole were else almost profane."[4] Joel does not describe a prophetic *vision*, but an actual desolation caused by an invading army of locusts. The poetical hyperbole is not greater than what we find elsewhere in the prophets. If it be *almost profane* what will Browne say of Hosea's expression, "He (the Lord) shall roar like a lion" (xi. 10)? The charge of profanity is strangely out of place.

None of the arguments urged by Hengstenberg and Hävernick against the literal acceptation is weighty; while various phenomena in the description apply only to locusts. Not only is there no necessity for departing from the literal sense, but sufficient reasons enjoin adherence to it. It is not suited to the Assyrians or any other hostile power to say of them that they have the teeth of a lion with which they destroy the vine, bark the fig-tree, make the branches clean bare and white. With what propriety could their appearance be compared to the appearance of horses, and their running to that of horsemen (ii. 4)? How could it be stated that "they shall run *like* mighty men; they shall climb the wall *like* men of war" (ii. 7)? Is it appropriate to speak of them as "entering in at the windows like a thief" (ii. 9)? If a hostile invasion were meant, how is it that the devastation is confined to the vegetable productions and cattle, without any mention of personal injury sustained by the Jews?

[1] Hävernick, Einleit., II. 2, pp. 297, 298.
[2] Der Prophet Joel, p. 123.
[3] Christologie, vol. iii. p. 159, et seqq.
[4] Ordo Sæclorum, p. 692.

The literal acceptation is confirmed by the fact, that locusts are named as instruments of the divine justice in Deut. xxviii. 38, 39; and by Solomon at the dedication of the temple (1 Kings viii. 37).

Holzhausen and Henderson take the first chapter literally, but the second figuratively. This is arbitrary. The comparison of the locusts in the second chapter with horses and military heroes, shews that the narrative does not refer to them. Both chapters must be understood in the same manner, either as alluding to locusts, or to a hostile army invading Judah. They are closely connected, and should not be severed in their application.[1]

The advocates of the allegorical interpretation have applied it to different enemies of the theocracy. As there are four names in ii. 25, the locust, the cankerworm, the caterpillar, the palmerworm, Ephrem the Syrian refers them to Tiglath-pileser, Shalmaneser, Sennacherib, and Nebuchadnezzar. According to Jerome, the Jews of his day took them to represent the Assyrians and Babylonians, the Medes and Persians, the Greeks, particularly Antiochus Epiphanes, and the Romans. Cyril of Alexandria nearly coincides. Even Grotius follows Ephrem, except that he substitutes Phul for Nebuchadnezzar. Hengstenberg observes that the analogies of the four horns in Zech. ii. 1-4 (i. 18-21), the four beasts in Daniel, the seven heads of the beast in Revelations, are decisive in favour of the view that importance belongs to the number four, as such. He agrees with the Jews of Jerome's day.[2] Browne conjectures that they symbolise four crises to the chosen people of God, the Babylonian, Syro-Macedonian, Roman, and Anti-christian. All this is fancy. The four kinds or swarms of locusts are nothing but locusts, having no ulterior or figurative meaning.

Holzhausen unites the two interpretations, applying the language literally to the locusts and figuratively to the Assyrian invaders.[3] This double sense is unwarrantable; whether the second be applied to the Assyrian, or with others, to the Babylonian, invasion. Its arbitrariness is shewn by an extension of the secondary sense to the invasions of the Persians, Greeks, and Romans. The plural sense in every form must be rejected; since the prophet describes a present judgment.

IV. DATE.—The time of Joel has been very differently reckoned:—

1. Bunsen places him about 950 B.C.; *i.e.* from fifteen to twenty five years after Shishak king of Egypt invaded Judah in Rehoboam's fifth year, 970. This circumstance led the pro-

[1] See Krahmer, De Joelis prophetæ ætate, p. 26.
[2] Christology, vol. i.. pp. 318, 319.
[3] Die Weissagungen des Propheten Joel uebersetzt und erklärt, § 1

phet to threaten Egypt (ix. 19).[1] Surely we should not look for *written* prophecies so early, when even Elijah and Elisha at a later date were not authors.

2. I. F. Bauer assigns him to the reign of Jehoshaphat, 914 B.C.

3. Kimchi and others put him in Jehoram's reign, 889 B.C.

4. Some think that he prophesied in the beginning of the reign of Joash, 877-847 B.C. So Credner, Movers, Hitzig, Meier, Winer, Ewald, Hofmann, Bauer, Delitzsch, Keil.

5. Others put him in the beginning of Uzziah's reign, between 800 and 780 B.C., but nearer 800; as Abarbanel, Vitringa, Moldenhauer, Rosenmüller, Von Coelln, Eichhorn, Jaeger, Gramberg, Knobel, De Wette, Holzhausen, and Bleek.

6. Bertholdt assigns him to the time of Hezekiah, 725 and following years B.C. He supposes his oracle to have appeared after the sixth year of Hezekiah's reign, 718. With him Steudel agrees.

7. Justi puts him in the time of Micah.

8. Several Jewish writers, among whom is Rashi, with Drusius, Newcome, Jahn, and others, place him under Manasseh, 696 B.C.

9. Tarnovius, Eckermann, Calmet, and others assign him to the reign of Josiah, 639 B.C.

10. Vatke puts him after the exile at Babylon.

The prophet adduces as the enemies of Judah the Phenicians and Philistines, who had robbed Jehovah's treasures, and sold the captive Jews to the Greeks (iv. 1-8). He also speaks of the Egyptians and Edomites, who had shed innocent blood in Judah (iv. 19). These are the only hostile peoples noticed. Neither the Syrians nor Chaldeans are named. Hence he lived before these nations rose to great power and excited the fears, as well as the hatred, of Judah.

In Amos iv. 6-9 there is a description of a famine, drought, and desolation caused by the ravages of the palmer-worm. There is a similar description in Joel i. 4, etc.; ii. 2, etc., 20, etc., which refers to the same plague, because the resemblance is striking, and the very name of the consuming animal the same (Joel i. 4; Amos iv. 9). There is this difference, however, that Joel speaks of the disaster as present when he wrote; while Amos refers to it as past and having produced no salutary effect; for which reason he threatens still farther punishment. It is true that Amos describes a plague which fell upon Israel, and Joel one that happened to Judah, on which account Credner denies that both speak of one and the same.[2] But surely both king-

[1] Gott. in der Geschichte, vol. i., p. 321, et seqq.

[2] Der Prophet Joel, p. 55, et seqq.

doms might be visited by the same calamities at the same time. The desolation was not confined to a small district. It lasted for several years (Joel ii. 25), and was an extraordinary one. Each prophet speaks of it merely in relation to the kingdom where he was. Hence we infer that the two prophets, Joel and Amos, were contemporaries. This is confirmed by the fact that both announce judgments against the nations because they had sold the captive Jews to other peoples. Tyre, Sidon, and the Philistines are specified by Joel as guilty of selling the children of Judah and Jerusalem to the Grecians (iv. 4-6). Gaza and Tyre are specified by Amos as delivering the captives to Edom (Amos i. 3-10). The Israelites and those belonging to Judah were sold as slaves to different persons. They were disposed of in different directions, according to the chances of commerce. This harsh treatment of the covenant-people, of which the two prophets speak, points to the same period. According to these remarks, Joel was the older contemporary of Amos, and lived in the commencement of Uzziah's reign, about 800 B.C.[1] This is also shewn by Amos's borrowing several expressions from him. Thus Amos ix. 13 is from Joel iv. 18; i. 2 from Joel iv. 16. We know that the Levitical worship of Jehovah flourished at that time (Joel i. 9, 13, 14, 16; ii. 12-17). The priests, who are often mentioned by our prophet, appear to have been influential under this king of Judah (2 Chron. xxvi. 16, etc.). No formidable power threatens the covenant-people, but glowing hopes of the future splendour of the theocracy are indulged. This agrees with the time of Uzziah, who waged successful wars against the Edomites, Philistines, and Arabians, and compelled the Ammonites to pay tribute. Well might the military conquests and religious activity of Uzziah excite high hopes of Judah's future in the breast of the prophet.

Some circumstances have been thought to militate against so late a date as that now assigned to Joel. It is said that Edom is threatened with impending judgment (iv. 19-21). This district revolted from Judah under Jehoram (2 Kings viii. 20); but Amaziah subdued it and took the capital Selah (2 Kings xiv. 7); and his conquest was the fulfilment of Joel's prophecy, when the innocent blood of the Jews, which had been shed in the Edomite territory, was avenged (Joel iv. 19-21). Hence it is inferred that Joel must have prophesied before Amaziah's victory over the Edomites in the valley of Salt. Plausible as this reasoning appears, it is somewhat precarious. It is not at all certain that the conquest in question fulfilled Joel's prophecy. At any rate it was not permanent, for Jeremiah threatens Edom

[1] See Knobel, Prophetismus, II. p. 134, et seqq.

in the same strain (Jer. xlix. 17). We believe that Amaziah did *not* fulfil the prediction. Edom did not become under him "a desolate wilderness." The verse in which Egypt and Edom are spoken of is part of a Messianic passage (iv. 19). In the highly poetical and ideal description of the golden age awaiting the theocracy, the prophet specifies two of its permanent enemies as for ever overthrown—blotted from among the nations. Indeed they are adduced as representatives of all the heathen peoples, who should be destroyed at the commencement of the glorious period anticipated. Under Jehoram the Edomites had shewn their formidable strength and proved a restless enemy to Judah, as we may infer from i. 11.

Another objection to the date assumed is stated by Credner, which rests upon the prophet's silence respecting the Syrians, who, in the time of Jehoash of Judah, had shewn their enmity by invading Judah under Hazael. It is stated in 2 Kings xii. that Jehoash purchased the departure of these Syrian invaders with the treasures of the temple and king's house. In the books of Chronicles it is even affirmed that they came to Jerusalem, destroyed all the princes of the people, and defeated a very great host. If then this event had preceded the time of the prophet, he would have mentioned the Syrians among the enemies of Judah to be punished, as Amos does. In answer to this, Bleek observes that the inference would only be correct if the invasion of the Syrians had taken place shortly before; whereas, half a century intervened, during which hostilities were not renewed between Syria and Judah, as they were between the covenant-people and the Phenicians, Philistines, and Edom. There was therefore little necessity for mentioning the Syrians, especially as the kingdom of Israel lay between them and Judah.[1] In addition to this it may be mentioned that suspicion attaches to the narrative in 2 Chron. xxiv., stating that Hazael actually invaded Jerusalem. According to 2 Kings, he merely purposed to set out with an army against Judah, and was bought off. The first war that Judah had with that people was in the time of Ahaz, 743 B.C. Before that time they never came into such collision with the chosen people as to render themselves an object of national hatred, as Judah's leading enemies were. Amos is fuller in details than Joel. He might also speak of the Syrians much more naturally than Joel, because he prophesies of Israel, not of Judah from whom they were more distant.

V. STYLE AND LANGUAGE.—The book belongs to the best productions of prophetic literature. The ideas are vigorous and noble; the diction pure, classical, elegant. The language is

[1] Einleitung, p. 351.

alike distinguished for depth, fullness, and easy flow. A rich imagination is accompanied by a good style. In regularity of rhythm he resembles Amos; in its liveliness, Nahum; and in both Habakkuk. The description of the locusts which, like an innumerable army, darken the sun, spare nothing, but pass irresistibly into cities and houses, laying the entire land waste and ultimately finding their grave in the sea, is picturesque and natural. Its fidelity, wrought up though it be with much poetic effect, is attested by various travellers, who have witnessed the ravages of the insect. Locusts generally appear in times of great drought (i. 20, ii. 3, 23), being brought by the wind from the desert, and soon cover the entire face of the country where they settle. In a few days their ravages are seen; the very foliage and bark of the tree being destroyed (i. 11, 12). In towns they cover the streets and houses, creeping over the buildings and walls, and continue their march unchecked (ii. 5, 7, 8), till they commonly perish in the Mediterranean Sea (ii. 20).

VI. DID THE PROPHET WRITE MORE THAN THIS BOOK?—Ewald supposes that the book is but a small part of Joel's writings. This he derives from the peculiarity of the language, which is not so independent and genuine poetry as might be expected from so early a period.[1] Perhaps the critic is right. The language is smoother and more flowing than one would infer from an author who wrote so little. It has also been thought that Is. ii. 2-4 and Mic. iv. 1-4 is a passage which belongs to Joel. It is certainly like his composition, and is pronounced his both by Ewald[2] and Hitzig.[3] Few remains of the prophet, however, have been preserved. It is likely that the book proceeded from himself in its present form.

VII. MESSIANIC PASSAGES.—The most remarkable of these is iii. 1-5, in which Joel predicts a general outpouring of the Spirit on all Israel, accompanied with wonders and signs. This is applied by Peter to the day of Pentecost, which was indeed an incipient fulfilment. A fuller realization is yet to be expected when the Gospel shall have more power over the hearts of men. Another passage is iv. 18-21. Both are Messianic in a general and wide sense, because the longed-for period is not connected with the person of the Messiah the Saviour, which is also the case in the greater number of Messianic predictions. Jehovah himself is described as the protector of his people, dwelling among them in Zion. The prophet's ideas of the golden time are of a mixed nature; for he adduces both political relations and a more spiritual condition of the people. In the fourth chapter it is ushered in by a general judgment upon all heathen nations, who

[1] Die Propheten, u. s. w. vol. i. p. 68. [2] Ibid. [3] Jesaia, p. 22.

are assembled in the valley of Jehoshaphat for slaughter and destruction. For them, therefore, there is no room in the restored theocracy. Judah shall abide for ever without them. In other prophets we meet with the same ideas; a general destruction of the heathen immediately preceding the happy time of peace and salvation, extraordinary fertility of the land, and a glorious condition of the Jewish state. It need scarcely be said that such delineations are ideal, expressing the aspirations and hopes of the prophet in the language of poetry. They should not be converted into prose or definite predictions, for which they were never intended. In their very nature they are vague, because the prophets had no definite knowledge of the future. They looked forward to a better age than it was their lot to live in, when Israel should be glorious, enjoying the immediate presence and favour of Jehovah, and reigning over the earth in peace. That age they depicted very differently, according to their idiosyncracies and the relations of their times.

If these remarks be correct, it is wrong to represent the prophet Joel *predicting* the blessings of the gospel, the general conversion and return of the Jews, and the destruction of the Jewish polity. His ideal delineations may be *applied* to gospel times; but assuredly he himself did not think of aught connected with Christianity. Nor did any prophet dream of the destruction of the Jewish state. All their belief and hopes centred in its everlasting duration, according to the divine covenant. Their highest aspirations were continually connected with the literal Judah —with Jerusalem and Zion, spots hallowed to their hearts by fond memories, and dearer still in the cherished longings of the future. It is absurd, therefore, to look for a *literal* or *definite fulfilment* of these Messianic prophecies, under the Christian dispensation. No proper *fulfilment*—a thing unsuited to their nature—awaited them. In a general way their spirit may be said to find its best expression in Christianity. They admit of adaptation to it. The golden age of the prophets appears in the gospel period under a far different form from that which they imagined.

THE BOOK OF AMOS.

I. CIRCUMSTANCES IN THE PROPHET'S LIFE—Amos was a shepherd at Tekoah, a small town in the kingdom of Judah, twelve Roman miles south of Jerusalem. Although doubts have been thrown on the fact that he was a native of this place, and attempts have been made by Harenberg[1] and others to shew that he was an Ephraimite, or born in the territory of Israel, no probability attaches to them. In vii. 14 Amos himself says: "I was no prophet, neither was I a prophet's son; but I was an herdman, and a gatherer of sycamore fruit," whence it appears that he was not educated for a prophet in the prophetic schools, nor prepared for the office by human training; but that he was a simple herdman who kept sheep and cultivated sycamore trees." He was called by God immediately to the prophetic office, and furnished with the suitable gift. It is superfluous to inquire if the description he gives implies that he was poor. The word נוֹקֵד (i. 1) means in 2 Kings iii. 4 a possessor of large herds of sheep. His prophecies also shew an acquaintance with the law and early prophets which would seem to indicate that he was in comfortable circumstances, and had received an education above the position of a poor man when he was divinely called. Rashi and D. Kimchi strive to represent him as a rich man, on the ground of the word נוֹקֵד; and Harenberg on that of בּוֹקֵר (vii. 14), building too much on the expressions. It is impossible to prove that he was rich.

The manner of his death, and his burial place, are unknown. Fable, however, has supplied them. It is said that after Amaziah the priest of Bethel had frequently struck him, the son gave him a fatal wound during sleep with a club; and that the prophet returned, still breathing, to his native land, where he died within two days, and was buried with his fathers.[2]

II. TIME WHEN HE PROPHESIED.—It is expressly stated that

[1] Amos propheta expositus, Introductio, § vii.
[2] See the Pseudo-Dorotheus in Dindorf's Chronicon paschal. vol. i. p. 277.

he prophesied in the days of Uzziah king of Judah, and in the days of Jeroboam the son of Joash, king of Israel, two years before the earthquake (i. 1). Nothing more is known of this earthquake than that it took place under Uzziah (Zech. xiv. 5). According to Josephus and other Jews the earthquake is said to have happened when Uzziah went into the temple to sacrifice against the will of the priests; but this is inconsistent with the sacred narrative. We may conclude that he prophesied about 790 B.C., and therefore was contemporary with Joel, Hosea, and partly with Isaiah also. The contents of the prophecies agree with this date. The Assyrians are referred to as having made conquests in the north, in Mesopotamia and Babylon, as threatening Syria and even menacing Israel. "The people of Syria shall go into captivity unto Kir" (i. 5). This was accomplished under Tiglath Pileser by the Assyrians, about 740. "Behold I will raise up against you a nation, O house of Israel, saith the Lord, the God of hosts; and they shall afflict you from the entering in of Hemath unto the river of the wilderness" (vi. 14). This also alludes to Syria, who carried away the Israelites into Mesopotamia (v. 27). The first invasion of Israel was made by Phul at the time of Menahem, 772-761. Calneh had fallen (vi. 2); so had Gath, the latter having been conquered by Uzziah. Thus Amos prophesied after Uzziah 811 B.C. Israel was in a flourishing condition. It had been restored to its ancient limits and prosperity. But with this outward state had come luxury, pride, idolatry, immorality, and oppression of the poor (vi. 1-3; v. 18; ii. 7, 8; iv. 1; v. 11; vi. 4-6; viii. 10). This suits the time of Jeroboam, and nothing leads beyond it. The prophet never hints at the state of anarchy which succeeded Jeroboam's death. Hence we infer that he wrote before 784, the year in which that monarch died. Perhaps 790 may be assumed as the most probable date.[1]

III. CONTENTS.—The book may be divided into two parts, viz., chaps. i.-vi., and vii.-ix, the former containing discourses, the latter visions and symbols. The coming judgments of God against the neighbouring Gentile nations are announced, against the Damascene Syrians, the Philistines and Tyrians, the Edomites, the Ammonites, and Moabites (i. 1-ii. 3). This is followed by an oracle against Judah for despising the law of God and allowing themselves to be led astray by lying vanities, on which account Jehovah would send a fire upon them to devour the palaces of Jerusalem (ii. 4, 5). The prophet then passes to Israel, to whom he administers a general reproof while enumerating their various sins against God. He announces the divine

[1] See Baur's Der Prophet Amos erklärt, Einleitung, p. 58, et seqq.

judgments with a particular enumeration of their several causes, dwelling on their luxury and oppression. The prophet exhorts them to repentance, and threatens them with severe chastisement, with the desolation of Samaria and the other cities of Israel, and the transportation of the inhabitants beyond Damascus (ii. 6-vi. 14). The seventh chapter contains visions representing the destruction of Israel and the house of Jeroboam under the images of grasshoppers, fire, and a plumb line; followed by a narrative of the enmity shewn to Amos by Amaziah priest at Bethel, and a threatening prophecy against him and his house, with a prediction of Israel's captivity. Another vision of a basket with some new fruit shews Israel's ripeness for destruction (viii. 1-3); to which is appended a reproval of oppression and a threatening of a spiritual famine (viii. 4-14). The ninth chapter contains a new vision in which the prophet beholds the Lord standing at the altar, commanding destruction, before whom none escapes. The divine judgment is farther described, followed by the promise that Jehovah will restore the tabernacle of David in all its former splendour, that Israel will possess the remnant of Edom and all nations on whom the divine name is called; that the land will be blessed with great fertility, and the waste places be repaired.

IV. DISPOSITION AND ARRANGEMENT OF THE PROPHECIES.—Various attempts have been made by Harenberg, Dahl, Bertholdt and others to divide different discourses according to the times at which they were delivered. But it is impossible to do so with any degree of probability. Knobel's supposition that iii.-vi. contain the discourses of the prophet at Bethel, and that vii. 10-17 is not in its right place but should come after the sixth chapter, is untenable.[1] The germ of the whole lies in vii. 1-ix. 10, part of which (vii. 1, etc.) the prophet uttered in substance at Bethel. On returning to Judah he continued his visions (viii. 1, etc.), and committed them to writing. He also expanded and added to his utterances so as to fit them for a wider circle. Thus he prefixed chapters i.-vi. Chapters i.-ii. 5 form a sort of introduction to the whole. And that his book might not be wholly of a threatening and gloomy import, he appended at the close a Messianic prophecy of consoling character. The order in which the book is arranged is excellent. The prophet begins with judgments against the neighbouring Gentile nations—the enemies of the covenant-people—who were to be punished for their sins against the living God; then passes to Judah, which is briefly touched; and proceeds to Israel, against which kingdom his commission was chiefly directed. In the fate of other peoples Israel might see

[1] See Baur's Amos, p. 112.

the proportionately heavier punishments for their obstinate rebellion against Him who had chosen them from among the nations. The consolatory Messianic promise is a fit conclusion to the whole.

There is little doubt that the prophet wrote the work as we now have it. When he had fulfilled his mission at Bethel, he returned to Judah and expanded his ideas so as to fit them for others besides the limited circle they were originally addressed to. And we see no good reason to doubt the authenticity of the title, though Ewald supposes it not to be Amos's.

V. POSITION AND IMPORTANCE OF AMOS IN THE PROPHETIC SERIES.—The position and importance of Amos in the development of Israelitism have been well shewn by Baur.[1] The distinction between an Israel after the spirit and an Israel after the flesh distinctly appears for the first time in this prophet, who clearly enjoins an inward reception of the law, without which all outward works are worthless.

I hate, I despise your feast days,
And I will not smell in your solemn assemblies.
Though ye offer me burnt offerings and your meat offerings I will not accept them;
Neither will I regard the peace offerings of your fat beasts.
Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs;
For I will not hear the melody of thy viols.
But let judgment run down as waters,
And righteousness as a mighty stream.—(v. 21-24).

We have also in Amos an early intimation that the Gentiles should share in the prosperity promised to Israel.

VI. STYLE AND LANGUAGE.—The prophecies are distinguished by force, freshness, clearness, and regularity. The rhythm of the sentences is rounded and periodic; the imagery, which is commonly taken from pastoral life, is fresh and beautiful. Compare i. 3; ii. 13; iii. 4, 5, 8, 12; iv. 2, 7, 9; v. 8, 19; vi. 12; vii. 1; ix. 3, 9, 13, 15. When therefore Jerome calls Amos "rude in speech but not in knowledge," applying to him what the Apostle Paul said of himself, we must not suppose that the prophet is rude, ineloquent, or wanting in the highest qualifications for writing; though Calmet and others seem to have understood Jerome's opinion in that manner. If he meant so, he was certainly mistaken. Lowth, no mean judge of style, says: "Let any person who has candour and perspicacity enough to judge, not from the man but from his writings, open the volume of his predictions, and he will, I think, agree with me, that our shepherd is not a whit behind the very chief of the prophets. He will agree, that as in sublimity and magnificence he is almost equal to the greatest, so in splendour of diction and elegance of

[1] Der Prophet Amos, p. 440, et seqq.

expression he is scarcely inferior to any." Some of his descriptions of Jehovah's majesty are in the highest style of sublimity, as v. 8, 9; ix. 5, 6. Perhaps Jerome referred to the orthography of Amos, which is certainly not pure in various cases, and reminds one of the humble dialect of the shepherd. Thus we find מְעִיק for מְצִיק ii. 13; בּוֹשֵׁם for בּוֹסֵם v. 11; מְתָאֵב for מְתָעֵב vi. 8; מְסָרֵף for מְשָׂרֵף vi. 10; יִשְׁחָק for יִצְחָק vii. 16; נִשְׁקָעָה for נִשְׁקָה viii. 8.

Peculiar expressions in Amos are: *cleanness of teeth*, iv. 6; *the high places of Isaac*, vii. 9; *the house of Isaac*, vii. 16; *he that createth the wind*, iv. 13.

VII. His use of preceding, and influence upon succeeding, prophets.—Though we hold, with Baur, that Amos knew the oracle of Joel in its written form, it is too much to say with him, that he aimed to assert and demonstrate the continuous validity of Joel's utterances.[1] Comp. Amos i. 2 with Joel iv. 16; i. 6, 9, with Joel iv. 2-7; ix. 13 with Joel iv. 18. That he was acquainted with the Pentateuch in its present form is unproved and unprovable. He may have known the Elohim documents. He may also have known the Jehovist. Many statements embodied in the Pentateuch were handed down by tradition. The Israelites were not ignorant of the essence of Moses's law in the time of this prophet, else the prophetic threatenings and warnings would have been unintelligible. But Deuteronomy was not written so early, and therefore our present Pentateuch did not exist.

Later prophets have been indebted to Amos for ideas and expressions. Thus the author of Zech. ix. 1-11 shews the influence Amos had upon him in his threatenings of the Damascenes (ix. 1, etc.), the Phenicians (ix. 3, etc.), and the cities of the Philistines (ix. 5-7). Like his predecessor, the writer omits all mention of Gath among the Philistine towns. In like manner Zephaniah threatens the four principal cities of the Philistines, with the exception of Gath (ii. 4, etc.), after he had exhorted them to repentance, like Amos (v. 14). Jeremiah has imitated Amos still more extensively (compare Jer. xlix. 27 with Amos i. 4; xlix. 3 with Amos i. 15; xlvi. 6 with Amos ii. 14; xlviii. 24 with Amos i. 12 and ii. 2; Jer. xlix. 13, 20-22, with Amos i. 12; Jer. xxv. 30 with Amos i. 2; Jer. xxxi. 35 with Amos iv. 13; Jer. xliv. 11 with Amos ix. 4, 8. A comparison of Jeremiah's oracles against foreign nations with the parallel ones of Amos will shew the similarity between them. Ezekiel has also been influenced by our prophet in his description of other nations (xxv.-xxxii.). Compare Ezek. xxviii. 26 with

[1] Der Prophet Amos, Einleitung, p. 61.

Amos ix. 14; Ezek. xxvii. 2, xxviii. 12, xxxii. 2, with Amos v. 1; Ezek. xxxv. 5, etc., with Amos i. 11. Haggai has also copied him. Compare Amos iv. 9 with Hag. ii. 17. So too Zechariah; compare iii. 2 with Amos iv. 11. Perhaps the Deutero-Isaiah had Amos iv. 13, etc., and v. 8, etc., in his memory, when he wrote xlii. 5, xlv. 7, 12.[1]

VIII.—CHAP. IX. 11, 12:

In that day will I raise up the tabernacle of David that is fallen,
And close up the breaches thereof,
And I will raise up his ruins, and I will build it as in the days of old;
That they may possess the remnant of Edom, and of all the heathen upon whom my name is named,
Saith the Lord that doeth this.

These words are part of a Messianic prophecy in which the prophet describes the future period on which the hopes of the pious were always concentrated in adversity. He predicts the restoration of the former unity and strength of the nation as it was under David. The true theocracy should reappear in its ancient extent and splendour. All the peoples once embraced in it should come to it again. The remnant of Edom and of all peoples acquainted with the name of Jehovah should come and be a part of the renewed kingdom. Thus the prophecy relates to the restoration of the Davidic kingdom and the extension of the theocracy to the heathen.

In Acts xv. 17 James quotes the passage from the LXX., but freely. Instead of יִירְשׁוּ אֶת־שְׁאֵרִית אָדָם the translators *appear* to have read, יִדְרְשׁוּ שְׁאֵרִית אָדָם אֶת־יְהוָה, which gives a different sense. We do not think that they read the Hebrew thus: they inverted and paraphrased it. James announces that the prophecy had its fulfilment in the establishment of the Christian church, and the reception within its pale of Gentile with Jewish converts. The words of the prophet are *adapted* by the speaker to the circumstances of the early converts to Christianity; they are not *interpreted.* Amos, like many other prophets, never speaks of the Messiah's person. He looks forward to the Messianic period in a general sense, without the idea of Messiah as a person; for Jehovah Himself is sometimes depicted as bringing about the restoration of all things, and reigning. Amos paints ideally the extended and restored kingdom of David, the Edomites and others forming a part of it and worshipping the true God. No such fulfilment as that announced by James was contemplated by the prophet or any intelligent Jew.

We need hardly say that the eleventh verse does not contain

[1] See Baur's Amos, p. 127, et seqq.

"a distinct prophecy of the restoration of the Jewish church after the Babylonish captivity," as Henderson supposes; nor the remainder of the Idumeans those "amalgamated with the tribes of Arabia which embraced the Christian faith."[1]

Chap. v. 25-27.

> Did ye offer sacrifices and gifts to me in the desert forty years,
> O house of Israel?
> And yet ye carried about the tabernacle of your king,
> And the framework of your images,
> The star of your god which ye made to yourselves,
> Therefore I will remove you, etc.

The question is equivalent to a negative, not absolute but comparative. Ye did not offer such sacrifices to God in the desert as he was pleased with. How could you, when at the same time ye carried about idolatrous images? Therefore, because ye are now offering sacrifices, and at the same time following idolatrous practices, neglecting judgment and righteousness after the example of your fathers, I will send you away into captivity beyond Damascus.

The ה prefixed to הַזְּבָחִים we take as an interrogative, and not the article as Maurer thinks. The question might have an affirmative answer, thus: "even during your forty years' abode in the wilderness you did offer me sacrifices, and yet ye practised idolatry then." This interpretation, however, is liable to the objection that the time of the exodus and immediately after is chosen as the most striking example of an idolatrous one, which it was not in reality.

The sacred writer in Acts vii. 42, 43 follows the Septuagint, which departs widely from the Hebrew, and is partially incorrect. *Τοῦ Μολόχ* shews that they took the Hebrew word מַלְכְּכֶם from מֶלֶךְ. This interprets *the king* or *god* they worshipped, identifying him with the Ammonite deity Moloch, the Kronos or Saturn of the Greeks and Latins. *Καὶ τὸ ἄστρον τοῦ θεοῦ Ῥεφάν.* Here the LXX. have arbitrarily translated the Hebrew as if it should stand thus: וְאֶת כּוֹכַב כִּיּוּן אֱלֹהֵיכֶם צַלְמֵיכֶם; whereas the present and doubtless original order is כִּיּוּן צַלְמֵיכֶם כּוֹכַב אֱלֹהֵיכֶם. They also took כִּיּוּן as a proper name, whereas it is an appellative, meaning *carriage, frame-work, pedestal*, on which the star was carried. Ewald supposes that the twenty-sixth verse does not refer to the conduct of the Israelites in the desert, but is closely connected with the twenty-seventh verse, and begins to describe the punishment of Israel in the future. "Ye

[1] The Book of the Twelve minor Prophets, pp. 177, 182.

shall take up the stake or post of your king," etc., referring to the people taking up their idols and carrying them away with them into captivity without their being of any use. Instead of protecting, those images should be an encumbrance to their votaries in their transportation. We cannot see any probability in this exposition. It does not agree well with the time of Amos; and the sense given to סִכּוּת is precarious. Nor is there any reason for thinking that the LXX. read it סֻכַּת because they translate *σκηνήν*. Baur labours to shew that the old translators, the LXX., Jerome, the Peshito, and Aquila, read the plural סִכּוֹת.[1] But the LXX. have the singular *σκηνή*, which favours the Masoretic text; and there is no good reason for departing from it. In like manner, we cannot, with Baur, read כִּיּוּן as כִּיּוֹן or כִּיּוּן, guided by the Persian and Arabic, and identify the name with Saturn. And we abide by the reading מַלְכְּכֶם, supported as it is by Symmachus and Theodotion, instead of making it מִלְכָּם which the same critic advocates.

The passage we have attempted to explain is confessedly obscure. Hence interpreters are much divided respecting it, as appears from the following survey of their opinions.

1. The old interpreters, Münster, Luther, Calvin, etc., adhered to the Masoretic text; and after the example of Rashi, took the words כִּיּוּן and סִכּוּת for proper names of gods, commonly identifying the former, as Abenezra did, with Saturn.

2. Vatablus, Drusius, and Mercier took כִּיּוּן as an appellative, but explained it differently, the two former referring it to cakes offered in sacrifice to the god, the latter translating it *model*. They all rendered מלככם *your king*.

3. Cornelius a Lapide and Calovius translated *Moloch*, took סכות for an appellative in the signification of *tabernacle*, and כיון for *basis* or *effigy*.

4. Cocceius, Meier, J. H. Michaelis, Burk, Rosenmüller, Gesenius, Hitzig, and Ewald take מלככם as an appellative, and attempt to explain the other difficult words by the help of etymology. The most recent of them, such as Ewald and Hitzig, reject the translation of the LXX.; while the older ones abide by it as much as possible.

5. Many take כיון as a proper name, understanding by it *Saturn*. So Deyling, Harenberg, J. D. Michaelis, Dathe, Bauer, Justi, Vater, Theiner, De Wette, Vatke, and Maurer. These take מלך as an appellative referring to a god, usually to Saturn.

6. Others, understanding כיון Saturn, have found *Moloch* in

[1] Der Prophet Amos, p. 368.

מלככם, translating the latter "your Moloch." This view is adopted by De Dieu, Grotius, Selden, Hottinger, Spencer, Vitringa, Witsius, Dahl.

7. Baur translates—

> And ye bare the tabernacles of Milcom and Caiwan,
> Your images of the star,
> The gods ye made for yourselves.

By Milcom he understands the god of fire, whose representative is the planet Saturn, and by Caiwan Saturn also, so that the tents of Milcom and star-images of Caiwan are different forms of the same thing, and refer to the same worship substantially. Such exegesis appears to us far-fetched and incorrect.

THE BOOK OF OBADIAH.

I. LIFE OF THE PROPHET.—Hebr. עֹבַדְיָה; Sept. Ἀβδίας cod. Alex. Ὀβδίας cod. Vat.; Lat. Abdias. According to patristic traditions Obadiah belonged to the tribe of Ephraim, and to Bethachamar or Bethacharam in the Shechemite territory.[1] It is said that he lived in the time of Ahab king of Israel, hid the prophets whom Jezebel persecuted, and as captain of the third fifty, was spared by Elijah whose disciple he had been (2 Kings i. 13). In later times his grave was pointed out in Sebaste, along with those of Elisha and John the Baptist. Rabbinical accounts mostly agree; some of them stating that he had been an Edomite and became a Jew. This is fabulous. His prophecy shews that he was a Jew; for it treats of the relations of Edom to the theocracy, and predicts its downfall.

II TIME WHEN HE LIVED.—The time at which he lived is somewhat uncertain.

1. Hofmann, Delitzsch, and Keil place him under Jehoram, *i.e.*, 889-884 B.C., and prior to Joel.

2. Jaeger, Hengstenberg, Caspari, and Hävernick place him under Uzziah.

3. Vitringa, Carpzov, Dupin, Kueper, put him in the time of Ahaz.

4. Jahn supposes that Obadiah wrote after 599 B.C. when Jehoiachin and others were carried away from Jerusalem, and before the destruction of the city in 588. The reason assigned is, because he warns the Edomites (12-14) not to continue in their hostile conduct towards the Jews.[2] Yet there is nothing in the verses in question opposed to the fact that Jerusalem was destroyed. On the contrary, they are consistent with and presuppose it.

5. Abenezra, Luther, Calov, J. H. Michaelis, Schnurrer, Winer, Knobel, Bleek, etc., think that he belonged to the time of the Babylonian captivity, after 588 B.C.

[1] Delitzsch, De Habacuci prophetæ vita, etc. p. 60, et seqq.
[2] Einleitung, Theil ii. pp. 516, 517.

6. Hitzig conjectures that he was an Egyptian Jew, who wrote soon after 312 B.C. Surely the collection of the minor prophets was made before then.

The decision of the question has been made to turn on the particular calamity which came upon Judah, on account of which the Edomites shewed themselves evil-minded and violent towards their brethren (vers. 11-14). The description in these verses suits best the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, at which the Edomites rejoiced. It is true that the Chaldeans are not *expressly mentioned* as the conquerors of the Jews; but they are pointed at. The description agrees better with Jerusalem's utter destruction than with any preceding catastrophe. Thus we read of "the strangers *carrying away captive* his forces, and foreigners entering into his gates and casting lots upon Jerusalem" (ver. 11), and of "*the captivity* of this coast of the children of Israel," etc. (ver. 20). This is admitted by Hävernick, Caspari, and others, who think that Obadiah lived and wrote under Uzziah. They regard the preterites as *prophetic*, and therefore referring to future times: to the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. They also lay great stress upon the fact that in 12-14 the Edomites *are admonished* not to shew their malicious joy.[1] But the tenth verse proves that they had *already* manifested bitterness and severity. We adopt the view of Abenezra and others, that the present *book* of Obadiah (not Obadiah himself) first appeared in the captivity of Babylon. Keil, following Caspari and Hävernick, argues that he wrote before the captivity because of the parallel in Jer. xlix. 7-22, which is younger; because there is no allusion whatever to the destruction and burning of Jerusalem any more than to the Babylonian exile; because the prophet mentions the entire body of captives belonging to this army of the Israelites among the Canaanites as far as Zarephath, and the prisoners of Jerusalem in Sepharad (ver. 20); and because of the unmistakeable imitation of Obadiah by Joel (comp. iii. 5 with Obad. 17; iv. 19 with Obad. 10; iv. 3 with Obad. 11; iv. 7, etc., with Obad. v. 15; iv. 17 with Obad. 17 and 11). Accordingly he refers the entire description to the plundering of Jerusalem under Jehoram, when a great part of the people were carried away into slavery among the Canaanites and Greeks (2 Chron. xxi. 16, etc., compared with Joel iv. 3, 6; Amos. i. 6, 9).[2]

This reasoning will not bear examination. Jeremiah's parallel prophecy xlix. 7-22 is *not* later than Obadiah's. It is urged indeed, that in all his prophecies Jeremiah has made use

[1] Hävernick, Einleit. II., 2, p. 319. [2] Einleitung, p. 289.

of older ones; that of all the expressions he employs against Edom, peculiar to him and characteristic of his style, not one is found in Obadiah, and on the other hand nothing of what Jeremiah has in common with Obadiah reappears in Jeremiah but bears another stamp; that the prophecy of Obadiah constitutes a well-arranged whole, having an internal connection and progress; while that of Jeremiah has no progressive development, but puts together different elements like the parts of a chain, one added to another; and that a comparison of the differences between the two texts is favourable to the originality of Obadiah, and, consequently, to imitation on the part of Jeremiah.[1]

We admit that Jeremiah has made copious use of prior prophecies. In the present instance, both he and Obadiah had a piece belonging to an old prophet. Both borrowed from the same source; not one from the other.[2] Against this both Caspari[3] and Delitzsch[4] have feebly argued. It is much more natural to understand the description in vers. 11-14 of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans than of the taking and plundering of the city under Jehoram. Edom is not said to have rejoiced over the *children of Judah in the day of their destruction* (ver. 12); for the proper translation of אַל תִּרְאֶה is not "thou shouldest not have looked," etc., but *look not,* words applicable to the first period of new Jerusalem in which Edom is menacingly advised not to repeat her old hostility to Judah. To restrict these expressions, as Delitzsch does, to the destruction of *many of the people,* is not probable.[5] We deny also that Joel borrowed from Obadiah. The reverse is the case. The originality of Joel indeed is generally admitted. As Obadiah has borrowed from the prophecy of Balaam (comp. 4, 18, etc., with Num. xxiv. 18, 21, etc.), so has he imitated Joel. There are also reminiscences of Amos (comp. Obad. 10 with Amos i. 11; Obad. 19 with Amos ix. 12). If we have rightly fixed the time when the book was written in the captivity-period, it may be assumed that the prophet who gave it its present form was among the exiles, not among such as were left in Judea. The twentieth verse favours the former view, not the latter; "and the captives of *this* coast (literally *sand*) of the children of Israel," etc. Perhaps he belonged to the former part of the so-called seventy years. Those who put his prophecy in its present place were partly right and partly wrong. Hävernick and others should be more careful in estimating such traditional

[1] Einleitung, p. 290. [2] See Ewald, Die Propheten, vol. i. p. 400.
[3] Der Prophet Obadja ausgelegt, p. 23, et seqq.
[4] Wann weissagte Obadja, in Rudelbach and Guerike's Zeitschrift for 1851, p. 95.
[5] Ibid., p. 91, et seqq.

evidence, and so free themselves from arbitrary interpretations in settling the ages of the prophetic books.[1] The true state of the case is this: the prophet Obadiah did utter and write a brief oracle respecting Edom. The inscription should not be suspected of inaccuracy or spuriousness. From the place occupied by the book in the series of minor prophets we may suppose that Obadiah lived either in the reign of Uzziah or Ahaz. Hence he was contemporary with Isaiah. But a younger prophet took the words of the well-known Obadiah and added to them sentences and verses of his own. He repeated the old prophecy in another form, adapting it to his own time so that it might prove a source of animation to the people. The name of this younger prophet is unknown. In refashioning the oracle of Obadiah and giving it its present form, he did what was perfectly legitimate, and not unusual. Jeremiah did the same thing to it shortly before, moulding it in his own way. The younger prophet evidently wrote after the destruction of the city and temple, as we see from 11–16. The twentieth verse shews that he was one of the captives in Babylon himself. The portions which present a different complexion and breathe a different tone from the older and genuine Obadiah are 11-16 and 19-21. Schnurrer supposes that it received its place immediately after Amos, because it contains a development of the sentiment expressed in Amos ix. 12.[2] This is a mere conjecture.

III. CONTENTS OF HIS PROPHECY.—The prophecy occupies a single chapter, consisting of two parts, 1-16, and 17-21. The former is threatening. The day of the Lord is at hand, the great judicial day of all peoples; and then shall Edom with its wise and mighty men be destroyed, notwithstanding its natural strength and security. But the house of Israel shall recover its possessions. Rulers shall come up on mount Zion to judge subject Edom; and the kingdom shall be Jehovah's. Thus the second part is consolatory to Israel and Judah, foretelling the extension of the theocracy, and its victory over former enemies. The accomplishment of what is here predicted took place when the Jews returned to their own land. Hence the prophet draws a picture which is fanciful for the most part. He indulges his imagination in pourtraying what should be in after times. Some, as Ussher, think that the first part of the prophecy was fulfilled five years after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians subduing and expelling the Edomites from Arabia Petræa. But this is precarious, because it is by no means certain that the prophet wrote between the taking of Jerusalem

[1] Einleitung, II. 2, p. 321. [2] Dissertationes philologico-criticæ, p. 432.

and the destruction of Idumæa by Nebuchadnezzar. Obadiah had no particular time or event in his mind when he wrote against the Idumæans; nor is it necessary to assume any *definite* fulfilment of his words at a certain time. The same may be said of Schnurrer's opinion about verses 17-21 being fulfilled by the conquests of the Maccabees over the Edomites (1 Mac. v. 3–5, 65).[1]

IV. LANGUAGE AND STYLE.—The language is tolerably pure, and the style vigorous. The mode of expression, however, has neither beauty nor ornament. It is hard and rough, though the method of the prophecy is orderly and regular. Interrogations are too numerous; a circumstance which detracts from the effect, especially in the fifth verse.

V. PARALLEL PROPHECIES.—There are four prophecies by different authors against Edom, viz., Ezek. xxxv. 1-15; Jer. xlix. 7-22; Is. xxxiv., and the present. Parallels also occur in Ezek. xxv. 12-14, and Is. lxiii. 1-6. The strongest terms are used in Is. xxxiv. and lxiii. 1-6. The latter passage especially is full of life, energy, and dramatic effect. The hatred of the writer of it, as well as of xxxiv., is deep and deadly against Edom, the old enemy of the theocracy. Ezekiel paints the Edomites' hostile conduct, and in glowing language threatens them with sanguinary destruction. Jeremiah describes their ruin in a less passionate and weaker tone. Obadiah is calmer, announcing the calamities coming upon them with less passionate force, but equal confidence. All the pieces belong to the time of the exile.

VI. MESSIANIC IDEAS.—In verses 15–21 the prophet declares that the day of the Lord is near to all nations, but that on mount Zion shall be deliverance; that the house of Jacob shall possess their inheritance, and receive again not only their old territory, but also the mount of Esau and the Philistine plain; that those who had been carried away shall return from neighbouring and distant places, and the dominion be then the Lord's.

The contents of the last verse (21) are of an ideal nature like the preceding ones, and cannot be referred to the Christian dispensation in the sense of their finding *the intended* fulfilment in it. The Jewish prophets did not think of the Christian dispensation; though their ideal longings and hopes connected with Messiah's reign are best realised under it. Obadiah does not speak of the Messiah himself.

[1] Dissertationes philologico-criticæ, p. 418, et seqq.

THE BOOK OF JONAH.

I. THE PROPHET JONAH.—The book of Jonah receives its name from Jonah, the son of Amittai, a native of Gath-hepher, in the tribe of Zebulun. In 2 Kings xiv. 25 we read that Jeroboam son of Joash "restored the coast of Israel from the entering of Hamath unto the sea of the plain, according to the word of the Lord God of Israel, which he spake by the hand of his servant Jonah, the son of Amittai, the prophet, which was of Gath-hepher." From this passage we learn that Jonah was a prophet, and that he lived at the commencement of Jeroboam the second's reign, *i.e.*, 825 B.C. and following years. Old christian writers say that Jonah was the son of the widow of Sarepta with whom Elijah lodged; and that he is called the son of *Amittai*, because the widow knew that the prophet's word was truth (אֱמֶת), when she received her son from the dead. The same fable is found in the Rabbis and Dorotheus. Jerome affirms that the grave of Jonah was pointed out in Gath-hepher; but it was shewn at other places also. A monkish tradition identifies El Meshad with Gath-hepher.

II. CONTENTS OF THE BOOK.—The book consists of two parts, viz.—

1. The prophet's first mission to Nineveh, his attempt to flee to Tarshish from the presence of the Lord that he might evade the task assigned him, the way in which he was overtaken, and his wonderful deliverance from the great fish that swallowed him (i., ii.).

2. His second mission to the Assyrian capital whose inhabitants repented at his preaching, with the prophet's murmuring and discontent because the people were spared (iii., iv.).

The book consists of plain prose, except the prayer of Jonah in the second chapter, which is poetical.

III. NATURE OF THE CONTENTS.—Very different views have been taken of the narrative contained in the work before us. We shall mention the chief.

1. The record may be understood as literal history, a simple

narrative of actual events as they happened. This has been the prevailing hypothesis both in the Jewish synagogue and Christian church, till a comparatively recent period. Nor has it wanted defenders in modern times. The names of Lilienthal, Hess, Lüderwald, Piper, Verschuir, Steudel, Reindl, Sack, Hävernick, Laberentz, Delitzsch, Baumgarten, Welte, Hengstenberg, Keil, and nearly all English theologians are in favour of it. The reasons alleged are in substance the following :—

(*a*) Many historical and geographical notices attest the credibility and genuine historical character of the book. Thus Jonah was sent to Nineveh, a place of moral corruption, as we learn from Nahum iii. 1. At that time Israel first entered into closer relations with Assyria (Hosea v. 13, x. 6). Twelve years after Jeroboam's death, the destruction which the prophet threatened came upon the kingdom of the ten tribes through Pul (2 Kings xv. 19). Thus Nineveh was a place to which all eyes were then directed.[1]

(*b*) The description of Nineveh as a very great city agrees with history. According to Jonah (iii. 3) it was three days' journey in circumference. Diodorus Siculus says[2] that it was about 480 stadia in compass. According to Strabo,[3] it was much larger than Babylon which was 385 stadia.

(*c*) The mourning of men and beasts (iii. 5, 8) is mentioned as an Asiatic custom by Herodotus, ix. 24.

It is impossible for a critic to derive the historical truth of what the book states from these particulars. They do *not* prove it. All that they shew is the conformity of various points with the known facts of history. It is quite possible, for aught belonging to the geographical or historical notices in question, that the story of Jonah going to Nineveh and travelling through it for three days partakes largely of the fabulous. The legendary and parabolical may be conformed to verisimilitude. A careful writer will assuredly refrain from violating the probable, or running counter to facts, manners, and customs, as far as they come in his way. To make a story agree with history and geography whenever it touches on their respective regions is one thing; to convert it into true history is another.

(*d*) The reception of the book into the canon, especially its position in the series of prophetic writings, affords a strong presumption that the narrative consists of fact. Why did not the collectors of the canonical books put it among the Hagiographa, if they thought that it exhibited religious truths in the garb of allegory or fable? So asks Reindl,[4] whose words are repeated by Hävernick and Keil.

[1] Hävernick, Einleitung, II. 2, p. 352.
[2] Ibid. II. 3.
[3] xvi. I. 3.
[4] Die Sendung des Proph. nach Nineve, p. 2.

We attribute no weight to this argument, because the reception of a book into the canonical list was regulated by no definite principle. The fact that the book purports to relate how Jonah, *a prophet*, was sent to preach to the Ninevites, was sufficient to secure for it the present place. The character of the contents was a thing which did not probably enter into the estimate. Or if it did, we are certainly not bound by the views of the Jews who gave the work its position among the prophets. Granting that they did receive it into the canon because the narrative is fact, are we shut up to the necessity of accepting their opinions? Were they infallible? Certainly not. Were they critically sagacious? It cannot be affirmed that they were. But we are persuaded that their view of its general character did not determine them in receiving it into the canon. They probably thought that, as it related to Jonah the prophet, he wrote it himself, and therefore it should be put with other prophetic writings. "If," says Hengstenberg, "the symbolical and prophetical character of the book be denied, the fact of its having its place among the prophetical and not among the historical books, admits of no explanation at all. For so much is evident, that this fact cannot be satisfactorily accounted for by the circumstance that the book reports the events which happened to a prophet."[1]

(*e*) The distinct authority of Christ attests the truthfulness of the story. He affirms that Jonah was three days and three nights in the fish's belly, and that the Ninevites repented at his preaching. He declares himself greater than Jonah. Surely he would not have compared himself with a man in a fable, a parable, or a myth. As well might we extinguish the historical existence of the queen of Sheba mentioned immediately afterwards, and consider the account of her visit to Solomon an allegory or fiction (Matt. xii. 39-41; Luke xi. 29-32).

It was no part of Christ's mission on earth to teach criticism; or to correct all the erroneous opinions held by the Jews respecting their own Scriptures. He reasoned with them on grounds they acknowledged, employing the *argumentum ad hominem*, and adopting current views whenever they suited the purpose of that higher mission which he came to promote. Where he does not assert a thing on his own independent authority but merely to confound or confute the Jews of his day, he should not be quoted as a voucher for the historical truth of facts or events. The cases between the coming of the queen of Sheba to Solomon, and Jonah's being three days and three nights in the whale's belly, are not analogous. The one is a natural occurrence; the

[1] Christology, vol. i. p. 405.

other supernatural and extraordinary. It was the current belief of the Jews, however, that the events narrated respecting Jonah were literally true; and therefore Jesus, as usual, speaks to them and reasons, on their own principles. His own belief is not necessarily given. His wise adaptation to the views of the Jews, except where principle was involved, is lost sight of by the persons who employ this argument. They misapprehend the nature of his teaching, and disregard his humanity.

(*f*) The character and person of Jonah are natural. Every trait depicted is life-like and true to nature. All that he does and says is suitable to his times, and to the circumstances in which he was placed. His severe preaching against the Ninevites, his Judaic views of the divine mercy being limited to his own countrymen, his zeal for the honour of Jehovah, his resistance to the divine will in certain circumstances, his murmuring, the mixed virtues and vices of his disposition, present a picture drawn from nature. Such is the reasoning of Hävernick.[1] Even if it were unexceptionable, which it is not, it would not prove the literal truth of the narrative. Life-like portraits can be drawn by the imagination, aided perhaps by an original, as the starting-point from which genius takes its flight.

(*g*) Jews and Christians in ancient times have considered the contents of the book to be true history. So Tobit xiv. 4, 8; the Targum on Nahum i. 1; the Talmud; and the fathers. Yet Josephus called the record a λόγος, hinting perhaps that he did not fully believe it; while Abarbanel looked upon it as a dream, and Kimchi gave it a moral scope. The authority of antiquity in a question of criticism is insignificant.

2. Some regard the narrative of the book as fiction. So Semler, Herder, J. D. Michaelis, Meyer, Hitzig, and E. Meier have thought.

3. Others look upon it as a parable, as Jahn and Pareau.

4. Others prefer to call it an allegory, as Hermann Van der Hardt, Less, Palmer, Krahmer, etc.

5. Others call it a poetical myth, as Gramberg, F. C. Baur, etc.

6. Some have resorted to the hypothesis of a dream, as Abarbanel and Grimm.

7. Others assume a vision, as Blasche.

8. Others suppose that the book contains a historical element which has been enlarged, embellished, and dressed out by a writer who lived long after the prophet. The narrative is partly historical, and partly, but to a far greater extent, fictitious.

There are phenomena in the book which make the opinion of

[1] Einleitung, II. 2, § 246.

those who believe that the narrative is literal fact very difficult of reception. The following are of this nature.

(*a*) The character of Jonah himself is a mystery. How could a prophet believe that he might flee from the presence of the Lord? It is no solution of the difficulty to say, with one, that the prophet was partially insane. Does the Almighty select half-insane instruments to be his ambassadors? He received a commission from the Almighty and refused to execute it! He went westward instead of eastward, to evade the fulfilment of the command. Is it thus that prophets act? The original phrase מלפני יהוה *from the presence of Jehovah* implies a direct evasion of the mission he was called to. It does *not* imply that he had the office before, which he now sought to abandon; that he had previously stood in the presence of Jehovah as his servant and minister; that this mission fell in the latter part of his life. Pusey *puts* all this *into* the phrase; but it does not naturally contain such meaning.[1] The perplexity is increased by the statement that after Jonah's miraculous preservation, and his fulfilment of the commission with which he was entrusted, he was angry because the divine threatenings were not executed. He did not know apparently, that God is merciful to the penitent wherever they are found. In the whole range of sacred history, there is no fact analogous to this. Moses would have declined God's commission (Ex. iii. iv.); but Moses did not attempt to flee from the presence of the Lord. The great law-giver would have excused himself from the task assigned to him, because of conscious unfitness for it. His modesty made him shrink from the idea of it. But Jonah's modesty and self-distrust do not appear. His ignorance and self-will are prominent. Still more ridiculous is it to adduce as an analogous fact the refusal of one of the sons of the prophet's to do the bidding of his fellow who spoke to him in the name of the Lord (1 Kings xx. 35, 36). It is a mere assumption, that Jonah believed if he got out of Palestine the message might be entrusted to another. A prophet would have been singularly constituted to entertain such a notion.

(*b*) The long and toilsome journey to Nineveh, into a foreign land, has much improbability connected with it. The case of Elisha, which Hävernick adduces, is not analogous (2 Kings viii. 7, etc.), as Hengstenberg himself admits. And how would the heathen inhabitants of Nineveh have listened to the voice of a solitary stranger coming among them and proclaiming their speedy destruction? It has been assumed, indeed, that the knowledge of Jonah's miraculous deliverance may have reached

[1] The Minor Prophets with a Commentary Explanatory and Practical, Part III. p. 247.

their ears and given effect to his preaching; *but it is a mere assumption.* It is futile to adduce the example of Paul as similar. The times were different. A new dispensation had begun. Some knowledge of Christ had reached distant lands. It is only under the Jewish dispensation that an analogy should be sought. And no analogy can be found there. Where is the Israelite prophet that received a divine commission to go to a heathen people with whom the Jews had hardly come into contact as yet, and preach repentance to them? Would not this have been an untheocratic proceeding, contrary to the divine plan in Old Testament prophecy? "According to the visions of the prophets themselves, it is not a *present* work to effect the conversion of the heathen: that is to be accomplished in the Messianic time and by the Messiah himself. If then the book itself is not to stand altogether isolated, the symbolical character of Jonah's mission must be acknowledged."[1] Paul's preaching to distant heathen cities is totally beside the mark. The Gentiles were not called to be partakers of the covenant till the mystery hid for ages had been revealed.

(*c*) The result attributed to the preaching of an Israelite stranger presents something of the incredible. Although the city was exceedingly great, and contained a population of about two millions, "the people believed God and proclaimed a fast, and put on sackcloth, from the greatest of them even to the least of them." The repentance is universal. Man and beast fast; *both* are covered with sackcloth. The picture of their fasting and sorrowing has an air of exaggeration. Yet the book itself tells us nothing of the consequences of such humiliation on the part of the king and all his subjects. No *permanent* effect is noticed. It is not stated that they embraced the true religion, and worshipped thenceforward the true God. There is no evidence that even the majority did so. That the prophet taught them, is not said. Respecting any abiding conversion of the inhabitants from heathen idolatry to the service of one God, there is an absolute blank. We know from the subsequent history of the Assyrians that they continued idolaters. In Isaiah they are spoken of as such (xxxvii.). Nahum and Zephaniah prophesy against Assyria and Nineveh as idolatrous. Not a hint do the later prophets give of the former sudden conversion of these Ninevites. They never allude to the change once wrought upon them by an Israelite prophet. Yet Isaiah wrote not long after. Had the results of the humiliation under Jonah passed away? Did no good influence from it remain so long? So it would appear. It is possible that it may have been as

[1] Hengstenberg, Christology, English version, vol. i., p. 406.

transient as it was sudden; but it is improbable that no succeeding seer should have referred to the remarkable event of Jonah preaching there with such success. Hävernick states that there is an allusion to the fact in Ezek. iii. 5, 6: "For thou art not sent to a people of a strange speech and of an hard language, but to the house of Israel; not to many people of a strange speech and of a hard language, whose words thou canst not understand. Surely had I sent thee to them, they would have hearkened unto thee." These words do not refer to Jonah and his preaching.[1]

(*d*) With all the details given, it is singular that the name of the Assyrian king is never given. Nothing is said about his person and character. This is unlike history. The crimes of the Ninevites are passed over. The way in which the city was to be destroyed is omitted. It is not said whether the abolition of idolatry was included in the general repentance of the inhabitants. There is also a vague generality about Jonah himself. The fish is said to have vomited him forth "on dry land." What land? What relation did the prophet stand in to the Ninevites after the events recorded in the fourth chapter? We expect circumstantial details from an eye-witness who describes scenes in which he was himself the principal actor—something more definite than what is given in the book itself.

(*e*) It is a *singular* miracle that the prophet should have been three days and three nights in the fish's belly without the least harm; and that the monster should have vomited him forth upon the dry land at the end of that time. A prodigy so peculiar resembles none other miraculous phenomenon recorded in Scripture. It is easy to assert that the purpose which God had in view justified His miraculous interposition; but it is difficult for a thinker to believe it. Rather will he believe the contrary. Besides, in the belly Jonah uttered a highly poetical prayer. The poem is rhythmical and rounded, artificial and elaborate in structure. How could the prophet have conceived and expressed it in the situation represented? Did he retain that calm consciousness which was required for its composition? So great is the difficulty of believing that the hymn was uttered by Jonah in the fish's belly, that some have recourse to another translation of the words מִמְּעֵי הַדָּגָה *on account of the fish's belly*, or, *when out of the fish's belly*; interpretations which are inconsistent with the context, and unnatural.

An examination of the poem in the second chapter shews, that it is a hymn of praise for deliverance already experienced, not a prayer for deliverance. It is therefore unsuited to Jonah's con-

[1] Bleek, Einleitung, pp. 571, 572.

dition within the whale. It will not do to say that *the ideas* were conceived under the specified circumstances and put in writing after his deliverance, praises being added for the mercy granted, for we read, "Then Jonah prayed unto the Lord his God out of the fish's belly, and *said*," etc. (ii. 1, 2, etc.). He *spoke* the words recorded, *in* the whale. This is more than *conceiving the ideas* there, and afterwards composing the prayer with additions. At the end of the second chapter, immediately after the prayer, we read: "And the Lord spake unto the fish and it vomited out Jonah upon the dry land;" words which shew the writer's meaning to have been that the prayer was uttered *in* the fish's belly; while the commencement of the chapter proves that he also meant to state the very words spoken there by the prophet. Yet the prayer is inappropriate to his condition, because it is really a hymn of thanksgiving for deliverance. To say that the prophet *added praises* to it after his preservation is beside the mark. With the exception of one verse or two at most (verses 2 and 3), it consists of praise for preservation from danger. Chap. ii. 2-10 is an old hymn which the writer took and inserted in its present place. Poetical pieces of this nature were not uncommon in the early national literature. In itself it is a fine hymn, though ill adapted to the situation of Jonah in the fish.

It has often been asserted that it contains reminiscences of various psalms. Eichhorn thinks that it is an anthology made up out of several. Thus:—

JONAH.	PSALMS.
Chap. ii. 2.	Ps. cxx. 1, and cxxx. 1, 2.
I cried by reason of mine affliction unto the Lord, and he heard me.	In my distress I cried unto the Lord and he heard me. . . . Out of the depths have I cried unto thee, O Lord. Lord hear my voice.
Chap. ii. 3.	Ps. xlii. 7.
All thy billows and thy waves passed over me.	All thy waves and thy billows are gone over me.
Chap. ii. 4.	Ps. xxxi. 22.
Then I said, I am cast out of thy sight; yet I will look again toward thy holy temple.	For I said in my haste, I am cut off from before thine eyes: nevertheless thou heardest the voice of my supplications when I cried unto thee.
Chap. ii. 5.	Ps. lxix. 1.
The waters compassed me about, even to the soul: the depth closed me round about, the weeds were wrapped about my head.	Save me, O God; for the waters are come in unto my soul.
Chap. ii. 6.	Ps. xxx. 3.
Yet hast thou brought up my life from corruption, O Lord my God.	O Lord thou hast brought up my soul from the grave.

JONAH.	PSALMS.
Chap. ii. 7.	Ps. cxliii. 4.
When my soul fainted within me I remembered the Lord; and my prayer came in unto thee into thine holy temple.	Therefore is my spirit overwhelmed within me.
Chap. ii. 8.	Ps. xxxi. 6.
They that observe lying vanities forsake their own mercy.	I have hated them that regard lying vanities.
Chap. ii. 9.	Ps. cxvi. 17, 18; l. 14.
I will sacrifice unto thee with the voice of thanksgiving; I will pay that that I have vowed.	I will offer to thee the sacrifice of thanksgiving, and will call upon the name of the Lord. I will pay my vows unto the Lord now in the presence of all his people.

The one hundred and twentieth and one hundred and thirtieth psalms belong to the time after the captivity. The one hundred and forty-fourth and one hundred and sixteenth are later than Jeroboam II. The hymn is an old and original one. It is more ancient than the writer of the book. It is probable that he had in his mind, when composing it, some passages in early psalms, as the eighteenth and forty-second; but the words and ideas occurring in late psalms, as the one hundred and twentieth and one hundred and thirtieth, were formed from *it*. We do not agree with Bunsen that *all* the correspondences between various psalms and the present ode, except in the case of the eighteenth psalm, shew the originality of Jonah's hymn.[1] Some of them do, as the sixty-ninth (ver. 2, etc.) and thirty-first (ver. 23); but not the forty-second, which is a Korahite psalm, and older. Bunsen seems to place the Jonah-psalm too early. It probably preceded the narrative by two centuries and a half, not more.

(*f*) The wonderful nature of the occurrences described, and their palpable incredibility, pressed upon the mind of Bishop Jebb so strongly that he supposed Jonah to have been taken by the whale into a cavity of its throat, a receptacle capable, as he says, according to naturalists, of containing a merchant-ship's jolly-boat full of men.[2] This curious hypothesis seems to have been suggested by the desire to *economise* miracle, and lessen the monstrosity of the present one. Probably the Greek word κοιλία applied to the part of the fish in which Jonah was, in the New Testament, confirmed the prelate in his notion. But the corresponding Hebrew word rejects the sense put upon κοιλία, *a cavity*.

In view of these phenomena we cannot think that the book contains a record of historical events as they occurred. It wants many of the characteristics of true history. It presents the marvellous and incredible. Improbabilities lie on its surface.

[1] Gott in der Geschichte, vol. i., p. 366. [2] Sacred Literature, pp. 178, 179.

The circumstances connected with the sudden repentance of the king of Nineveh and all his subjects are improbable and unlike true history, as well as the preservation of Jonah three days and three nights in a fish's belly without suffocation. "Let man and beast," said the king, "be covered with sackcloth, and cry mightily unto God," etc. It was no Asiatic custom to cover animals with sackcloth as a sign of mourning. The passage in Herodotus appealed to merely states that the Persian general ordered the hair to be cut off.[1]

IV. SCOPE.—The tendency of the work is *didactic*, not historical. It was written with the view of teaching a moral lesson. The writer intended to counteract the narrow notions of the Jews towards the heathen whom they considered out of the reach of divine mercy. The Israelite people generally believed that Jehovah was *their* God—that He dwelt exclusively among them, and manifested His paternal love to none other nation. Hence they considered it right to cherish hostile feelings towards all others; and to desire their destruction as the enemies of God. The idea of trying to effect their conversion was remote from the mind of such narrow religionists. Jonah represents this national feeling. He refuses to go to the Ninevites as a herald of repentance; imagines in his folly that he could escape from the control of Jehovah by fleeing from the holy land beyond the sea; and is angry that the threatened punishment does not fall upon the Ninevites. In all this the general disposition of his countrymen toward the Gentiles is faithfully reflected. The narrative proves how foolish and sinful it is, shewing that Jehovah's omnipresent power cannot be eluded by the obstinate; that his influence extends to every land; and that he is merciful, not only to the Israelites, but other peoples, as soon as they repent and turn to him in sincerity. The lesson of the book is well enunciated at the close, "Should not I spare Nineveh, that great city, wherein are more than six-score thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand; and also much cattle?" Thus the writer meant to inculcate religious truths on the minds of his countrymen, which they hardly apprehended. In this view of it his narrative is interesting and impressive. To demonstrate to his people the all-embracing love of Jehovah who is ready to receive every repenting people, is a noble lesson in the Jewish Scriptures. We must therefore assign an elevated place to the writer of the book. His views are enlarged. He had got beyond the contracted notions of his nation; clearly apprehending the paternal mercy of the true God toward all His creatures. Thus he was not far from Christianity.

[1] Book ix., 24.

V. AUTHORSHIP AND AGE.—It is difficult to discover the time when the book was written. The authorship is unknown, and will always remain so. Jonah himself was not the writer, because internal evidence shews a later date. The narrative is in the third person. Pusey cannot get rid of this argument by appeals to Cæsar and Xenophon, Daniel and St. John. On the contrary he is forced to admit it in saying that "the prophets, *unless they speak of God's revelations* to them, speak of themselves in the third person." Here the exception he makes, an exception which will not bear examination as such, vitiates his reasoning. The book contains *the history of a prophecy* respecting Nineveh, in which respect it has no parallel in Old Testament prophecy. Though the prophets wrote their oracles, they did not narrate *the history* of them. Sometimes they gave historical introductions in order to explain their purport; but that is different from a mere narrative about a prophecy. All that the book of Jonah gives of his prophecy is, "Yet forty days and Nineveh shall be overthrown." Thus it speaks of Jonah prophesying without giving the oracle or oracles he delivered; shewing that he himself was not the writer. Indeed the work never pretends to have been composed by the prophet himself.

Aramæisms and later expressions occur, which point to the time after the exile, as טַעַם *command, decree*, iii. 7, taken from the Chaldee; מִנָּה *to appoint*, ii. 1, iv. 6, 8; comp. Dan. i. 11. This word does *not* occur in a psalm of David, as Pusey asserts; for lxi. is posterior to the son of Jesse's time. In poetry it was used pretty early, not in prose as here. סְפִינָה *a ship*, i. 5, a frequent word in Syriac and Arabic; אָמַר *to command*, ii. 11, as in Chronicles, Nehemiah, and Esther; נִשְׁבַּר *to be shipwrecked*, i. 4, comp. Ezek. xxvii. 34; 2 Chron. xx. 37; הֶעֱבִיר *to put away, to avert*, iii. 6, comp. Esther viii. 3, Eccles. xi. 10; מַהֲלָךְ *way, journey*, iii. 3, 4, comp. Neh. ii. 6; לְ denoting the accusative, iv. 6; the prefix שׁ, i. 7, 12; iv. 10; הֵטִיל *to cast out from a ship*, i. 5, 12; *to send forth a wind*, i. 4; הִתְעַשֵּׁת *to bethink oneself*, i. 6; חָתַר *to row*, i. 13; בִּשְׁלֹמִי i. 7; בִּשְׁלִי i. 12; וְיַמֶּן ii. 1, iii. 6, etc. These later expressions and Aramæisms are not all that might be adduced. Some of them are explicable on the ground of Jonah belonging to the northern kingdom. But *all* are not so. And Hävernick's assertion that the number of Aramæisms is not greater than in Hosea,[1] is decidedly incorrect. The language generally resembles that of the post-exile writers, and is decidedly of the later stamp. Hence we place the com-

[1] II. 2, p. 358.

position after the Babylonish captivity, but not much later. The way in which Nineveh is spoken of, "Now Nineveh was *an exceeding great city* of three days' journey" (iii. 3), shews that it had long perished, and was only known from past history or report. No uniformity of narrative requires such a mode of expression, because *the exceeding great city* is the phrase which chiefly savours of a much later time than that in which the city flourished, not simply the words *of three days' journey*, nor the past tense of the verb *was*.

It is likely that the passage in 1 Kings xix. 4 floated in the mind of the writer as he described Jonah fainting beneath the scorching sun and east wind (Jonah iv. 8), for the language is similar to that employed by Elijah. Indeed there are traits in Jonah's character copied from the Tishbite's. But the conclusion of the fourth chapter shews the mind of a master, who far surpassed the author of 1 Kings xix. in power of description.

Hitzig thinks that the book was written in Egypt under Ptolemy Lagi, towards the end of the fourth century, with the object of vindicating Jehovah because of the non-fulfilment of Obadiah's oracle against the Edomites.[1] In this manner the prophet Obadiah himself would be justified; and the displeasure of the Jews quieted. One thing that seems to have suggested an Egyptian composition to the mind of the critic is the word קִיקָיוֹן, identical with the Egyptian *κίκι κούκι*. The plant is probably the *ricinus* or *palma Christi*, which becomes a considerable tree at Jericho. The hypothesis of Hitzig is baseless. If Jonah himself did not write the book that bears his name, did he write nothing? Probably he *was* an author. Nothing of his composition, however, has survived. His oracle respecting the successful conquests and enlarged territory of Israel is now lost. Hitzig's attempt to find it in Is. xv., xvi., is conjectural.

VI. DOES THE BOOK CONTAIN AN ELEMENT OF REAL HISTORY?—It is possible that a true prophetic tradition may lie at the foundation of the book. Jonah may have prophesied to the Ninevites; and various particulars respecting his mission may either have been written by himself or handed down orally. If the book contains elements of real history as its basis, they have been embellished and enlarged; so that it is now impossible to separate the true from the fictitious. We believe that Jonah was a real person and a prophet. It is also likely that some particulars of his history were handed down. But the legendary soon gathered round his life, as was the case with the prophets of the older time; so that it became impossible to separate the true from the false. Marvels were told of him. He had a won-

[1] Des Prophet. Jona Orakel ueber Moab, p. 36.

derful escape from death: this was magnified into the supernatural. But we cannot believe that he prophesied against Nineveh. The writer took the name of Jonah and attached a fictitious story to the traditional already current, for the purpose of instruction. Most of the historical circumstances he gives are unlike those of real history, and appear to be employed with no other object than a didactic one. Hence we consider the much greater part of the book fictitious. A historical germ formed the foundation on which the writer worked; and it is probable that he discarded some of the legendary already attached to Jonah's person to make room for his own materials. *Pure fiction* is hardly consistent with the genius of the Old Testament; and we are therefore reluctant to assume, without necessity, that the whole record is mere fiction. An element of true history lies at the basis of it, small and undistinguishable from the superstructure to the eye of criticism. We admit that the Bible affords no indication of its being a mythus, parable, allegory, or fiction. Why should it? There was no necessity for a key or explanation. The story speaks for itself; and he who will not see the fabulous in its character and form may remain ignorant.

VII. INTEGRITY.—Some, as Spinoza, have looked upon the work as fragmentary. It certainly terminates abruptly and unaccountably, on the hypothesis of its being a record of facts. If it be a true history, why should it suddenly break off. Others suppose that it consists of different pieces. There is no truth in these opinions. The whole is connected and consecutive; the language uniform. With the exception of the second chapter, the narrative is simple and natural. The commencement and close also correspond. The opinion of Bunsen, who looks upon the song in ii. 3-10 as a genuine hymn of praise uttered by the prophet Jonah on his deliverance from a shipwreck, cannot be maintained. He supposes that the hymn was misunderstood in time, and so gave occasion to the moulding of the history into its present form. No view is probable except that which regards *the didactic* purpose of the book as its main feature and originating cause. The historical details are subordinate to this, and do not resemble true history.

VIII. SUPPOSED CONNECTION WITH KNOWN MYTHS.—Various critics have brought two myths into connection with the narrative of Jonah, supposing that some parts of it were derived from them, either directly or indirectly.

Hesione, it is said, was chained to a rock in the sea to serve as food for a huge sea monster, and Hercules delivered her by slaying the animal. In later writers we are told that Hercules sprang into the belly of the monster, and was there three days. The original form of the myth, as it appears in Diodorus

Siculus[1] and Apollodorus,[2] presents no resemblance to Jonah's fate. Added particulars bring out a likeness; but they are of an origin posterior to Christianity.[3] Hence they may have been taken from the book of Jonah.[4]

The other mythus is that of Perseus, who delivered Andromeda chained to a rock near Joppa to be devoured by a huge sea monster, by killing the animal with the help of Medusa's head. This was originally identical with the former, and has as little likeness to the history of Jonah, except that Joppa is mentioned.

Some believe that the myth in question was spread among the neighbouring Hebrews, and transferred to an old prophet with such alterations as the national ideas had superinduced upon it. All that was known of the old prophet was, that he once undertook, or intended to undertake, a sea voyage. To this tradition the myth was attached, and so the history of Jonah was shaped. It is improbable, however, that a Hebrew writer should have incorporated the materials of a Philistine or Grecian mythus into his book. Had he done so, he would have adapted them more to the national feelings and tastes; whereas the tendency of the book is *un-Jewish*.

If we reject the idea that either of the myths referred to contributed to the form of our book, still more do we reject the hypothesis which F. Baur has advanced respecting the Babylonian myth of the sea monster Oannes, half fish and half man, which originally came from the Red Sea daily into the neighbourhood of Babylon; taught men the arts, sciences, and religion; and at sunset sunk again into the ocean.[5] The name *Jonah* is cognate to Oannes; and the prophet coming out of the sea preached the fear of God. There is no probability whatever in the story of Jonah having any connection with the myth in question. Herzfeld's hypothesis is as visionary as that of Baur, when he compares the legend of Semiramis, whose name, according to Diodorus, signifies in Syriac a *dove*, and who having been the daughter of a goddess that was changed into a fish, was brought from Ascalon to Nineveh, and after great deeds there was changed into *a dove* (יוֹנָה *a dove*).[6]

IX. WAS JONAH A TYPE OF CHRIST?—Some have considered Jonah a type of Christ, an opinion for which there is no foundation. "The prophetic mission of the seers before Christ, and that of his church since his resurrection, are here prefigured in

[1] Diodorus Siculus, iv. p. 42. [2] II. p. 5.
[3] See Lycophron's Cassandra, 33, etc., p. 6, ed. Meursius; Lugd. Batav. 1699.
[4] Bleek, Einleitung, p. 575.
[5] See Illgen's Zeitschrift für historische Theologie, new series, I. 1, p. 88, et seqq.
[6] Geschichte des Volkes Israel, i., p. 278.

the person of Jonah, who is made to typify the very person of Christ, the great prophet in whom Joel and Isaiah are one with John and Paul."[1] Such fancies as these have no connection with the proper interpretation of the Old Testament, and set all rules at defiance. Jonah was *a sign* to the Ninevites. The Saviour willed that men should believe in him and receive his doctrine without external sign or miracle, because his life shewed him to be a divinely-sent messenger; just as Jonah was believed without any farther sign. Nothing but the *sign of Jonah* was given to the Pharisees, *i.e.* the call to repentance. If they would lay aside their carnal ideas and apprehend the sign or true ministry of Jesus, they should at once recognise the Saviour in him. The words are put into the mouth of Jesus: "as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly: so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth" (Matt. xii. 40), but they do not seem to be original. The disciples of Christ occasionally referred to his resurrection, after the event, what he had spoken generally, adding their own explanations to the terms he employed. The fortieth verse of Matt. xii. is an instance of this; an erroneous interpretation of the sign being put into the mouth of Jesus.[2] So also in John ii. 21, the application of Jesus's words to his body is not original, as Ewald rightly holds. Luke has no explanation of the *sign of Jonas* (xi. 30); neither is there any in Matt. xvi. 4. Meyer stands almost alone, among the most recent critical commentators, in rejecting the view now given. In any case the two events merely resembled each other; and *analogies* are not necessarily *types*. It is a mistake to say with Henderson, that Christ represents Jonah's being in the belly of the fish as a real miracle (τὸ σημεῖον), for the Greek word does not necessarily mean *a miracle*.

[1] Browne, Ordo Sæclorum, p. 689.

[2] See De Wette, kurze Erklärung des Evangeliums Matthäi, third edition, p. 147; and Neander's Leben Jesu, p. 223, fourth edition.

THE BOOK OF MICAH.

I. THE WRITER.—מִיכָה Hebr., *Μιχαίας* LXX., *Micha* Vulg. The form מִיכָה is merely an abbreviation of the longer and original מִיכָיָה and מִיכָיָהוּ.

Micah was a native of Maresheth, a village or town belonging to the territory of Gath, and in the kingdom of Judah. Jerome informs us that Morashti as he calls it still existed in his time in the neighbourhood of Eleutheropolis. The epithet הַמּוֹרַשְׁתִּי, the Morashite, serves to distinguish him from an older prophet of the same name who lived under Ahab, and was contemporary with Elijah (1 Kings xxii. 8, etc.). The two have been often identified, as by Jerome, Isidore of Seville, Athanasius, Eusebius, and others. It is even probable that the compiler of the books of Kings did so, because he puts into the mouth of Imlah's son the commencing words of this book שִׁמְעוּ עַמִּים כֻּלָּם (comp. 1 Kings xxii. 28 with Micah i. 2). There is little doubt that they were different persons.

II. TIME WHEN HE PROPHESIED.—According to the inscription of the book he prophesied under Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, *i.e.*, from 759-699 B.C. This makes him contemporary with Isaiah. We read in Jer. xxvi. 17-19: "Then rose up certain of the elders of the land, and spake to all the assembly of the people, saying, Micah the Morasthite prophesied in the days of Hezekiah king of Judah, and spake to all the people of Judah, saying, Thus saith the Lord of hosts; Zion shall be plowed like a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps, and the mountain of the house as the high places of a forest. Did Hezekiah king of Judah and all Judah put him at all to death? did he not fear the Lord, and besought the Lord, and the Lord repented him of the evil which he had pronounced against them? Thus might we procure great evil against our souls." (comp. Micah iii. 12). According to this passage, Micah prophesied under Hezekiah. With the date in question agrees internal evidence, for the prophet threatens Samaria with des-

truction (i. 5-7) so that the kingdom of Israel still existed. But Judah also is threatened. It is foretold that *her* enemies shall come upon and destroy her, carry away the inhabitants captive, penetrate even to Jerusalem, besiege and take it, razing it to the ground and transporting the inhabitants to Babylon (i. 9, etc.; ii. 4, 5, 10; vii. 13; i. 12; iii. 12; iv. 11, 14; vii. 11; iv. 10). The two hostile peoples are Assyria and Egypt (v. 4, 5; vii. 12). Thus the danger must have been imminent and near when Micah wrote. At the time of Shalmaneser's invasion of Israel, Samaria was on the point of destruction (726-724). Judah too had to fear the same enemy. Shalmaneser meditated an expedition against Egypt after conquering Israel. When mention is made of the inhabitants of Jerusalem being carried away to Babylon (iv. 10), it should be remembered that Babylonia belonged at that time to the Assyrians. They had already brought to it the Chaldeans from Mesopotamia (Is. xxiii. 13); and may have taken Israelites also thither (2 Kings xvii. 24, 30).[1] Thus we place the prophecies of Micah in the first years of Hezekiah's reign (726-724 B.C.). None of them contains any reference to another time. What then is to be said of the inscription, which represents Micah's ministry to have been exercised in the reigns of Jotham and Ahaz as well as of Hezekiah, *i.e.*, 759-728, etc., B.C.? Hengstenberg supposes that the elders of the land mentioned in Jer. xxvi. specified Hezekiah alone among the three kings because he was the only one of them who had a theocratic authority since he had attended to the voice of the prophets, and probably Micah put together the separate oracles contained in his book, under this king.[2] This is far-fetched and unnatural. The elders may have known the fact of Micah's writing under Hezekiah from authentic oral tradition of no very distant date.[3] The two names, along with Hezekiah's, in the inscription, are of doubtful authenticity, both in consequence of the testimony contained in Jeremiah and the prophecies themselves, which hardly suit any reign but the one. Knobel supposes that no discourses belonging to the period of the prophet's ministry included in the reigns of Jotham and Ahaz have come down to us.[4] This is also the opinion of Bleek,[5] The prophet lived under the three kings, but all his *written* oracles belong to the time of the third. We confess that this appears to us improbable. Why should just the one reign's oracles be preserved, and the rest lost? Or did he utter nothing in the reigns of Jotham and Ahaz which

[1] Knobel, Der Prophetismus, zweiter Theil, p. 200, et seqq.
[2] Christologie, vol. i. p. 480.
[3] Ewald, Die Propheten, u. s. w. vol. i. p. 327, note.
[4] Prophetismus, ii. p. 203. [5] Einleitung, p. 540.

he himself committed to writing? Perhaps a later person prefixed the two names to Hezekiah's from observing the parallelism of Micah iv. 1-3 and Is. ii. 2-4, concluding thence, as well as from other grounds, that the two were contemporary; adding names out of Isaiah's to Micah's inscription.

Whether the whole inscription as well as the two names be unauthentic is not very clear. It has indeed several suspicious appearances, as the abbreviated form מִיכָה, for the original one מִיכָיָה in Jer. xxvi. 18 (the *cthib* as usual being there the right reading). It is irrelevant to say in answer to this, that in Judg. xvii. 1, 4, 5, 8, the shorter and longer forms are used together. Because a writer or compiler uses both, the fact of one form being earlier than another is not negatived. Hitzig conjectures[1] that the LXX. read the Hebrew differently from what it now is, because they translate *καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου* and we have in the present text דְּבַר־יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר הָיָה, but the Greek translators should not be confined to literal or correct renderings. It is not necessary to assume that they had before them וַיְהִי דְבַר־יְהוָה.

Caspari supposes that he has discovered plain evidences in the contents of the book of the times of Jotham and Ahaz. He calls attention in particular to the parallels Micah iv. 1-5 and Is. ii. 2-5, assuming that the former was the original, and that the latter is one of Isaiah's oldest pieces, so drawing the conclusion that Micah iv. 1-5 belongs to Jotham's time and that too when he was associated with his father Uzziah in the government of Judah.[2] This reasoning is invalid, because the basis of it, viz., the originality of Micah iv. 1-5, is incorrect.

III. CONTENTS.—The prophecies may be divided into three parts, viz., chaps. i.-iii.; iv. v.; vi. vii. Each of these has its own character. The first is threatening. It describes the divine anger against the iniquities of the rulers of the southern kingdom in spite of all the counter assurances of the false prophets. The second part is chiefly Messianic. The last shews the separation existing between the people and Jehovah, instructing, exhorting, and endeavouring to effect the reconciliation of the former to their great King. Caspari has made another division and is followed by Keil, i. ii.; iii.-v.; vi. vii. Each begins with the same word *hear ye*, i. 2, iii. 1, vi. 1. But the first word of the second division וְאָמַר (iii. 1) cannot stand at the commencement. It is too abrupt. It must be more closely connected with the preceding context. Yet there is no good connection between ii. 13 and iii. 1. The word וְאָמַר

[1] Die zwölf kleinen Propheten, p. 165.
[2] Ueber Micha den Morasthiten und seine prophetische Schrift, p. 60, et seqq.

disturbs the coherence. The twelfth and thirteenth verses seem out of place. If they be omitted all is plain. "If a man walking in wind and falsehood do lie," I will prophesy unto thee of wine and of strong drink, "he shall even be the prophet of this people. But I say, hear, I pray you, O heads of Jacob," etc. What then is to be said of the twelfth and thirteenth verses? With Ewald[1] we take them to be the words of the lying prophets, or such words as they would probably employ. Micah wrote them at first in the margin by way of specimen. They are highly encouraging to Israel, promising the people union, victory, and strength. The three sections were not spoken as they are written. They are marked by an uniformity of development, and gradually increase in doctrinal importance.

The exordium contains a sublime theophany. The Lord descends from his dwelling place to judge the nations, who approach to receive their sentence. Samaria shall fall and Judah also suffer (i. 1-7). The prophet declares his purpose to wail and mourn, exhorting the people likewise to mourn (i. 8-16). The second chapter inveighs against oppression, injustice and idolatry, to which is subjoined a promise of the reunion of the whole people. The third chapter describes the cruelty of the princes of Judah, the falsehood of the prophets, and the conscious security of both. The fourth represents the rule of Jehovah out of Zion as embracing all nations hereafter. It depicts the glory, peace, and victory of the theocracy in Messianic times. The fifth chapter is also Messianic, referring to the future descent of a ruler from David's house, his kingdom, and his conquests (v.). The prophet exhorts the people to repentance and amendment, reminding them how good Jehovah had ever been towards His chosen nation, and how He had been less concerned about sacrifices offered than about their moral conduct. He reproves them for injustice and idolatry (vi.). Micah laments over the small number of the pious, the general corruption. Yet he puts confidence in Jehovah, entertains a lasting hope both for himself and the church, looks forward to a better future when the theocracy should appear in a better form, triumphing over its enemies and enjoying the forgiving mercies of the covenant-keeping God (vii.).

It will be observed that the prophet speaks at the beginning of Israel and Judah, or rather of their capitals, Samaria and Jerusalem. The former is especially threatened with total destruction. After the first chapter he passes to Judah, and refers to Israel no more. Thus his prophecies relate mainly to the southern kingdom, to which he belonged himself. That the

[1] Die Propheten, vol. i. p. 333.

book is made up of various separate prophecies which were originally uttered at different times, is tolerably clear from the contents. Perhaps the first chapter, or the substance of it, belonged to the time immediately preceding Israel's extinction as a kingdom, while the remaining parts were spoken after that catastrophe. But the whole was written in its present form in the time of Hezekiah, as a continued book, embodying the various utterances of the prophet previously delivered. Caspari has taken great pains to shew that there is an organic unity and gradual development throughout. Some of his ideas, however, are more ingenious than just, and his subjectivity excessive. The substance of the book certainly shews a gradual elevation. The divine word contained in it becomes purer as the discourse advances, till at the close we observe the clear, calm apprehension of truth in its highest and justest light—the revelation of Jehovah in His pardoning mercy, everlasting love, and faithfulness.

IV. STYLE, DICTION, TONE, AND SPIRIT.—The ideas and style of Micah resemble those of his contemporary Isaiah. In general he is clear and distinct, powerful and animated. Boldness and sublimity appear. He is also rich in comparisons and figures, in tropical expressions of elegance and beauty, in paronomasias and plays on words (i. 10-15). What gives great animation to his discourses is a certain particularising of things, and also the introduction of persons speaking. Thus we read in ii. 4, "In that day shall one take up a parable against you, and lament with a doleful lamentation, and say, We be utterly spoiled: he hath changed the portion of my people: how hath he removed it from me! turning away he hath divided our fields" (comp. also 6, 7, 11).

In one case the dialogue is introduced (vi. 1-8, where Jehovah speaks, and then the people). He abounds in rapid transitions from threatenings to promises and the opposite. The rhythm is full and forcible, but not so smooth or rounded as that of Joel or Amos. In obscurity and abruptness it resembles Hosea's more than Isaiah's. The parallelism is usually regular; the diction pure and classical but concise, and therefore difficult at times.[1]

The spirit and tone of the prophecies are pre-eminently good. Micah speaks little of political errors. The rulers of the people are not blamed for crimes committed in their civil capacity. A deep moral earnestness pervades his discourses. Humility, piety, trust in God, breathe throughout. People and rulers are censured for their irreligiousness and immoral conduct. In this respect the prophet resembles Amos more than Isaiah.

[1] Knobel, Prophetismus, ii. p. 206.

V. PARALLELISM WITH ISAIAH.—A number of parallels exist between Micah and Isaiah. Compare Mic. i. 9-16 with Is. x. 28-32; Mic. ii. 2 with Is. v. 8; Mic. ii. 6, 11, with Is. xxx. 10, 11; Mic. iv. 10 with Is. xxxii. 11; Mic. vi. 6-8 with Is. i. 11-17; Mic. vii. 7 with Is. viii 17; Mic. vii. 12 with Is. xi. 11, etc. The correspondence of Mic. iv. 1-4 with Is. ii. 2-4 is obvious, both being taken from an older prophecy.

VI. SUPPOSED PREDICTION OF FUTURE AND DISTANT EVENTS.—Jahn states that some events were foretold by Micah 150, 200, or even 500 years before their fulfilment.[1] The statement requires proof. It cannot be supported by evidence. Passages are misapprehended, such as iv. 10, 11; vii. 7, 8, 13; and a wrong conclusion drawn from them. Or the poetical descriptions of Messiah's future reign are assigned to times that followed the Jews' return from captivity, as iv. 1-8. Scenes partly ideal should not be cramped into the literal and temporal. That in iv. 13, the prophet intended the victory of the Maccabees, as Jahn imagines, is visionary. The seer beholds Zion in the immediate future surrounded by fierce enemies; but with a divinely inspired confidence, he knows that those very enemies are gathered together for destruction as sheaves for the threshing floor, so that the final victory is Zion's. Hence the apostrophe, "Arise and thresh, O daughter of Zion," etc. The prophet had not in view any specific event in the future. Out of the race of the Bethlehemite David a ruler should soon arise, who would be great in the power of the Lord, and chastise Ashur should he again enter the land; the remnant of Jacob would then exist in the midst of the nations like the plant which receives dew and rain from the Lord, or like the lion among the beasts of the field. At that time all idolatry shall have disappeared from the land: the mountain of the Lord's house will be exalted above all the mountains of the earth, while all peoples, convinced by the sight of the glory of Israel's better faith, will flock to it that they may learn the way of the Lord, and there uniting in peace make war with one another no more, but cease even to learn its art. In that day all who have been separated from Israel like the halting sheep, all who are driven out and afflicted, all who were cast away far off, will return as to a tower of the flock—to Zion—which shall obtain again its ancient dominion.

VII. PASSAGES.—Chap. v. 1.

But thou, Bethlehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah,
Yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be ruler in Israel;
Whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting.

[1] Einleitung, vol. ii. p. 427.

These words are quoted by Matthew, thus (ii. 6) :—

And thou, Bethlehem, in the land of Juda, art not the least among the princes of Juda;
For out of thee shall come a Governor, that shall rule my people Israel.

The version is not taken from the LXX. literally but freely. At first sight there appears to be a contradiction between the original and the Greek, the one stating that Bethlehem is insignificant, the other important. Hence Grotius and others render the Greek interrogatively, "Art thou, Bethlehem, too little," etc. This is unnecessary. The sense of the Hebrew is, "*though* Bethlehem be too little to be counted among Judah's provinces, yet a ruler shall come forth from it," etc. It was thus insignificant in one sense, but important in another; and Matthew refers to its importance. The idea expressed in Micah is inverted in the Evangelist, yet without creating a contradiction. The liferal translation of the Hebrew is :—

But thou, Bethlehem Ephratah, small to be reckoned a district in Judah;
From thee shall one come forth to me who is to be Israel's ruler,
And his goings forth are of old, from the days of ancient time.

The words relate to the Messiah. The prophet predicts that he shall be of David's house. A second and greater David will arise from the ancient and venerable house of David, who shall be ruler of Israel. The anointed one of Jehovah was always looked upon by the prophets as a future descendant of David. He was to be of David's family. So Micah here predicts.

A good deal of meaning has been put into the prophet's words out of the New Testament, or from human theology. Thus it is said that the human birth-place of Christ is given, Bethlehem. This is incorrect. Bethlehem Ephratah is equivalent to *Davidic* : out of thee, *i.e.* out of David's family. The place is not given as that of his birth. It is *the Davidic family* whence he is represented as springing. The application in Matthew's Gospel is to Christ's birth-place, but that is a misinterpretation of the Hebrew, or at least an improper limitation of its meaning. There the Sanhedrim make the citation; and the Evangelist himself may not vouch for its correctness. The Jews have always held that the Hebrew prophecy intimates nothing more than that the Messiah was to be a descendant of David. In the days of Theodoret and Chrysostom this was their belief. Kimchi, Abenezra, Abarbanel, and others had it. But those Jews were wrong who maintained that it was fulfilled in Zerubbabel. How could a *Messianic* prophecy be fulfilled in any person or time except the true Messiah and his day—Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of God? It is surprising that some Christians should have held this opinion, as Theodore of Mopsuestia

and Grotius. It is no recommendation of it to say, with Grotius, that Zerubbabel was a type of Christ, because the assertion is without foundation. Some have also discovered "the eternal generation" of Micah in the phrase, "whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting." This doctrine is not in the words quoted. The use of the verb יָצָא with מִן and a comparison of the passages where מִימֵי קֶדֶם occurs (Mic. vii. 20; Is. xxiii. 7, xxxvii. 26) proves that such is not the sense. The word rendered *goings forth* means *origin* or *descent—prosapia*, as Jahn renders it,[1] and with מִקֶּדֶם *prosapia antiqua*; "His origin is from old, from the days of ancient time," *i.e.*, his descent is from the very ancient house of David. *Eternity* is not here in the phrase מִימֵי עוֹלָם. It signifies time long past, as in Amos ix. 11; Is. lxiii. 9; Deut. xxxii. 7; *a tempore vetusto*, as Jahn translates. Nothing can be more incorrect than to say that the prophet announces the divine and human natures in the Messiah. What Jewish writer under the Old Testament ever thought that Messiah was truly and literally divine; or that his birth-place was eternity? None. It is also incorrect to affirm that the pre-existence of Messiah is intimated, a tenet which the Jews did not hold. Thus the goings forth are not the previous manifestations in the times of Moses and the patriarchs. It has been argued by Mr. Gurney that whenever יָצָא has the meaning of extraction or filiation, the preposition מִן is placed before the name of the *parent* or *family*, and never before that of *the place*.[2] This is the case here, where the preposition is not prefixed to the name of the place, but to that of the family. Hence his reasoning turns against himself.

Dr. Hales puts arbitrarily together the preceding passage with two others (iii. 3, iv. 4); and having given his own version of the Hebrew in v. 2, which is sometimes incorrect, has elaborated a Messianic prophecy, which he pronounces "the most important single prophecy in the Old Testament, and the most comprehensive respecting the personal character of the Messiah, and his successive manifestation to the world. It carefully distinguishes his human nativity from his eternal generation; foretells the rejection of the Israelites and Jews for a season, their final restoration, and the universal *peace* destined to prevail throughout the earth in the *regeneration*. It forms therefore the basis of the New Testament," etc.[3] This language is extravagant. The three passages should not be taken out of their proper connection, and put together as one prophecy.

[1] Appendix Hermeneuticae, p. 147. [2] Biblical Notes and Dissertations, pp. 80, 81.
[3] Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. book i. pp. 462, 463.

The succeeding verse (v. 2) runs thus: "Wherefore he (Jehovah) shall give up (a prey to their enemies) till she who is to bear shall bear, and the residue of his brethren shall return to the sons of Israel." Here "she who is to bear" does not mean the unknown mother in the house of David—the virgin of Is. vii. 14—but *the Jewish church*, as we learn from iv. 10, "Be in pain and labour to bring forth, O daughter of Zion, like a woman in travail." Jahn improperly refers these pains or sorrows to the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes, making a definite prediction out of the prophet's indefinite words.[1] The chapter continues to be Messianic in character till the ninth verse. Other Messianic places are iv. 1-8; vii. 7-20; ii. 12, 13.

[1] Appendix Hermeneuticae, p. 148.

THE BOOK OF NAHUM.

I. AUTHOR AND PLACE OF ABODE.—נַחוּם, LXX. *Naούμ*, Vulg. *Nahum*.

Little is known of Nahum's personal history. He is called הָאֶלְקֹשִׁי the Elkoshite, referring either to the place of his birth or abode, Elkosh. Two localities of this name are mentioned, one in Assyria on the east side of the Tigris, two miles north of Mosul, and three of Nineveh. Here Nahum's grave is pointed out, to which Jewish pilgrims have resorted for a long time. Hence the prophet is supposed to have been an Israelite captive who was carried away into Assyria. We know from Tobit that Israelite exiles were in Assyria at that time (i. 10; vii. 3; xiv. 4, 8, 10). So Michaelis, Eichhorn, Grimm, and Ewald suppose. The other Elkosh was in Galilee. If Nahum were a native of it, he belonged to the kingdom of Israel, at the destruction of which he remained behind either in Israel or in Judah. It is difficult to decide between these two, though most critics adopt the latter.

Knobel enumerates a number of circumstances against the former, such as, that no Israelite exiles as far as we know were carried into Assyria, but only into newly conquered countries, as Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Media, etc.; that the prophet never alludes to the Israelite captives in Assyria, among whom he must have lived, and to whom he must have announced their return from captivity; that the testimonies for the Galilean Elkosh are older and more important than those in favour of the Assyrian; and that it is difficult to explain how Nahum's book came to be a part of the Jewish national literature if the author lived in remote Assyria. These arguments are not so formidable as the author supposes. We cannot reason from our ignorance; and we know from Tobit (xiv. 15) that many Israelite exiles lived in and about Nineveh after the extinction of the kingdom of Israel. There is no difficulty in explaining how the prophecy of an Israelite exile came to belong to the national literature.

The external testimonies belonging to the Assyrian Elkosh are certainly modern. None of them reaches farther back than the sixteenth century. Mr. Layard writes: "The house containing the tomb is a modern building. There are no inscriptions, nor fragments of any antiquity about the place; and I am not aware in what the tradition originated, or how long it has attached to the village of Alkosh."[1] The accounts seem to be of Christian, not Jewish, origin. But the Christians did not make them. They had some foundation. Those in favour of the Galilean Elkosh are perhaps older and better. Jerome says, that it was well known to the Jews; and that his guide pointed it out to him. It is true that Dorotheus and Epiphanius say that Nahum belonged to Eltesi beyond Bethabara; and that several later accounts give Bethabara as the place of his death and burial; but no credit attaches to these. Nothing can be built upon such precarious grounds apart from the book itself. It is singular that the prophet should have no word of consolation for his fellow-exiles. Yet it is not inexplicable. The Israelite captives had little to expect from the Medes or Babylonians, who were equally their enemies. The deliverance of the theocratic people could not be hoped for from that quarter. Nahum meant to promulgate an oracle against Nineveh; why has he no note of exultation over the impending downfall of their oppressor? Because that catastrophe would not be the deliverance of the Israelites. Their condition under the Medes might be no better than under the Assyrians. We adopt the Assyrian Elkosh as Nahum's abode when he wrote the prophecy; not because it is better supported by external evidence than the Galilean Elkosh, but because the analogy of prophecy and internal phenomena favour the opinion that Nahum wrote not long before the destruction of Nineveh, when the coming shadow of evil had already cast its darkness upon the fated city. Ewald argues that the general strain of the book indicates an eye-witness, who describes the destruction of the city with great circumstantiality. A prophet at a distance could hardly have delivered a discourse so minutely graphic. There is truth in this; but the argument is not weighty. He also states that there is but one passing reference to Judah (i. 13-ii. 3); ii. 1 (comp. Is. lii. 7) intimates that he was far away from Jerusalem and Judah. The colour of the language also betrays an Assyrian abode. There are even a few Assyrian words, such as הֻצַּב Huzzab, the name of the Assyrian queen (ii. 8); מִנְזָר (iii. 17); טַפְסָר (iii. 17). We must confess that some particulars adduced by Ewald are precarious supports of the view

[1] Nineveh and its Remains, vol. i. p. 197, New York edition.

they are adduced to sustain. The imagination of the prophet, ardent and vigorous as it was, might draw a graphic picture of the destruction of Nineveh, though he may not have seen the city. Some general acquaintance with its locality and manners may have been current in Palestine among the better informed class, especially as the Assyrians had come into the land of Judea and exhibited their enmity. It is useless to attempt with Naegelsbach to neutralise the argument drawn from the graphic description of Nineveh's destruction in the second chapter, by adducing the words of i. 2-16 and comparing them in point of vivid imagery with any other portion of the book; because the parallelism is incomplete. The allusion to Judah in i. 13-ii. 3 is hardly a passing one, because it forms the transition to the oracle against Nineveh. In the thirteenth verse of the first chapter Zion is addressed; and in the fifteenth Judah is invited to worship Jehovah in peace because the wicked spoiler shall no more visit her. The starting-point of the prophecy against Nineveh is Judah's deliverance from Sennacherib. A description of the majesty of Jehovah in goodness to his people and severity to his enemies requires no basis of local knowledge; whereas the second chapter presupposes an acquaintance with Nineveh.

> The shield of his mighty men is made red,
> The valiant men are in scarlet;
> The chariots shall be with flaming-torches in the day of his preparation,
> And the fir trees (spears) shall be terribly shaken.
> The chariots shall rage in the streets.
> They shall jostle one against another in the broad ways;
> They shall seem like torches,
> They shall run like the lightnings, etc., etc.

Here the description of the two peoples, the besiegers on the one hand and the Ninevites on the other, is vivid. Huzzab the queen is then represented as being led away captive while her maids sigh aloud like doves and beat upon their breasts. The king is not named because the chief power is supposed to be vested in the queen; and then Nineveh is compared to a water tank, inexhaustible in the multitude of her population. Here the local knowledge presupposed requires an eye-witness. Had the circumstances of the siege and destruction of Nineveh been recorded by profane history, we might have been able to say how far the outlines were realised; but in the absence of certain knowledge we are left to conjecture. The fact of *the queen's* not the king's mention favours the idea of a near prophet. Had he been distant he would probably have specified the king. Some weight belongs to the three Assyrian words quoted by Ewald in favour of the prophet's Assyrian abode. The

presence of the Assyrians in Palestine is not so natural an explanation. Why should other prophets writing after the Assyrians had invaded Palestine have no words of the same kind? We deny that the starting point of the prophecy against Nineveh is Judah's *recent* deliverance from Sennacherib. And the address to Zion and Judah in i. 13, 14, 15 does not imply the author's residence in or near Jerusalem rather than his far-off abode at Nineveh. In like manner, i. 4 does not prove residence in Judea, as Hitzig imagines: "He rebuketh the sea and maketh it dry, and drieth up all the rivers: Bashan languisheth and Carmel, and the flower of Lebanon languisheth." An Israelite captive would surely know Carmel and Lebanon. In descriptions whose imagery was borrowed from local scenery he would speak of his own country instead of another.

II. THE TIME WHEN NAHUM PROPHESIED.—This has been variously determined.

1. Josephus places him under Jotham.

2. Ussher assigns him to the time of Ahaz.

3. Jerome, Calov, Maius, Jaeger, Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Rosenmüller, De Wette, Gramberg, Knobel, Hävernick, Keil, Bleek, Naegelsbach, etc., put him in Hezekiah's reign. Some of them make him prophesy before Sennacherib's defeat; others see in that defeat the occasion of the prophecy.

4. The Seder Olam, Rashi, Abarbanel, Grotius, Grimm, and Jahn specify the reign of Manasseh.

5. Hitzig places him about 633 B.C., *i.e.* the time of Cyaxares's first siege of Nineveh.

6. Ewald puts him 630-625, when Phraortes invaded Assyria.

7. Cocceius puts him under Jehoiakim.

8. Clement of Alexandria brings him down to Zedekiah.

9. Bochart puts him after Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

Thus the divergence of opinion is very wide.

In i. 11 we read: "There is one come out of thee that imagineth evil against the Lord, a wicked counsellor. Thus saith the Lord; Though they be quiet and likewise many, yet thus shall they be cut down when he shall pass through." Here there is an allusion to Sennacherib and his defeat before Jerusalem. In ii. 14, "The voice of thy messengers shall no more be heard." Rabshakeh's embassy is referred to (Is. xxxvi.). We may therefore infer that the defeat of Sennacherib was past, which took place in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah's reign. To find the *terminus ad quem* we refer to i. 14, "And the Lord hath given a commandment concerning thee that no more of thy name be sown: out of the house of thy gods will I cut off the graven image and the molten image; I will make thy

grave; for thou art vile." Some think that Sennacherib is still the person spoken of. We cannot with many translate, "I will make it [the temple] thy grave," and assume in the words a specific allusion to the monarch's assassination in the temple of Nisroch (Is. xxxvii. 38). Nor can we hold that the images are said to be the grave of *the monarch*, and interpret the murder of Sennacherib, not as a past event as Strauss and others suppose, but one represented in the future. Sennacherib is not the person threatened with destruction, his idolatrous statues being the cause of his ruin. The Assyrian is addressed. "The Lord hath given a commandment concerning thee (O Assyrian)" (i. 14). The words have been made too specific by interpreters; and both those who explain them of Sennacherib's death in the temple of Nisroch as past, and those who understand them of his death still future, are in error. The verse declares that the name of Assyrian shall henceforth be blotted out from among the populous nations, and that the images in which the Ninevites trust shall become their grave.

In iii. 8 No-Amon is spoken of as having been carried away into captivity. Isaiah's prophecy in chap. xx. is connected with this. Though history does not clearly show how the prophecy was accomplished, yet it is most probable that the Assyrians took and destroyed populous No-Amon, so that Nahum records the fulfilment. The inhabitants were carried away captive by the people whom Nahum here threatens with destruction, before the fourteenth year of Hezekiah.

Bleek thinks that the reference of our prophet to the fact of Thebes's downfall is intelligible only on the supposition that it took place not long before, but that it is not so if Nahum be put considerably later. The reason of this does not appear. One hundred, fifty, or twenty years are of no account, because Thebes is specified on account of its likeness to Nineveh in various respects—its situation well protected by canals from the Nile, and its inhabitants so numerous. The element of time is of no moment with regard to a city so renowned as No-Amon.

Hävernick argues that the reign of Hezekiah is the only suitable time for Nahum, because the prophet speaks of Nineveh as flourishing and prosperous. The city was then at the height of its power and splendour (iii. 1-3). This state of things ceased soon after Sennacherib. The last efforts to restore its ancient magnificence were made under Esarhaddon.[1] Certainly the prophet represents the city as rich and flourishing, but not *at the summit* of its glory. Down till the time of the Median

[1] Einleitung, II. 2, p. 373.

dynasty it retained all the elements of strength, wealth, and populousness corresponding to the description before us. It coped with the Medes themselves for a time. Cyaxares was unsuccessful in his first siege of the city. Hence the argument of Hävernick is without validity.

These circumstances lead us to conclude that Nahum did not utter his oracle against Nineveh soon after Sennacherib's defeat before Jerusalem. That event did not furnish the occasion for delivering it. It is simply referred to as a past thing. The Assyrian power was flourishing, but it should soon fall. The allusions we have mentioned to Sennacherib, his wicked plan against Jerusalem, and the capture of No-Amon, harmonise with the idea that the events in question were long past. The transition from Sennacherib's attempt on Judah to the total overthrow of the Assyrian metropolis is indeed immediate; but it is not implied that the one furnished occasion for predicting the other. They may have been separated by an interval of time. We place the prophecy of Nahum therefore after Sennacherib's death. It must be dated at a time when the power of the Medes had increased, and threatened Assyria. Phraortes was the first Median king that laid siege to Nineveh, about 640 B.C. But the prophecy belongs to a time somewhat later, immediately before the first siege by Cyaxares, Phraortes's son. Nahum may have written in 630 B.C., immediately before the time when the Scythians broke into Asia and interrupted the Median attempt against the Assyrian empire. Strauss, who argues for the time when Manasseh was carried away captive, finds a distinct allusion to him in i. 13, וּמוֹסְרוֹתַיִךְ אֲנַתֵּק. But the words cannot refer to that. And the critic is wrong in arguing that there are reminiscences in Nahum from the Deutero-Isaiah. The reverse is the fact.

Though Nahum does not mention the enemies of Nineveh by name, they must have been the Medes, as we learn from history. Phraortes invaded Assyria and besieged its capital; but the Assyrians destroyed him and his army. Cyaxares besieged the city twice. The first time, however, he was pressed by the Scythians and obliged to abandon the attempt. After an interval of twenty-eight years he returned, and destroyed the city, as he had originally intended. Hitzig thinks that Nahum refers to the first attempt of Cyaxares, which he places about 630 B.C. This seems to be the true view. It is no objection to it that history makes no mention of Nineveh's *destruction* at this time. The city was not taken till Cyaxares's second invasion, about 605, when the Chaldeans under Nabopolassar, Nebuchadnezzar's father, co-operated with the Medes, according to the accounts of Ctesias, Alexander Polyhistor, and Aby-

denus. This second Median attack fulfils the conditions of the prophecy.

Did Nahum predict the downfall of Nineveh a century before the event? If he was a younger contemporary of Isaiah he did so. He prophesied, say some, about the fourteenth year of Hezekiah; and graphically painted the overthrow of Assyria's metropolis. The interval consists of about one hundred years. Is not the analogy of prophecy violated here? If a specific event be foretold long before it happened, what becomes of the canon or principle that prophecy presents nothing more than the *prevision of events in the immediate future?* The principle in question is almost axiomatic. It will be observed that Nahum does not describe the enemy from whom Nineveh's desolation comes. Neither Medes nor Chaldeans are referred to. He merely states that "the gates of the rivers shall be opened," which intimates remotely that the foe comes from the east, since Nineveh was on the eastern bank of the Tigris. The description is drawn in part from the prophet's imagination. The spirit of God which enlightened his inner vision enabled him to divine Nineveh's overthrow by the mighty enemy; but how long he should be in taking the city, and the manner of doing it, with the various attendant circumstances, the seer did not know. The powerful Assyrian would be overthrown, and his proud capital destroyed. Of course the exact time of Nineveh's destruction was concealed from his view. He had the consciousness that it would be taken by the Medes. He relied upon the fact that the foes of Judah would perish. On that basis of theocratic hope he planted his foot, and looked forward to the Assyrian overthrow. Though there is no hint of any nation but one invading Assyria—"He that dasheth in pieces is come up before thy face" (ii. 1)—yet the Chaldeans were associated with the Medes in the conquest of Nineveh.

If these observations be just, we must bring down the date of the prophecy to the period when the Medes had become a powerful people. Only a short interval elapsed between the prophecy and its fulfilment. Supposing that Nahum wrote during the invasion of Assyria by Phraortes, as Ewald thinks, his prediction was scarcely fulfilled at the time he expected. If he wrote at the time of Cyaxares's first siege of the city, as Hitzig rightly assumes, his words were not then fulfilled. If he wrote immediately before Cyaxares's second invasion, there is no perceptible incongruity; though the Assyrians had ceased to be formidable to Judah, and the anxieties of the Jews were turned towards another people, to the Chaldeans; because the writer was an Israelite captive in Assyria. Yet that date is too late. Had he written then, the Chaldeans would not have been

omitted. Yet one people alone are referred to, viz., the Medes. Hence the first invasion of Nineveh suits better than the second. Winer errs in speaking of the true date, from the fact of assuming that no attack upon the city subsequent to the oracle could fail. Such an assumption attributes to the prophet a prevision which he neither had nor claimed. The prophet was not disappointed, because he had no specific time of fulfilment in his mind. He looked for Nineveh's speedy overthrow; and a few years verified his prediction. It is wrong to say that his prophecy was frustrated because Cyaxares did not succeed in his first attempt. It was certainly not fulfilled at that time; but Nahum did not foresee that it would. It is surprising to observe the inconsistency of so calm thinkers as De Wette and Bleek in denying that the prophets were able to predict distant events with definiteness, and holding that Nahum lived during the reign of Hezekiah. By such a view the analogy of prophecy is violated.

Bishop Newton states that Nahum "foretold not only the thing, but also the manner of it." This latter he attempts to shew, but fails. According to him, Nahum prophesies that the Assyrians should be taken while they were drunken (i. 10); and Diodorus relates that "it was while all the Assyrian army were feasting for their former victories that those about Arbaces being informed by some deserters of the negligence and drunkenness in the camp of their enemies, assaulted them unexpectedly by night, and falling orderly on them disorderly, and prepared on them unprepared, became masters of the camp, and slew many of the soldiers, and drove the rest into the city." The tenth verse of the first chapter does not state that the Assyrians should be taken while they were drunken. The tenour of it is that though the Assyrians should be as wet as their very wine, they should be consumed like dry stubble. The bishop proceeds: Nahum foretells (ii. 6) that the gates of the river shall be opened and the palace shall be dissolved; and Diodorus informs us "that there was an old prophecy, that Nineveh should not be taken till the river became an enemy to the city; and in the third year of the siege, the river being swoln with continual rains, overflowed part of the city, and broke down the wall for twenty furlongs; then the king, thinking that the oracle was fulfilled, and the river become an enemy to the city, built a large funeral pile in the palace, and collecting together all his wealth and his concubines and eunuchs, burnt himself and the palace with them all; and the enemy entered at the breach that the waters had made, and took the city." What was predicted in the first chapter (verse 8) was therefore literally fulfilled, "With an overrunning flood he will make an utter end of the place

thereof." Here again there is not a correspondence between the words of Nahum and Diodorus's description. *The gates of the river* mean the canals which served to protect the palace; and the figurative expression *opening* of these gates implies nothing more than that the enemy pressed into the palace unimpeded by such obstacles. It cannot be shown from Diodorus that Nahum predicted *the manner* of Nineveh's destruction. That historian makes Arbaces the conqueror, instead of Astyages. The words of Nahum rightly understood refuse to be crushed into conformity with those of Diodorus. It is matter of regret that Herodotus should not have fulfilled his promise to relate how Nineveh was taken, or that if he did write the Assyrian history, it should have been lost. The accounts on which Newton relies are those of Athenæus, who borrowed from Ctesias. They are fabulous, or at least greatly exaggerated. The manner in which Nineveh was taken and destroyed is unknown. Its last king cannot be ascertained with certainty. He may have been *Asshur-emit-ili*; but we do not know whether he is identical with the Saracus of Berosus and the Sardanapalus of the Greeks. Rawlinson correctly says that the Sardanapalus of Ctesias belongs to the ideal rather than the actual, yet affirms that the circumstances of the siege as detailed by Ctesias may have been correctly stated.[1] Ctesias is a writer of no authority, and his account of the circumstances of the siege cannot be relied on. It argues ill for the cause of those who wish to shew the exact fulfilment of Nahum's prophecy in minute features that they rely upon such an author. All our knowledge of the fall of Nineveh is comprised in the statement that Cyaxares took and destroyed the city, which never recovered its former position.

III. CONTENTS.—The book contains one continuous oracle, and may be separated into three sections corresponding to the three chapters. The first contains a sublime description of the justice and power of God, shewing how terrible He is to His enemies, and therefore the Assyrians will not escape destruction. The second chapter represents Nineveh as besieged, conquered notwithstanding all its resistance, and so completely destroyed as to become a lurking place for lions. The third chapter shews how Nineveh suffers the merited and shameful fate of No-Amon, in spite of all efforts to avert her doom.

The inscription or title consists of two parts, viz., *the burden of Nineveh* and *the book of the vision of Nahum the Elkoshite.* The second part is independent and complete in itself. It appears to be the old original title standing at the commence-

[1] Herodotus, vol. i., pp. 486, 487.

ment of the oracle. The first proceeded from a later hand, as has been seen by Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Ewald, and De Wette. מַשָּׂא נִינְוֵה betrays an exile character, and does not agree well with the second title, which contains the word חָזוֹן *vision*. Yet Hävernick, followed as usual by Keil, undertakes to defend the authenticity of the whole inscription. He thinks that if the first part had been originally wanting, the reader would have been deprived of what was necessary to make the subject of the threatenings in the first and second chapters intelligible: as if prophecies were commonly plain and definite, or required the prophet's hand at their commencement to point out their scope and tendency.

IV. STYLE AND LANGUAGE.—Nahum had a rich and lively imagination. His figures are abundant and appropriate. Freshness and graphic power characterise his mode of writing. In this respect he is inferior to none of the prophets. In one instance the flight of his fancy is very bold and sublime. In consequence of his ardent imagination, he hurries from one particular to another without completing the portrait he begins. The rhythm is regular and lively. Though the parallelism is generally measured, it is not so periodic or rounded as that of Amos. The language is pure and classical, with a few exceptions as נָהַג *to moan*, ii. 8, דָּהַר iii. 2, פְּלֵדוֹת ii. 4, which are Syriasms. Hitzig says that מָכַר iii. 4, has the Arabic signification *to ensnare*, but there is no need to forsake its usual sense *sell*. These Syriasms cannot well be explained by the native locality of the prophet, which was towards the border land of Syria, and inhabited in part by persons who were not Israelites, because other prophets of the northern kingdom do not use Syriac words or idioms. They imply intimate contact with a people beyond Palestine. The prophet has several peculiarities, as כֹּה for כֵּן ii. 14; גְּבוּרֵיהוּ ii. 4; the signification of נָבַל in iii. 6; שׁוּב ii. 3, used transitively, though not in connection with שְׁבוּת. We cannot find, as Hitzig does, many marks of a later time. It is true that parallelisms with Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel occur. But the question is, do they indicate the comparatively late date of Nahum? Henderson adduces a number of passages in which he supposes that phrases occur resembling those in the authentic Isaiah (Nahum i. 8, comp. with Is. viii. 8; i. 9 with Is. x. 23; ii. 11 with Is. xxiv. 1 and xxi. 3). The resemblance is impalpable in some, and the inference that Nahum must have been in Isaiah's neighbourhood to have so borrowed from him is clearly illogical.[1] If we compare Nahum iii. 5 with Is. xlvii. 2, 3; iii. 7, 10, with

[1] The book of the Twelve Minor Prophets, Preface to Nahum, p. 271.

Is. li. 19, etc.; ii. 1 with Is. lii. 1, 7; ii. 3 with Is. lii. 8, the connection cannot be accidental. The Deutero-Isaiah is the borrower from Nahum, not the reverse as Strauss argues. Jeremiah also appears to have read Nahum's prophecy. Comp. iii. 19 with Jer. xxx. 12; xiv. 17; x. 19. Comp. also ii. 13, 14, iii. 13, 17, with Jer. l. and li. Nahum i. 2, 3, may be from Ex. xx. 5; xxxiv. 6; Num. xiv. 17, 18, without implying that the present Pentateuch existed at the time.

THE BOOK OF HABAKKUK.

I. NAME AND PERSONAL HISTORY.—חֲבַקּוּק; LXX. Ἀμβακούμ; Latin, Habacuc. Little is known of Habakkuk's personal history. Etymologising Rabbins have absurdly combined his name with the words addressed by Elisha to the woman of Shunem: "thou shalt embrace a son" (2 Kings iv. 16); concluding that he was the promised child. According to patristic accounts, he belonged to the tribe of Simeon, and was a native of Bethzocher or Bethsachar. The same authorities say that when Nebuchadnezzar came against Jerusalem to destroy it, in the reign of Zedekiah, the prophet fled to Ostracine, a border city between Egypt, Arabia, and Palestine; that he returned after the Chaldeans withdrew and the Jews emigrated to Egypt; that he followed the occupation of husbandry at his native place, and died two years before the exiles returned from Babylon. His alleged grave was afterwards pointed out at Ceila, *i.e.*, Kegila, a place in the territory of Judah.[1] These accounts are merely apocryphal: In the Greek additions to the book of Daniel it is related that he was taken by the angel of the Lord from Judea to Babylon to feed Daniel in the lion's den.

It has been inferred from the subscription iii. 19, "to the chief singer on my stringed instruments," that he was of the tribe of Levi; and Delitzsch farther supposes that he was connected by office with the efforts to improve the liturgical temple music, and must therefore have been a priest. His prophecy bears in part the character of a psalm-like composition, and resembles the psalms generally, especially those of David and Asaph. In confirmation of this view, the critic refers to the inscription prefixed to the apocryphal story of Bel and the Dragon in the Codex Chisianus of the LXX.: "Of the prophecy of Habakkuk, the son of Jesus, of the tribe of Levi."[2]

[1] See Pseudepiphanius de prophet. cap. 18; Dorotheus; Isidorus de ortu et obitu patr., cap. 48; Sozomeni Hist. Eccles., vii. 29; Nicephori Hist. Eccles., xii. 48.

[2] Prophet Habakuk ausgelegt, pp. iii. and 104, et seqq.

II. AGE OF THE PROPHET.—Opinions are much divided as to the age of the prophet.

1. Some suppose that he prophesied in the time of Manasseh, as the Rabbins in Seder Olam, Witsius, Buddeus, Carpzov, Wahl, Kofod, Jahn, and Hävernick.

2. Vitringa thinks that he lived under Josiah.

3. Delitzsch and Keil say that he prophesied before the thirteenth year of Josiah, *i.e.*, between 650 and 627 B.C.

4. Ussher, Stickel, Jaeger, Knobel, Maurer, Ewald, Baumlein, De Wette, Hamaker, Umbreit, and Bleek place him in Jehoiakim's reign.

5. Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Justi, and Wolf, assign him to the time when Judah was desolated by the Chaldeans. In this case the prophecy is for the most part a *vaticinium post eventum.*

As he mentions the Chaldeans by name, and his oracle refers to them, he lived in the Chaldean period. The manner in which he speaks of them leads us to infer, that he belonged to the beginning of this period. Their power was becoming formidable. Jehovah raised up that bitter and hasty nation to take possession of lands not their own (i. 5, 6). Judah was threatened, but had not yet been attacked (i. 12; iii. 2, 16). The description of the Chaldeans generally shews that they were little known to the Jews (i. 5, 11). Such as bring down the prophecy later than Jehoiakim commonly refer to the first chapter (verses 2 and 3), in which some find the crisis of Jerusalem's siege, when Zedekiah was taken, the walls broken down, and the temple burnt. But the spoiling and violence there depicted refer to the internal condition of the theocracy, not to external injuries. In i. 5, 6; iii. 16 the invasion of the Chaldeans is looked upon as future. Habakkuk predicts the appearance of the enemy as a thing to happen in the days of the generation then living (בִּימֵיכֶם); whence Delitzsch infers that we should not ascend farther than Josiah's reign; and that the *terminus a quo* at the most should not be more than twenty years before Nebuchadnezzar's first invasion.[1] This reasoning is precarious. The expression in question does not place the prophet in Josiah's reign. Delitzsch maintains from a comparison of Hab. ii. 20 with Zeph. i. 7, that the former preceded the latter; and from Hab. i. 8 compared with Jer. iv. 13 and v. 6 that our prophet delivered his predictions prior to Jeremiah's appearance as a prophet, *i.e.* before Josiah's thirteenth year. The conclusion however is illogical, because the premises are by no means safe or valid. "Be silent before the Lord God" (Zeph. i. 7) sounds like a proverb; part of it having

[1] Der Prophet Habakuk ausgelegt, p. vii.

been already used by Amos (vi. 10); and Jeremiah scarcely followed Habakkuk in iv. 13 and v. 6. Jeremiah li. 58 may be taken from Hab. ii. 13 without shewing that Habakkuk wrote before Jeremiah, since the chapter cannot be attributed to the elegiac prophet himself without arbitrary assumption. The third chapter presupposes the existence of the temple and its liturgical services (iii. 19, 20). The safest conclusion respecting the time of the prophet is that he lived in the reign of Jehoiakim (606-604 B.C.), when the kingdom of Judah was in a good moral condition, justice and righteousness having entered into the life of the people after Josiah's reforms, and idolatry having almost disappeared. At this favourable crisis of the national history an invasion of the Chaldeans broke in rudely upon the quiet of the kingdom, and awoke its fears. Nebuchadnezzar had just smitten Pharaoh-Necho, had conquered Syria, Ammon, Moab, and part of Arabia; and was just about to undertake his first expedition against Jehoiakim (comp. 2 Kings xxiv. 1). Accordingly Habakkuk was a contemporary of Jeremiah's.[1] To put the prophet in Manasseh's reign is incorrect, because the Chaldeans were not a people formidable to the Jews at that time.

III. CONTENTS.—The book may be divided into two parts, chapters i. ii., and iii., each with an inscription; the former, *the burden which Habakkuk the prophet did see;* the latter, *a prayer of Habakkuk the prophet upon Shigionoth.*

The prophet complains of the iniquity of the land, the oppression of the righteous by the wicked, the allowing of the law to sleep, and perverse judgment. Jehovah replies to this complaint by referring to the punishment He is preparing by the instrumentality of the Chaldeans, who are described as a formidable people that march through the breadth of the land with hasty steps, plundering and taking possession (i. 1-11). The prophet acknowledges the justice of Jehovah in this infliction, who is too pure to behold evil; but confides in the living, undying One that He will not allow the enemy to spoil and devour continually (i. 12-17). The second chapter announces that at the appointed time the Chaldeans, an insatiable, covetous, cruel, nation, will be visited with the doom they had prepared for others; that they will be an object of reproach and shame, receiving no help from their idols. Such judgment would lead to the consummation so ardently longed for by the pious and patriotic, that the earth should be filled wtih the knowledge of the glory of the Lord (ii. 1-20). The third chapter depicts the manner in which Jehovah should appear to execute judgment

[1] Knobel, Prophetismus II. pp. 293, 294.

on the enemies who oppress His people, and to save His people, His anointed. He prays that He would remember mercy in the midst of judgment to His people; and ends with a confident hope of safety and protection.

IV. VIEWS RESPECTING THE ASSIGNMENT OF THE BOOK TO VARIOUS TIMES.—Bertholdt, Friedrich, and Rosenmüller put the first chapter in Jehoiakim's reign; the second in Jehoiachin's; the third in Zedekiah's. Bleek places the third chapter somewhat later than the first part of the book; and supposes that the Chaldeans had then come nearer. The whole book cannot be so divided. The parts are too closely connected to be partitioned among different times. Although the ode contained in the third chapter varies in tone and character from the preceding prophecy, it is intimately connected with it; nor is there any good reason for making its origin later than the rest.

V. MANNER, STYLE, AND DICTION.—The prophecy of Habakkuk has a dramatic form. The seer asks in a complaining tone; and the answer is threatening. Fear and hope mingle in his bosom. The third chapter is a lyrical echo of the feelings which the preceding revelation had awakened within him. The form of a dialogue between God and the prophet is carried out no where else so fully. Nor is prophecy so intimately united with lyrical poetry in other productions as in the present. Chapter ii. 6*b*-20 consists of five strophes, each containing three verses, and of similar structure. Each begins with the same word except the last one. The tone and character of the third chapter differ much from the first and second. It contains a psalm, and was adapted to be sung in public. The word Selah occurs in it thrice. The first and second verses are introductory; the first containing the inscription or title, *a prayer of Habakkuk the prophet, upon Shigionoth*; and the second preparatory. The hymn follows (verses 3-15). From 16 to 19 is an epilogue. The hymn consists of four strophes, viz., 3-5, 6-9, 10-12, 13-15. The heavings of fear and hope alternate; and therefore the ode has a wave-like, restless progression. But in the concluding summary confidence acquires the mastery and keeps it. The theophany does not refer to Jehovah's future interposition for the destruction of the Chaldeans, but to the manifestations of divine power and majesty in the past history of the Hebrews. Delitzsch has expended much ingenuity and microscopic criticism in support of the former hypothesis, but in vain. In consequence of the lyrical character of the third chapter, it resembles, both in form and substance, some older and similar odes, especially Ps. lxxvii., Judg. v. We cannot say, however, that the prophet has imitated these pieces, though Delitzsch strives to shew that iii. 10-15 is fashioned after

Ps. lxxvii. 17-21. Habakkuk is not a great imitator of former poets, as Michaelis calls him, qualifying the judgment by adding that he has some new things of his own, not in the manner of Ezekiel, but with much greater brevity and with no common degree of sublimity.[1] The prophet is far more independent of others than any of his fellows except Isaiah. The best period of prophecy is reflected in his oracles, though he lived comparatively late. Here prophetic poetry appears to enter into close communion with the Deity, and lay hold of His strength as though it would not let him go, in order to revive in the careless people the spirit of a decaying piety. The manner and style of the prophet are excellent. He writes with animation and fire. His descriptions are lively and fresh; his prosopopœias bold; his figures and comparisons appropriate and natural. The theophany in the third chapter is uncommonly bold and sublime. It is unequalled in the Old Testament. The rhythm is full and powerful yet equable and smooth. The parallelism is even and rounded; the diction pure and classical. Yet he has some late words, as קַלְמ i. 10 which appears only in Kings and Ezekiel פּוּשׁ i. 8, in Jeremiah and Malachi besides. The cup of judgment (ii. 16) does not appear in the prophets before Jeremiah Whether Habakkuk refers in ii. 16 to Jer. xlix. 12 is doubtful though Stähelin ventures to assert it.[2] He resembles Joe most.

VI. Quotation in the New Testament.—

> "Behold, his soul which is lifted up is not upright in him:
> But the just shall live by his faith" (ii. 4).

The last part of this verse is cited in Rom. i. 17; Gal. iii. 11 Heb. x. 38. It is differently applied in these passages. The preceding context intimates that the Chaldean will surely be punished. His chastisement may not be speedy, but it will come at the appointed time; and the righteous is exhorted to wait patiently for it, persevering in his fidelity as the means by which he shall be preserved. The soul of the Chaldean is lifted up and dishonest; but the just man will live by his fidelity. Chap. ii. 2-4 is not a Messianic passage as some have supposed. Deliverance by the Messiah, implying also the nearer deliverance by Cyrus, was not meant by the prophet. The words may be accommodated to that idea; but it is not their sense.

[1] Notes to Lowth on Hebrew poetry, p. 401, Stowe's edition.
[2] Einleitung, p. 289.

THE BOOK OF ZEPHANIAH.

I. PERSONAL CIRCUMSTANCES.—צְפַנְיָה, Hebrew; LXX., Σοφονίας; Vulg., Sophonia. The title of his book states that Zephaniah was the son of Cushi, the son of Gedaliah, the son of Amariah, the son of Hizkiah. It has been inferred that his family was distinguished, because a similar genealogy is attributed to no other prophet. Hence various critics, Abenesra, Huetius, and others, identify *Hizkiah* with *Hezekiah*. If so, he was the king's great-great-grandson. No other son of Hezekiah than Manasseh is known to history. And from Hezekiah to Josiah, under whom Zephaniah prophesied, there are but four generations, while the inscription carries us beyond five. But as Hezekiah reigned twenty-nine years; and his successor fifty-five, there may be room for so many descents. The number of generations, therefore, forms no valid objection to the hypothesis, since it is possible to make room for them in the interval. It is most probable that the epithet *king* would have accompanied the name Hezekiah, had he been the person intended. The addition *king of Judah* to his name occurs in Prov. xxv. 1, and Is. xxxviii. 9. It would have been most appropriate in this place if the genealogy is given to do honour to the prophet's race. We hesitate therefore to assume the identity of *Hizkiah* with *Hezekiah*. According to Pseudepiphanius, the prophet belonged to the tribe of Simeon and territory of Sarabatha, or Baratha as others read.[1] Dorotheus and Isidore repeat the same thing. He was buried at Geba on Lebanon, where a cloud is said to have constantly overshadowed his grave. These apocryphal accounts are unreliable. He belonged to the kingdom of Judah, and exercised his ministry at or near Jerusalem.

II. TIME WHEN HE PROPHESIED.—According to the inscription he lived in the reign of Josiah, *i.e.*, 642-611 B.C. But it is not easy to determine whether he lived *before*, *during*, or *after* the religious reform effected by that monarch. From ii. 13-15

[1] De Prophet. cap. 19.

we learn that he wrote before the downfall of Assyria and Nineveh, because he threatens that empire with total destruction. In addition to the worship of Jehovah, the adoration of Baal also existed. Other idolatrous rites were practised (i. 4, 5). If, besides the true priests, there were also idol-priests (כְּמָרִים *idol-priests*, i. 4); if the worship of Baal and the host of heaven was still continued, while we know that Josiah caused all the vessels made for Baal and for all the host of heaven to be brought out of the temple and burned, putting down the idolatrous priests (2 Kings xxiii. 4, 5), the religious reformation commenced by that monarch could not have been completed. It may perhaps have been begun. Yet it could scarcely have proceeded far, else the prophet would have mentioned the king, and addressed to him some words of encouragement. The reforms of Josiah began in his twelfth and were completed in his eighteenth year; we may infer, therefore, that Zephaniah wrote about 631 B.C.

Carpzov, Eichhorn, Bertholdt, and Delitzsch place the prophet *after* the eighteenth year of Josiah, because he speaks of the king's children (i. 8), shewing that the two eldest sons of Josiah had already grown up and exhibited an evil disposition. Josiah was only eight years old when he began to reign. Hence it is argued that this could not be said of his sons before the eighteenth year of his reign. But the threatening merely represents the universality of the judgment about to fall upon all ranks, even the highest. It is not necessary to restrict the expression to the sons of the reigning monarch. The sons of Josiah's predecessors may be referred to, or even his own brothers. Another expression שְׁאָר הַבַּעַל *the remnant of Baal* (i. 4) has been adduced in favour of a date subsequent to the reform of Josiah. If *remains* of the Baal worship continued, his measures to root out such idolatry had preceded. What the prophet really announces is, that the remnant and name of Baal should be extirpated, so that nothing of such worship should remain.[1] The mention, therefore, of the destruction of the *remnant* of Baal does not imply that the extirpation of idolatry had been carried on to a considerable extent without being completed. The true sense is, that such worship should be utterly eradicated. It has also been argued from iii. 4 that the eighteenth year of Josiah was past: "her priests have polluted the sanctuary, they have done violence to the law." Thus the law was already known. So it may have been by the priests, before Hilkiah found the copy in the temple.[2]

[1] Ewald, Die Propheten, u. s. w. vol. i. p. 363.

[2] See Strauss's Vaticinia Zephanjae commentar. illustrat., p. viii. et seqq., and Hävernick's Einleitung, II. 2, p. 396.

III. CONTENTS.—Some, as Eichhorn, Bertholdt, and Knobel, divide the book into three prophetic discourses, embracing the three chapters. De Wette and Strauss make two—viz., chaps. i., ii. and iii. It is better, however, to regard the whole as a single prophecy, connected, consecutive, and composed at once. The first chapter shews the deep concern which the idolatry practised in Judah and Jerusalem beside the worship of the true God gave the prophet, and announces severe judgments from Jehovah impending over the land. In the second chapter he exhorts the people to turn to the Lord before His anger come upon them—that anger which shall also visit with destruction the Philistines, Moabites, Ammonites, Ethiopians, and especially the Assyrians with their metropolis Nineveh. The third chapter reverts to Jerusalem which is polluted by the oppressive injustice of its princes and judges, as well as by the violence of its prophets and priests. Jehovah had often invited them to repent in vain. Now He has resolved to gather the nations together to pour out His indignation upon the rebellious ones among His people (iii. 1-8). He shall then stir up these very nations to call upon His name and to serve Him with one consent. In Judah an afflicted and poor people will be left trusting in the name of the Lord, who will then glorify Jerusalem, destroy all its oppressors, bring back the scattered ones, and get them praise in every land (iii. 9-20).

It will be seen that the prophecy is general. It contains a summary of Zephaniah's ministry, and was written to give a condensed view of his oracles. The first chapter is a denunciation of Judah for their idolatry; the beginning of the second speaks of repentance as the only means of averting the divine vengeance; the remainder of that chapter, with the first eight verses of the third, proclaims approaching destruction; while the last part promises deliverance, salvation, and a glorious prosperity to the believing remnant who should survive the judicial process.

IV. THE OCCASION OF ZEPHANIAH'S PREDICTIONS.—It is evident that there was some great commotion of the nations about Zephaniah's time. Fear was awakened in Judah of impending calamity from foreign peoples who menaced destruction. What power is referred to? The Chaldean, say Maurer, Knobel, Hävernick, and Keil. The desolation threatened is that impending by those who afterwards accomplished it. The Scythians are rather the persons referred to, who poured down in plundering hordes from the north, and caused the Medes to raise the siege of Nineveh. They even made an expedition as far as Egypt, in the time of Psammetichus. Well might Palestine be afraid of them at that time. The objections advanced

against this view by Hävernick, Strauss, Keil, and others are not formidable. When they say that though Zephaniah does not name the enemies intended (i. 7, iii. 15) he manifestly describes the same catastrophe as Jeremiah (iv.-vi.) who certainly means the Chaldeans, we reply that Jeremiah refers to the Scythians also. When it is farther affirmed that Herodotus's narrative leaves it doubtful whether that invasion of the Scythians affected Judah, we answer that the probabilities of its alarming Judah are great; which is all that can be gathered from history. It is no valid argument therefore to affirm that the Jews were little touched or affected by the progress of the Scythians, so that the latter does not correspond with the march of the enemy described by Jeremiah. If the predicted conquest and destruction do not precisely suit the Scythians it matters little. Exact correspondence between predictions and their fulfilments should not be looked for, because the prophets gave expression to their fears and hopes, not to clear perceptions of minute future circumstances. Thus the reasonings of Hävernick, Strauss, Maurer, and Keil are invalid.

The year of Nineveh's destruction is usually reckoned 625 B.C. This is incorrect. It should be 606. The accounts of Herodotus respecting Cyaxares are trustworthy and credible.[1] Those of Ctesias, Abydenus, and Alexander Polyhistor are confused, and partly fabulous. Hence we disagree with Keil in his attempt to unsettle the true date 606, and to make 625 the probable one.[2] The prophet belongs to about the time of Cyaxares's first invasion of Nineveh, which was interrupted by an irruption of the Scythians into Media. Herodotus states that this was twenty-eight years before the final destruction of the city, *i.e.*, 606.[3]

V. General manner and style.—The style, diction, and descriptive power of Zephaniah are not remarkable for excellence. The prophet occupies an intermediate place between the highest and lowest styles, and resembles Jeremiah most. He is not without liveliness or graphic details; nor is he deficient in appropriate figures and tropes. He has also paronomasias and plays on words. But he has not much poetic spirit; and therefore though the parallelism is sometimes regular, it is often unreached, from the language sinking down to prose, without living rhythm to keep it up. The diction is good and easy. Zephaniah is not an original prophet. Most of his ideas are reminiscences out of earlier writers, as a comparison of the following places will shew: i. 7 and Hab. ii. 20, Joel i. 15, iv. 14; i. 13 and Amos v. 11; i. 14, etc., and Joel ii. 1, 2; i. 16 and Amos ii. 2; i. 18 and Is. x. 23, xxviii. 22, Amos i. 13; iii.

[1] Lib. i. 15, 103-106. [2] Einleitung, p. 306.
[3] See Delitzsch de Habac. proph. vita et ætate, p. xviii.

10 and Is. xviii. 1, 7; iii. 19 and Mic. iv. 6, 7; i. 7 and 1 Sam. ix. 13, 22, xvi. 5; i. 9 and 1 Sam. v. 5.[1]

VI. MESSIANIC CHARACTER.—Chap. iii. 8-20 is of a general Messianic tenour. In it the person of the Messiah does not appear; but the heathen nations who gather together against Judah and Jerusalem to execute upon them the wrath of Jehovah are not destroyed, as some other prophets represent them to be. On the contrary, they are converted to the worship of the true God even before the penitent submission of His own apostate people (vers. 8, 9, etc.).

VII. APOCRYPHAL PROPHECY.—An apocryphal writing existed in the ancient Christian church with the name of Zephaniah attached to it, *ἀνάληψις* or *προφήτεια τοῦ Σοφονίου προφήτου*. It is adduced in the *Synopsis Scripturæ Sacræ*, and in Nicephorus's *Stichometria*. In the latter its extent is said to be 600 stanzas or *στιχοί*. Clement of Alexandria and the Pseudo-Epiphanius (De vitis prophet) also quote it. Unfortunately the production is lost.[2]

[1] See De Wette's Einleitung, p. 369; and Movers' Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Kathol. Theologie, Heft 12, p. 101.

[2] Bleek's Einleitung, p. 519.

THE BOOK OF HAGGAI.

I. PERSONAL HISTORY OF THE PROPHET.—חַגַּי Hebrew; Ἀγγαῖος Sept.; *Aggaeus* Vulg. According to patristic accounts, Haggai belonged to the exiles who returned to their native land with Joshua and Zerubbabel. The Talmud makes him a member of the great synagogue—a body whose existence is doubted by many. The Pseudo-Epiphanius relates that he was buried at Jerusalem among the priests, whence it has been assumed that he was of Aaron's family. This is doubtful. Ewald conjectures, with great probability,[1] that he was one of the few referred to by himself (ii. 3) who saw the first temple. His name occurs in Ezra v. 1, vi. 14.

He appeared in the second year of the Persian king Darius Hystaspis (i. 1), *i.e.* the sixteenth after the return from captivity 520 (B.C.). The building of the second temple had begun in the reign of Cyrus; but had been interrupted under his successors Cambyses and Pseudo-Smerdis, through the unfavourable representations of the Samaritans. Haggai induced Darius to cancel the decree of his royal predecessor which forbad the continuance of the building, and stirred up the people to resume the undertaking. He blamed his countrymen that while they built stately houses for themselves, they left the temple unfinished (i. 4, 9); for which reason Jehovah punished them with drought and scarcity. Supported by his fellow-prophet Zechariah, he exhorted them to continue the work which had been neglected, as a favourable time for doing so had arrived. Hence Zerubbabel and Joshua set themselves earnestly to the task along with the people; and the prophet succeeded in maintaining the zeal of the builders by encouraging promises, and bright prospects in relation to the new temple. So the house of the Lord was finished in six years.

II. CONTENTS.—The book consists of four short prophecies relating to one and the same subject, viz., the rebuilding of the temple. They are connected by time and tenour. All are dated

[1] Die Propheten, u. s. w., vol. ii., p. 516.

in the second year of Darius Hystaspis; the first two in the sixth and seventh months; the last two in the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month. In the first, the prophet reproves the indifference of the people respecting the building of the house, for which reason they were divinely punished with drought and unfruitfulness. This admonition was effective, for after three weeks the rebuilding of the temple was formally resumed (chapter i.). In the next month (the seventh), he was led to give a consolatory promise to his countrymen, especially to such of them as had seen the old temple in its glory, that the second should surpass the first, however inferior its dimensions might appear (ii. 1-9). The third prophecy relates to the impurity of the people, for which cause Jehovah's blessing no longer rested upon them, promising, however, that from the present day they should be blessed with abundant fruitfulness (ii. 10-19). The fourth predicts a general revolution, the overthrow of kingdoms and powers; and that Jehovah would take His chosen servant Zerubbabel under His peculiar protection (ii. 20-23).

As the contents are brief and scanty, we may suppose that Haggai's prophecies were longer when orally delivered. Perhaps they present the substance of all that he had said. And they must have been written soon after delivery. It is strange, however, that they do not appear to have gained force or power by compression; their tameness being in proportion to their brevity. They are not distinguished for excellence. The views promulgated do not partake of a high religious or ethical character. The prophet, entertaining the common Jewish view of earthly retribution, lays great stress on the restoration of the temple and its worship. Rituals occupy his attention. The motive by which he encourages the people is taken from the present life. That Haggai wrote any portion of the present book of Ezra is a groundless conjecture. His style and diction are different from those of Ezra iii. 2-vi. 22.

III. MANNER, STYLE, AND DICTION.—The general manner and style are destitute of poetic life and power. The composition is flat prose, shewing a marked decline in prophetic inspiration. On the whole, Haggai is unrhythmical, though often employing parallelism, as in i. 6, 9, 10; ii. 6, 8, 22. Favourite formulas are שִׂימוּ לְבַבְכֶם *lay to your heart* or *consider* (i. 5, 7; ii. 15, 18); נְאֻם יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת *thus saith the Lord of hosts* (ii. 4, 9, 23); *Zerubbabel, Joshua, and the remnant of the people* (i. 12, 14; ii. 2, 4). There are frequent interrogations (i. 4, 9; ii. 3, 12, 13, 19). Peculiarities of diction are כְּמוֹהוּ כְאַיִן ii. 3, for הוּא כְאַיִן; אַדְמַת מְעַט ii. 6, for מְעַט alone; וְאֵין אִתְּכֶם ii. 17, for אֵינְכֶם.[1]

[1] See Knobel's Prophetismus, Theil 2, p. 389.

IV. MESSIANIC PREDICTIONS.—The passage in ii. 6-9 respecting the future splendour of the new temple is of Messianic import. It is general, however, not definite or specific in its description, except that the choicest of the heathen nations are represented as coming to the house to worship, bringing with them treasures and costly offerings. In like manner, ii. 21-23 is Messianic. The heavens and the earth will be shaken, worldly kingdoms will be overthrown; and Zerubbabel will be made as a signet. Haggai's name appears in conjunction with Zechariah's in the inscriptions of several psalms, cxxvii., cxlv., and cxlviii., according to the LXX.; cxxv., cxxvi., according to the Peshito; and cxi., according to the Vulgate. Is there any foundation for the tradition? If there be, it shews that both were zealous respecting the temple music.

It is difficult to tell what view the prophet entertained of the Messianic time. Perhaps he expected the restoration of the theocracy very soon, connecting it with the completion of the new temple. And why did contemporary prophets make Zerubbabel the new theocratic ruler? Was it because he was so zealous for the welfare of the theocracy? Did they really think that he was to be head of the renewed state—the visible Messiah of the new and long hoped-for kingdom? Zerubbabel was certainly descended from the royal house of David. Some suppose that Haggai considered Zerubbabel a type of Messiah. This is more than doubtful. The prophet seems to have expected Zerubbabel to take his place in the kingdom soon to be set up as the Messiah: "In that day, saith the Lord of hosts, will I take thee, O Zerubbabel, my servant, the son of Shealtiel, saith the Lord, and will make thee as a signet: for I have chosen thee, saith the Lord of hosts." Here he is depicted as the future Messiah, the chosen one of God. It might be thought, perhaps, that Haggai passes at once from the type to the antitype, giving the name of the former to the latter; but this is not very probable. It was not usual for the prophets to think of Messianic types. Perhaps Haggai had no definite view of Messiah's person, and was not sure whether Zerubbabel was to be he. It may have been that his hopes were vague—his ideas shadowy. Still the probability is in favour of his identifying Zerubbabel with Messiah. The language points to that. It is hardly right to say with Schumann,[1] that the prophet's view of the Messianic time was *confused:* it was rather *indefinite.*

Chap. ii. 7: "And I will shake all nations, and the desire of all nations shall come: and I will fill this house with glory, saith the Lord of hosts."

[1] Introduction to the Scriptures translated, p. 163.

"The desire of all nations" is commonly said to mean *the Messiah*. Jerome was the first who translated the Hebrew words "veniet desideratus cunctis gentibus," and the Latin version was followed by our English one. But the Septuagint has ἥξει τὰ ἐκλεκτὰ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν. It will be observed that the verb בָּאוּ is plural, while חֶמְדָּה is singular. The plural verb alone would shew that Messiah cannot be its subject, even if the feminine noun חֶמְדָּה were left out of account. Some say that the abstract חֶמְדָּה is put for the concrete, in which case the sense is, *the desirable* or *costly things, the treasures* will come. This interpretation is adopted by Michaelis, Jahn, and Rosenmüller; and the Greek seems to favour it. Jahn[1] quotes as parallel חֶמְדַּת כָּל יִשְׂרָאֵל (1 Sam. ix. 20) which he explains "the treasures of all the people of Israel," an explanation manifestly incorrect. The verb *come* is unsuitable. It should rather be *brought*. But Dathe thinks Michaelis has proved that the verb בָּאוּ may be rightly translated *afferentur*.[2] The Hebrew cannot mean, "they shall come *to* the desire of all nations," as Stonard renders it[3]; nor *with* the desire of all nations as Kimchi interprets. A modification of this rendering is assumed by Henderson; "the things desired by all the nations shall come," *i.e.*, the blessings of the gospel, "the good things to come" (Heb. ix. 11).[4] The erroneousness of this translation and its accompanying exposition is obvious. Bleek's conjecture that the word should be pointed חֶמְדַּת because בָּאוּ is plural is unfortunate.[5] So good a Hebrew scholar should not take the noun in the sense of *costly things* or *treasures*. The right translation is *the choice of all nations, i.e.*, the noblest or best of them, will come. All nations are represented as fearing God; but only the best of them as coming to do Him homage. Perhaps the LXX. too meant this. We have a synonym to the noun *desire* in מַחֲמַד (Is. xxii. 7; Ex. xv. 4). In this case also the construct state ceases to be an adjective-description of the latter substantive, and requires another to make sense.

It is high time that in books and sermons innumerable Messiah should not be identified with *the desire of all nations* in this passage. English commentaries on the Bible have helped to perpetuate the mistake. Thus Thomas Scott writes: "At the appointed time, He, 'the desire of all nations,' whom all na-

[1] Einleit. in die Bücher des alten Bundes, vol. ii. pp. 661, 662; and Enchiridion Hermeneuticæ generalis, p. 52.

[2] Prophetæ minores Latine versi, etc., p. 230, third edition.

[3] Commentary on the vision of Zechariah, p. 94.

[4] The Book of the Twelve Minor Prophets, p. 356.

[5] Einleitung, p. 550.

tions ought to desire, and in due time would desire; He, in whom all the nations of the earth were to be blessed, and of whose coming a general expectation would prevail, as of some most desirable event," etc. Even Jablonski, in the margin of his Hebrew Bible, puts the words "Messiamque adventurum, desiderium gentium;" and Pye Smith adopts the same view.[1] It is absurd to argue that the reference to the Messiah is the only one accordant with the dignity of the passage. *A priori* considerations should not unduly influence the explanation of Hebrew words. The end to be attained was more than constraining the heathen nations to beautify the temple at Jerusalem. Neither the prophet himself, nor any sensible expositor, ever thought of this as the only thing indicated. The glory of the temple was to consist in the best of the heathen nations coming to worship, communing with Jehovah, and forming one church with the Jewish.

[1] Scripture Testimony to the Messiah, vol. i., p. 283, fourth edition.

THE BOOK OF ZECHARIAH.

I. AUTHOR AND DATE.—זְכַרְיָה Hebrew; *Ζαχαρίας* Greek; *Zacharias*, Vulgate. The prophet calls himself the son of Berechiah and grandson of Iddo. Some think that Iddo was the father of Zechariah. So the LXX. and Jerome translate; and so several of the fathers understood the words. In Ezra v. 1 and vi. 14 the prophet is named Zechariah the son of Iddo. In the first verse of Zechariah, the word prophet belongs to Zechariah, not to Iddo as Jerome understood it. Iddo is mentioned in Neh. xii. 16 as the head of a priestly family that returned from Babylon with Joshua and Zerubbabel. Like Jeremiah and Ezekiel our prophet was of priestly descent; and came to Judea with the returning exiles from Babylon. He entered on his public ministry only two months after Haggai, B.C. 520., and is mentioned under the high priest Jehoiakim. Some suppose that he was a youth when called to the ministry of the word. This opinion is based on ii. 8 where נַעַר *youth*, is used. But the youth there meant is the youthful angel mentioned in ii. 5 who appears a subordinate. It is unlikely that the prophet was a youth when he entered on his office. A foreign colouring belongs to his utterances savouring strongly of Chaldea. He must have lived for a considerable time under influences which moulded his ideas and views, perceptibly. Babylonian and Persian characteristics left an abiding stamp on his mental development, not unconsciously. Hence he was of mature age when he began to write. This agrees with patristic accounts in the Pseudo-Epiphanius, Dorotheus, and Isidore. The prophet attached himself to Haggai, promoting the same work by his exhortations, and strengthening the restored theocracy by some threatenings and more promises addressed to his countrymen. Epiphanius states that he predicted to Cyrus a victory over Crœsus, and other things.[1] Zechariah is said to have died at a very advanced age, and to have been buried beside Haggai.

[1] De Prophett., cap. 21.

He opened his prophetic commission in the eighth month of the second year of Darius Hystaspis, *i.e.*, about 520, and we see from vii. 1 that he was still active in the fourth year of Darius, with which date the oracles of the book terminate.

II. CONTENTS.—The book may be divided into two parts, i.-viii., and ix.-xiv. The former of these admits of a threefold subdivision; viz., i. 1-6, i. 7-vi. 15, and vii. viii.

Chap. i. 1-6 is introductory, in which the prophet earnestly exhorts his countrymen to repentance. *Their fathers* had often been disobedient to Jehovah, but *they* should turn to Him and He would bless them. Three months later, on the 24th of the eleventh month, Zechariah had a series of visions, which were generally explained to him by an attendant angel. In the first he sees a rider on a red horse among myrtle-trees, with whom were several other horses of different colours. On applying to the angel for an interpretation, the rider explains that he and his fellows are messengers who having gone through the earth at the divine command found all at rest, *i.e.*, God had not yet set in motion any measures for the accomplishment of the promise in Hag. ii. 20. At the same time, good and comfortable words are uttered by the angel respecting Jehovah's care of His people (i. 7-17).

This vision is explained and illustrated in the next two.

The second vision shews the destruction of the heathen powers in all directions, represented by four horns lifted up, which four carpenters cut down (ii. 1-4). The future greatness of the new Jerusalem is then announced. It should have no walls, but Jehovah Himself would be its fiery bulwark. As the heathen must fall, those still dwelling in Babylonia are exhorted to flee to Jerusalem and Judah where Jehovah abides, and whither many nations go to join the theocracy (ii. 5-17). In a third vision, the prophet beholds the high priest Joshua standing in the attitude of one accused before the angel of the Lord, who acquits him and declares that Jehovah would protect him in the exercise of his office, as long as he proved faithful. He and the other priests were a sign that the Messiah should appear out of the house of David. The eyes of God were especially directed to the foundation stone of the temple lying before Joshua—a stone which He himself would grave, and take away all the sins of His people (iii.). The fourth vision shews a golden candlestick and two olive trees by it, supplying the lamps with oil. In answer to the question, what means this vision, the angel informs Zechariah that what Zerubbabel could not effect by himself he would accomplish by the Spirit of God, helping him to surmount all obstacles and put the top stone on the temple-building. The two olive trees denote Joshua and Zerubbabel,

the spiritual and civil representatives of the theocracy (iv.). The prophet sees next a great flying roll written on both sides, containing curses upon the wicked, who should be punished according to the contents of the roll (v. 1-4). He then beholds an ephah with a leaden cover. As it is lifted up a woman appears; the representative of wickedness. When she is put down into the midst of the ephah, and the cover closed over its mouth, the whole is transported to the land of Shinar, where it is set up. Thus the sacred land is freed from wickedness and the curse (v. 5-11). In the next vision four chariots come out from between two iron mountains, signifying the four winds of heaven which go forth from the presence of the Lord, taking different directions. That in the north waits impatiently for an outbreak. Chaldea is the north country, whence the Israelites should take courage (vi. 1-8). A symbolical translation follows by way of appendix to the preceding vision. Some of the returned Jews bring presents of gold and silver into the house of Josiah; and the prophet is commissioned to take of them and make crowns to be put on the heads of Joshua the high priest and of Zerubbabel as a sign that Messiah would come and build the temple. Zerubbabel was to be a priest upon his throne, and peace would exist between him and Joshua. The crowns were to be deposited for a memorial in the temple, into which distant peoples would come (vi. 9-15).

The seventh and eighth chapters speak of an inquiry on the part of some whether they should still observe the fasts instituted on account of Jerusalem's destruction. In reply the prophet was commanded to enforce the necessity of judgment and mercy, lest the punishment that had fallen upon their fathers should overtake them. God promised in his favour to restore Jerusalem, encouraged the people to build, and permitted them to discontinue the observance of the fasts they had kept during the captivity, good works being substituted instead (vii., viii.).

Part II. (ix.-xiv.) is sub-divided into ix., x., xi., xiii. 7-9, xii. 1-xiii. 6, xiv.

A heavy judgment from the north falls upon all the heathen kingdoms from Damascus southward, punishing and destroying them according to their deserts; but Zion is wonderfully preserved (ix. 1-8). Messiah and his salvation go forth from Zion, which is called upon to rejoice, because great things are to be wrought by and for his people (ix. 9-17). The holy land yields again rich abundance; and the people may assuredly rely upon this prophecy, for it is only the teraphim and false prophets that speak lies. Punishment must therefore fall upon them. The Lord will then return to his people, and bring them back from the places where they are dispersed. Once more shall Ephraim

possess Gilead and Lebanon; but Assyria and Egypt will be humbled (x.). The prophet abruptly announces a sudden invasion from the north, and tells how he is commissioned by God to feed his flock exposed to destruction because of their internal disunion. Accordingly Zechariah undertakes the commission, and makes for himself two staves, calling the one *Beauty*, the other *Bands;* but soon perceives that he could feed the flock no longer. Hence he breaks his first staff, and asks for his wages, which he cast into the treasury. Afterwards he breaks his second staff, signifying that all brotherly connection between Judah and Israel was at an end. The flock is therefore exposed again to a bad shepherd, and spoiled (xi.). But the divine sword of vengeance is summoned to execute wrath upon the wicked ruler, and the flock itself, a few of which only would be saved. The purified remnant will return to the service of Jehovah (xiii. 7-9). Jerusalem and Judah are threatened with enemies, of whom they shall be sorely afraid; yet in their extremity Jehovah interposes on their behalf; their enemies perish; all the citizens become heroes, and turn repentant to the Lord, on which account they are purged from their sins. So deep does their hatred to everything that Jehovah hates become, that none will now become a prophet, for fear of being considered a false one (xii.-xiii. 6). The fourteenth chapter is Messianic and ideal. Jehovah will appear on the mount of Olives and rule over all the earth; while the nations formerly hostile to Jerusalem shall become worshippers of the true God, and make yearly pilgrimages to Jerusalem, to keep the feast of tabernacles (xiv.).

III. INTEGRITY.—The authenticity of ix.-xiv. has been a subject of dispute among critics. Mede, Whiston, Kidder, Hammond, Secker, and Newcome ascribed the portion to Jeremiah, either wholly or in part. Against the Zechariah-authorship are Doederlein, Flügge, Michaelis, Corrodi, Bertholdt, Eichhorn, Bauer, Forberg, Rosenmüller, Maurer, Knobel, Ewald, Hitzig, Meier, Bleek, Paulus, Gramberg, Credner, Ortenberg, Pye Smith. In favour of it are Carpzov, Jahn, Beckhaus, Koester, Hengstenberg, Burger, Herbst, Hävernick, Blayney, Keil, De Wette, and Stähelin.

The grounds on which we deny the authenticity are these:—

1. The historical stand-point is different from that of Zech. i.-viii. Damascus, Tyre and Sidon, Philistia, Javan (ix. 1-6, 13), Assyria, and Egypt (x. 10), are the enemies of Judah. Would any Hebrew prophet in Zechariah's time denounce cities which were then subject to Persia equally with the Hebrews themselves? Was Assyria then in its glory, and the throne of Egypt powerful? The two kingdoms of Judah

and Israel still exist. "And I will cut off the chariot from Ephraim, and the horse from Jerusalem, and the battle bow shall be cut off; and he shall speak peace unto the heathen: and his dominion shall be from sea even to sea, and from the river even to the ends of the earth" (ix. 10). Comp. also ix. 13; x. 6, 7; xi. 14. The house of David is spoken of (xiii. 1). Idols and false prophets (x. 2, etc.; xiii. 2, etc.) harmonise only with a time prior to the exile. How could it be said that they were to be exterminated from among the people after the return from the Babylonian captivity, when they did not exist at the time? These historical circumstances, out of which the prophecies arose, do not consist with a post-exile period. In the hands of Hengstenberg and Hävernick they are intractable, because they refuse to be accommodated to Zechariah's age. Hävernick assumes that the former hostile relation of the neighbouring states to the theocracy is viewed as still continuing. It is typical, representing the enemies of the divine kingdom. This is also assumed of Assyria and Egypt. The later relations of Egypt towards the theocracy are not in the prophet's eye, but the old ones of the Mosaic time. All the hostile powers are types of the foes opposed to the kingdom of God.[1] How adverse this method of interpretation is to the plain tenour of the words in ix. 1-6, x. 10, 11, we need not point out.

Equally ineffective is the method taken by Hävernick to neutralise the evidence derived from mention of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel existing apart. Thus we read in xi. 14, "Then I cut asunder mine other staff, even Bands, that I might break the brotherhood between Judah and Israel." Surely this language implies that both kingdoms existed as parts of the covenant-nation. Hävernick adduces Ezek. xxxvii. 15, etc., Mal. ii. 11, Zech. ii. 2, viii. 13, as analogous examples in which the two are still spoken of separately as Judah and Ephraim.[2] But the respective contexts imply a difference.

The mention of a king or kingdom in xi. 6, xiii. 7, does not suit the age of Zechariah. It is true, as Hävernick affirms, that there is no mention of the Davidic family being still in actual possession of the throne. To say that the places are Messianic is irrelevant. xi. 6 occurs in a prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem, describing the wickedness of the inhabitants. xi. 1, etc., is referred by some to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus; but we agree with Mede in saying, "Methinks such a prophecy was nothing seasonable for Zachary's time (when the city yet for a great part lay in her ruins, and the temple had not yet recovered hers), nor agreeable to the scope of Zachary's

[1] Einleitung, II. 2, p. 417. [2] Ibid., p. 418.

commission, who, together with his colleague Haggai, was sent to encourage the people lately returned from captivity to rebuild their temple and to instaurate their commonwealth. Was this a fit time to foretell the destruction of both, while they were yet but a building? And by Zachary, too, who was to encourage them? Would this not better befit the desolation by Nebuchadnezzar?"[1] Certainly it would. Blayney's reply is ineffective,[2] because it rests on arbitrary assumptions, such as, that Darius reigned thirty-six years; that the three prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, did not die before the last year of that king's reign; and that Zechariah prophesied again toward the close of his life, publishing at this period what would not have entirely accorded with the purport of his first commission.

To neutralise the allusions to idolatry and false prophets, Hävernick asserts that Zechariah speaks of the former only incidentally, without laying any emphasis on it as the earlier prophets do; and that the allusion to teraphim in x. 2 is to a finer form of idolatry or rather of superstition. To shew that the people had still an inclination for it, he quotes the efforts of Ezra and Nehemiah against intermarriage with foreign women (Ezra ix. 2, etc., x. 3; Neh. xiii. 23), which is far-fetched.[3] Nor does Neh. vi. 10-14 justify the assumption of false-prophetism existing to the extent presupposed in various passages of this portion of the book of Zechariah.

2. The difference of style and manner justifies the idea of different authorship. ix.-xiv. are much more poetical and rhythmical than i.-viii. The style is lively, concise, powerful, fervid; while that of the first part is weak, feeble, prosaic, hardly reaching to rhythm. For example:—

Open thy doors, O Lebanon,
That the fire may devour thy cedars;
Howl fir-tree for the cedar is fallen, because the mighty are spoiled;
Howl, O ye oaks of Bashan, for the forest of the vintage is come down;
A voice of the howling of the shepherds, for their glory is spoiled,
A voice of the roaring of young lions, for the pride of Jordan is spoiled.—(xi. 1-3).

Compared with,

Thus saith the Lord of hosts, The fast of the fourth, and the fast of the fifth, and the fast of the seventh, and the fast of the tenth, shall be to the house of Judah joy and gladness and cheerful feasts;
Therefore love the truth and peace.
Thus saith the Lord of hosts, It shall yet come to pass that there shall come people, and the inhabitants of many cities,
And the inhabitants of one city shall go to another, saying, Let us go speedily to pray before the Lord, and to seek the Lord of hosts: I will go also.—(viii. 19-21).

[1] Works, p. 834, Epistle LXI.
[2] Zechariah, a new translation, with notes; note on chap. ix., p. 36; ed. 1797.
[3] II. 2, p. 418.

The diction in ix.-xiv. is antique and pure compared with that of i.-viii. Here Hengstenberg and Hävernick labour in vain to account for the diversity. They say that the one part contains visions, admonitory discourses addressed to contemporaries, and views of the future; while the other exhibits prophetic pictures of the future.[1] Surely visions and views of the future demand an elevated and imaginative style. It is also alleged that the one was written in youth, the other at an advanced period of life. In youth we expect more poetic fire.[2] It is easy to perceive that the difference of age is an arbitrary assumption. Diversity of subject and of the writer's age are insufficient to explain the difference of manner, style, and diction.

3. The prophetic introductory formulas of the first part, *the word of the Lord came*, and *thus saith the Lord of hosts*, i. 1, 7; iv. 8; vi. 9; vii. 1, 4, 8; viii. 1, 18; i. 4, 16, 17; ii. 12; viii. 2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 14, 18, 20, 23, are wanting in the second part; and others substituted in which Zechariah is not named, ix. 1, xi. 4, xii. 1. Repeatedly in the first part does Zechariah specify the time at which the word of the Lord came to him (i. 1, 7; vii. 1), giving his own name (vii. 1) and names of his contemporaries (iii. 1, iv. 6, vi. 10, vii. 2); but the writer of the second part never does so. The expression אֲדוֹן כָּל־הָאָרֶץ iv. 14, and vi. 5, does not occur in the second part; nor the peculiar use of עוֹד presented in i. 17, viii. 4, viii. 20; nor אֲשֶׁר as employed in vii. 7, viii. 17. In the first part the enemies of the theocracy are never designated הָעַמִּים סְבִיב *the peoples round about*, as in xii. 2, 6; the ruling dynasty is not called *the house of David*, בֵּית דָּוִיד xii. 7, 8, 10, 12; xiii. 1; nor are princes termed *shepherds*, x. 2, 3; xi. 8, 16; xiii. 7 and the people *the flock*, ix. 16, x. 2, xi. 4, 7, 11, 17; xiii. 7.

4. In the first part everything is shrouded in visions which are not easily understood. The second part is not symbolic. The eleventh chapter contains an allegory, not a symbolical transaction. In the second part there is no enigma that needs explanation; no angel to act as interpreter.

5. The picture of the Messianic or golden age of prophetic hope is different in the second part from the first. In the former that age is preceded by a judicial process punishing and purifying the covenant-people (xiii. 9, etc.; xiv. 2, etc.), whereas in the latter the end of all affliction is supposed to be contemporaneous with the end of the exile (i. 12, 13). In the one Messiah is called *the branch* (iii. 8, vi. 12), in the other never. In the one, many peoples and nations come up to Jerusalem to

[1] Hengstenberg, Die integrität des Sacharjah, p. 384.
[2] Hävernick, II. 2, p. 414.

build the temple (ii. 11, vi. 15) and seek Jehovah, of their own accord joining themselves to the people whom He protects (viii. 22, etc.); in the other, all the families of the earth come to keep the feast of tabernacles and to escape punishment (xiv. 17, etc.).

For the reasons now adduced we believe that chaps. ix.-xiv. were written earlier than i.-viii., and not by Zechariah.

In forming this conclusion we attach no importance to the quotation of Matt. xxvii. 9 from Zech. xi., purporting to be Jeremiah's. Yet this consideration weighed much with some, and led them to assign chaps. ix., x., xi., to Jeremiah as their author. Hengstenberg thinks that the words of Matthew are but a repetition of the oracle in Jer. xviii. and xix., which was to be fulfilled in the extinction and abandonment of the Jewish people. To say that these two chapters form the ground of both Zech. xi. and the quotation is an ingenious subterfuge. Yet it is adopted by Dr. John Lee,[1] who calls Jeremiah the *auctor primarius* of the prediction, and erroneously asserts that the reference in *such cases* to a single prophet is not unusual. Where is there *such* a case? Nowhere. Matt. xxi. 4, 5, from Is. lxii. 11, and Zech. ix. 9, introduced by "spoken by *the prophet*," is different. The words in the one prophet do not belong to the other as their *auctor primarius*. The quotation in question is from one prophet, Zechariah, to which three words are prefixed from Isaiah. We are not justified in supposing that the name Jeremiah in Matthew's text is an error which has crept into most MSS. Textual criticism must abide by the name as it is, and explain it as it best may. Fritzsche has given the probable origin of it in Matthew's gospel, "per memoriæ errorem."

The opponents of scientific exposition attribute as usual a bad motive to such as assign the later date to this portion of Zechariah, alleging that the notion is founded upon the rationalistic principle that the prophets could not announce *distant* events but only those which were passing before their eyes. The falsehood of the assertion becomes evident when we mention that Dr. Pye Smith held the opinion. He at least was no rationalist.

Positive arguments adduced by the defenders of the authenticity are usually the following:—

1. The position which the section occupies, and its connection with the authentic writings of Zechariah. How came the collectors of the canon to put these chapters in their present place, if they were spurious? Were not the writings of Zechariah fresh in men's minds at the time? and how could they ascribe to one who had just departed the utterances of seers who lived centuries before?

[1] The Inspiration of Holy Scripture, p. 309, note, New York edition.

In answer to this we may state, that it was not unusual to put together under one name the prophecies of different writers, as we see from the case of Isaiah and the Deutero-Isaiah. The times were uncritical. But if Nehemiah were the collector of the prophetical books, as is probable, how could he, living contemporaneously with the post-exile Zechariah, append another prophet's oracles to the authentic ones of Zechariah? What ground could lead to such a proceeding? It is difficult to find an internal one. Chaps. ix.-xiv. do not resemble i.-viii. Flügge[1] and Dillmann[2] suppose that ix.-xiv. reached the redactor anonymously, who appended it to the last prophet, in his collection, Zechariah, into which Malachi had not then got. But why had not Malachi got into it? or rather, why was this last book, necessary as it was to complete the collection consisting of twelve prophets, excluded from the compilation? To this question no answer can be given. The fact that ix. 1, etc., is not prefaced by the name of the prophet, as is i. 1, etc., made it easier for the collector of the minor prophets to append the former to the latter. But he must have had a traditional reason. Though the name of the writer is not prefixed to ix.-xiv., it was orally current as Zechariah the son of Berechiah (Is. vii. 2, 16). The time in which he lived agrees well with the hypothesis of his partial or entire authorship of the portion.[3]

2. Hävernick argues that the language and style lead to the conclusion that the portion in question proceeded from a post-exile period, both as considered in itself and as compared with the first part. The language has a kind of purity acquired in the artificial way of learning, as in the first part. Though the author strives as much as possible to reach this purity, he betrays himself by some later forms and expressions. To this head belongs the *scriptio plena* in דָּוִיד constantly observed (xii. 7, 8, 10, 12; xiii. 1). אַלּוּף is used in the wide sense of Israelitish princes, but in early books only of the Edomite ones (ix. 7; xii. 5, 6). The noun מַשָּׂא (xii. 1) stands for prophecy generally; whereas in older speech it is appropriated to *threatening* prophecies. בָּחַל is an Aramæan word (xi. 8). The phrase מִלְּאָ קֶשֶׁת (ix. 13) is a younger one instead of the more ancient דָּרַךְ קֶשֶׁת.

This reasoning appears to us invalid. It is possible that the archaic diction of those who wrote ix.-xiv. may have arisen, on the supposition of their identity with Zechariah, from imitating

[1] Die Weissagungen welche bei den Schriften des Propheten Zacharias beygebogen sind uebersetzt und kritisch erläutert, p. 72.
[2] In the Jahrbb. für deutsche Theologie, III. 3, p. 450.
[3] See Ortenberg's Die Bestandtheile des Buches Sacharja, p. 16, et seqq.

the pure language of older writers, by a process of laborious learning; but if that be so, why is it so much more perceptible in the one part than the other? Is it because longer time in acquisition had elapsed? Surely not. אַלּוּף is used in Jeremiah (xiii. 21) of leaders or chiefs in relation to the Jews. מַשָּׂא in ix. 1, means a threatening prophecy; and the inscription in xii. 1, where the word also occurs, was taken from ix. 1 by a later than Zechariah himself, the editor of the twelve minor prophets. בָּחַל is not an Aramæan word specifically, but a form of בָּעַל; and the phrase מְלֹא קֶשֶׁת is elliptical for מְלֹא לְדֹרֵךְ קֶשֶׁת. The form דָּוִיד occurs in Hosea, Amos, and Canticles; it is therefore not a character of the later language, but depended much on the caprice of transcribers.

3. Historical references, as is alleged, attest the authenticity. Thus the exile is presupposed as past, ix. 12; x. 6, 10. The mention of Javan as the representative of the anti-theocratic worldly powers rests on the prophecies of Daniel (viii. 5, etc., 21, etc.) respecting the relation of the Greek-Macedonian monarchy to the theocracy. In xii. 11 the death of Josiah is supposed to be past. The prominence given to priests and Levites (xii. 12, 13), and to the feast of tabernacles (xiv. 16, compared with Ezra iii. 4; Neh. viii. 17), with the development of the Messianic idea points to the same conclusion.

Here is misinterpretation. The exile is not thought of as past in ix. 12, x. 6, 10; but that of Ephraim is viewed as future. Javan has no connection with the book of Daniel. Neither does xii. 11 refer to Josiah's death. The Levitical tone resolves itself into the theocratic Hebrew one.

4. The section before us bears the same relation to earlier prophecies as the first part of the book; and it is a peculiarity of the post-exile, to lean upon older, oracles. The author of ix.-xiv. was acquainted with Joel, Amos, and Micah. Thus the ninth chapter at the commencement is moulded after Amos. The tenth also shews acquaintance with the same prophet. Comp. also ix. 8 with Joel iv. 17; ix. 13 with Joel iv. 6; xii. 2 with Joel iv. 11, etc.; xii. 10 with Amos viii. 10; xiii. 5 with Amos vii. 14. These reminiscences of the older prophets are legitimate and proper. They do not, however, militate against a pre-exile authorship. But when it is farther alleged that the writer of ix.-xiv. shews acquaintance with very late prophets, with Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Deutero-Isaiah, the alleged fact requires proof. Stähelin, after Hengstenberg, Hävernick, Keil, Gramberg, and De Wette, adduces the following places: ix. 2 from Ezek. xxviii. 3; ix. 5 from Zeph. ii. 4, etc.; x. 3 from

Ezek. xxxiv. 17; xiii. 8, 9, from Ezek. v.; xiv. 8 from Ezek. xlvii. 1-12; xi. from Ezek. xxxiv.; xi. 3 from Jer. xii. 5; xiv. 10 from Jer. xxxi. 38; xii. 6 from Obad. 18; ix. 12 from Is. lxi. 7; xii. 1 from Is. li. 13; xiv. 16-19 from Is. lxvi. 23.[1]

Most of these reminiscences or borrowings prove doubtful when examined. The only places in which mutual dependence exists is Zech. xi. 1-3 compared with Jer. xxv. 34-36, and xii. 5. The former constitutes the original that floated before the mind of Jeremiah. With regard to Zech. xii. 1 and Is. li. 13, the latter is derived from the former. Zech. xiv. 16 is the original of Is. lxvi. 23. Stähelin lays peculiar stress on Zech. ix. 12, which he affirms to rest upon Jer. xvi. 18, and to harmonise almost verbally with Is. lxi. 7; but the last passage, with some others in the Deutero-Isaiah, are derived from Zechariah. The more the alleged dependence of Zechariah on Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Deutero-Isaiah is examined, the clearer will it appear that he is not their imitator in any respect. Nor can they be properly called *imitators* of him. Because a very few places shew mutual dependence, *imitation* ought not to be predicated of the prophets in question.[2]

5. Coincidences in both divisions favourable to the same authorship and time are מֵעֲבֵר וּמְשֹׁב vii. 14, ix. 8; הֶעֱבִיר in the sense of *remove*, iii. 4; xiii. 2; the symbolical designation of divine providence by *eyes of God*, iii. 9, iv. 10, ix. 1, 8; the peculiarity of paraphrasing the whole by its parts, v. 4, xiii. 1, 3; the designation of the theocracy by *house of Judah* and *Israel* or *Ephraim* or *Joseph*, i. 12, ii. 2, 16, viii. 15, ix. 13, x. 6, xi. 14. Besides, the parallels ii. 14, ix. 9; the similar turn in ii. 13, 15 to xi. 11; the same manner in viii. 14 and xiv. 5. The Chaldaisms צָבָא for צְבָה ix. 8, רָאמָה for רָמָה xiv. 10.

Such are the coincidences or similarities of the two parts of Zechariah pointed out by Hävernick. We may remark generally, in relation to them, that the second part bears as little resemblance in characteristics to the first as to any other prophet. We might shew that it has more likenesses to Joel or Amos than to the first part. The argument is weak and worthless.

The two words עָבַר and שׁוּב occur together in Ex. xxxii. 27 and Ezek. xxxv. 7. Their sense is different in vii. 14 and ix. 8. הֶעֱבִיר is differently used in xiii. 2 and iii. 4. In the former place it is applied to the putting away of idols and false prophets; in the latter, to the remission of sin, metaphorically. Other writers use the verb in the same manner. In ix. 8 צָבָא

[1] Specielle Einleitung, p. 323.

[2] See Ortenberg, p. 26, et seqq.

should be מִצְבָּה; comp. Is. xxix. 3, 7; Ps. xxxiv. 8; cxxv. 2; Ezek. xiii. 5. In xiv. 10 רְאֵמָה should be pointed רֵאמָה.

It is generally admitted that there is a palpable difference between the two divisions in matter, form, style, and diction. This diversity cannot be explained away, or accounted for on any other principle than one excluding single authorship. Diversity of subject, scope, age, may explain *some* peculiarities of manner and style, but will not solve every phenomenon. The defenders of the authenticity, of whom the ablest are Hengstenberg and Hävernick, have not succeeded in overthrowing all the objections of opponents, though they have strained every nerve for that purpose. A perceptible difference between the two parts will remain, after every reasonable deduction has been made.

IV. AUTHORSHIP OF IX.-XIV.—The portion may be divided into two, viz., ix.-xi. and xii.-xiv.

The former is subdivided into ix., x., xi., xiii. 7-9; the latter into xii. 1-xiii. 6, and xiv. ix. and x. cannot be divided between two writers, though Bleek[1] ventures to put the composition of the latter later than that of the former. Internal evidence shews that both kingdoms, Judah and Israel, still existed. Thus we read in ix. 10: "And I will cut off the chariot from Ephraim, and the horse from Jerusalem, and the battle-bow shall be cut off; and he shall speak peace unto the heathen: and his dominion shall be from sea even to sea, and from the river even to the ends of the earth." Compare also ix. 13. At first sight the words in x. 6, 9, 10, might seem to imply that the kingdom of Israel had been dissolved, because they speak of "bringing the Israelites again and placing them," but it is evident that though they had suffered, and many had been carried away captive, Shalmaneser had not yet destroyed the kingdom. Gilead and Lebanon had suffered, not the whole territory. The Assyrians had taken possession of *the east* and *north* of Israel, whose inhabitants had been taken away. This was in the time of Ahaz of Judah, who purchased the help of the Assyrians against the confederate Syrians and Israelites, and in the reign of Pekah of Israel. The Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser had put an end to the Damascene-Syrian power. The enemies of the covenant-people mentioned by name are Damascus, Hamath, Tyre and Sidon, the Philistines, Assyria, Egypt. This agrees with the time of Isaiah generally, when Assyria and Egypt were independent and powerful states, as is implied in x. 11; when Hamath still stood as it did till the Assyrians subdued it under Hezekiah; and Gaza had a king (ix. 5). Javan (the

[1] Einleitung, p. 557.

Ionians) is also addressed as a power which had kept and unjustly detained in captivity Jewish exiles. We learn from Joel iv. 6, 7, that the Phenicians had sold Jewish captives to the Greeks as slaves, on which account the prophet threatens them with punishment. Thus the time of ix., x., was either that of Joel or later. Pekah was king of Israel. Bleek is right in thinking that ix. was written somewhat earlier than x., because in the former Damascus was still untouched by the curse (ix. 1); whereas the latter looks upon the kingdom of which it was the capital as destroyed by the Assyrians. Hence ix. may be dated in the reign of Uzziah or Jotham; but x. in that of Ahaz. Both are entirely unsuited to the Persian period, where Hengstenberg and his disciples put them.

Chap. xi. 1-17. Several critics, Rosenmüller, Flügge, De Wette, Knobel, and Bleek, make xi. 1-3 an oracle by itself; while Hofmann[1] connects it with the preceding chapter. It belongs, however, to what follows, and is introductory to it. The fall of the principal men and the desolation of the land of Israel is depicted in the verses. The trees lament the ruin; shepherds and lions mourn because their fair land is laid waste. The language is metaphorical; not literal as Bleek supposes. At the time of its utterance the northern kingdom was nearly threatened by the Assyrians. Indeed the northern and eastern parts had been already swept by the foe, and many of their inhabitants taken captive. The prophet sees destruction impending over the whole kingdom, and no means of salvation.

We have already observed that xi. 14 implies the existence of both Judah and Israel. The eighth verse refers to the fact of three bad shepherds or rulers being cut off in a month, alluding most probably to Zachariah son of Jeroboam II., his murderer Shallum who reigned but a month, and a third unknown usurper whose downfall speedily took place, but whom the history in 2 Kings xv. 10-13 passes over. The times described were full of anarchy and violence, such as we know to have existed after the death of Jeroboam II. when Pekah was king of Israel. Bad princes reigned over the land, as xi. 5 shews. The date may be about 720 B.C.[2] The three chapters ix.-xi. belong to the same period. The writer of them belonged to Judah, as his mode of thought and his Messianic hopes and images, so like those of Isaiah, evince. The expressions in ix. 7, "he shall be as a governor in Judah, and Ekron as a Jebusite" agree with this view. But his attention was directed to the northern kingdom rather than his own, because it was then in a critical state. Hostile though it was to Judah, the prophet looked upon

[1] Weissagung und Erfüllung, Theil i., p. 316. [2] Ortenberg, pp. 68-77.

it with tender solicitude, and feared for its fate. The rulers were evil men, and the flock, *a flock of slaughter*, as he calls it. Thus the three chapters describe a state of things in Israel which was fast tending to total destruction. The prophet, as Jehovah's vicegerent, takes two symbolical staves *favour* and *unity*, representing the two divine qualities which alone formed the constituents of right sovereignty and could therefore restore a sunken kingdom. But the effort to purify and reform rulers and people was in vain. One staff after the other must be broken. When the first was cut asunder, it was intimated that the divine favour was forfeited and a way into the holy land opened to heathen enemies; when the second was broken, that the two kingdoms were effectually severed, and the covenant between them and Jehovah dissolved.

Chaps. xii.-xiv. appear to belong to a different time and author. Instead of the northern kingdom being the subject, all is concentrated on Judah and Jerusalem. We might therefore infer that the northern kingdom had been destroyed. Internal evidence shews that such was the case. All the people round about compass and besiege Jerusalem but will be destroyed by Jehovah. It is true that *Israel* occurs in the inscription xii. 1, but it can only mean all that remained of the chosen race, or the kingdom of Judah.

In xii. 11 the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddon is spoken of. Hence the death of Josiah was past. In xiv. 5 the terror caused by the earthquake in the days of Uzziah is referred to in such a way as to shew that the death of that king was long past. But the kingdom of Judah was not yet extinct. This appears from xiii. 7 where Jehovah's *shepherd* means a king reigning over the people. In xii. 10, xiii. 1 "the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem" imply the same thing. How long before the destruction of Jerusalem the present prophet wrote, cannot be determined with certainty. He does not mention the Chaldeans as a threatening foe, but represents the metropolis in imminent danger, the neighbouring peoples being ready to compass her round about. Yet the prophet is confident of deliverance. He had not the same views of the future as Jeremiah, of whom he was probably an earlier contemporary. Perhaps he belonged to the reign of Jehoiakim; not later else his hopes would not have been so bright. Four particulars are clear, viz., that the kingdom of Israel had been destroyed some time previously; that Judah and Jerusalem still existed; that Josiah was dead; and that gathering danger from various peoples menaced the city with destruction. But the prophet has a cheering message to deliver; Jehovah will save his people and city. The time of Jehoiakim agrees well with

xiii. 2-6, which depicts a state of things like that known from Jeremiah's book. Idolatry, soothsayers, false prophets, had to be reproved and resisted, which Jeremiah courageously did. The prophecy may be dated about 600 B.C.[1]

The manner of writing in xii.-xiv. is plainer and more diffuse than in ix.-xi. It is softer and more equable. We cannot with Eichhorn and Rosenmüller attribute all ix.-xiv. to one author, even though a considerable interval of time be assumed between ix.-xi. and xii.-xiv. At xii. 1 there is a new inscription and the three chapters refer to Judah alone. The acute Hitzig once adduced a number of particulars favourable to identity of authorship; but afterwards abandoned them. A close examination of both divisions reveals different times and a different condition of Judea. Bunsen conjectures that the author of xii.-xiv. was Urijah, the son of Shemaiah, mentioned in Jer. xxvi. 20.[2]

We separate xiii. 7-9 from its present place and annex it to the eleventh chapter.[3] The reasons for this are apparent. Hitzig has failed to see its connection with the preceding context; and Bleek, who holds by its present position, has not shewn its propriety in the context. The last three verses of the eleventh chapter describe a foolish, careless, oppressive and idol-shepherd, terminating with a woe to him because a sword is at his right side, with which he murders the sheep instead of tending them with the shepherd's staff. Immediately after, the divine voice exclaims, "Awake, O sword, against the man, my fellow," etc. (xiii. 7). Thus the connection is natural and obvious. Bleek regards the killing of the wicked shepherd with the divine sword as a part of the chastening and purifying process through which Jehovah should bring His people before visiting their enemies with destruction.[4]

To account for the putting together of the last part of Zechariah, or rather of chaps. ix.-xi. with chaps. i.-viii. Bertholdt[5] conjectured that the writer of ix.-xi. was the Zechariah mentioned by Isaiah (viii. 2) who was the son of Jeberechiah and lived under Ahaz, 741 B.C. Berechiah, who is called the father of Zechariah the prophet (i. 1, 7), is the same name with Jeberechiah. As therefore the names of both were alike, and the names of their fathers too, a later person uncritically put the two prophecies together and gave the whole one title. But there is a difficulty in the circumstance that the post-exile Zechariah is called the son of Iddo in Ezra v. 1 and vi. 14. In Zech. i. 1 Iddo seems to have been his grandfather. Perhaps he was the son, not the grandson of Iddo, and was so designated in

[1] Ortenberg, pp. 78-87. [2] Gott in der Geschichte, vol. i., p. 451.
[3] See Ewald's Die Propheten, vol. i., p. 308.
[4] Einleitung, p. 562. [5] Einleitung, iv., 1722, 1723.

the original title (Zech. i. 1). *Son of Berechiah* was taken from the title of prophecies belonging to the Zechariah of Ahaz's time and added by the collector to the true inscription of the post-exile Zechariah's prophecies. This removes the historical difficulty that in Ezra Zechariah is called *son of* Iddo; while in Zechariah's own book he is the grandson of Iddo. Ewald[1] objects to this conjecture of Bertholdt's, approved as it is by Gesenius, Knobel, Bunsen and others. He thinks that the Zechariah of Ahaz's time was not a prophet, because Isaiah wanted for witnesses persons who were not prophets. How is this ascertained? Was not Zechariah one of *the disciples* of Jehovah (Is. viii. 16)? Did the fact of his being a prophet disqualify him from being a faithful witness? Surely not.

V. DESCRIPTION OF MESSIAH AND HIS TIME.—The prophets announce to Zion a king righteous and victorious, but lowly and riding on an ass. They declare that out of Ephraim and Judah, then at war, Jehovah would destroy chariot, horse, and bow: while the king spoken of would teach peace to the peoples, and reign as far as the ends of the earth. Under him, all captive or oppressed sons of Israel should return home (ix., x.). All nations are represented (xii., xiii.), as compassing Jerusalem round about for battle, and then defeated by the princes of Judah. The weakest one in Israel becomes a hero like David, and the house of David goes forth as an angel before them, all animated by a spirit of gracious compassion, bitterly lamenting the man of God whom they had put to death in their former blindness. Idols, false prophets, and uncleanness disappear from the land. Two-thirds of the inhabitants perish, but the third is purified as silver and gold. In the fourteenth chapter, the writer returns to the warlike gathering of the nations against Jerusalem. When the city is already taken and half the population carried away captive, God appears with his angels on the mount of Olives which divides asunder, and separating from north to south makes a great valley whither many inhabitants flee for refuge. On that day there is to be no sunshine alternating with cold and ice, but a day such as God alone knows—not day and not night, yet clear towards evening. Living water issues from Jerusalem, half into the eastern, half into the western sea, and never dries up. Jehovah is then king over all the earth; and the whole land of Judea becomes a plain, the city rising up out of it, increasing, and dwelling secure. The hostile peoples who had come up against it fall by each others' hands, leaving rich booty. The remnant of the nations visit the city on a yearly pilgrimage to worship the Lord of hosts; but those remaining at home are visited with drought and pestilence.

[1] Jahrbuch x., pp. 192, 193.

It is plain from the preceding sketch that the Messianic element prevails in the second part. The writers leave the historical present to soar into the ideal future. They describe little else than the Messianic age in theocratic images and diction. Their language has no historical fulfilment in the Jewish dispensation. Nor was it meant to refer to the time of the gospel. It takes its rise in the dispensation to which they belonged, and floats away into distant but imaginary scenes. It must not be supposed, therefore, that a state of things which was to be literally fulfilled either under the Jewish or Christian economy, is predicted. The prophets do not put ideas descriptive of Christian times in a theocratic dress. They give a picture of the Messianic Jewish future drawn from imagination. Hence it has a misty indistinctness corresponding to the vague images floating in their mind. The chapters do not allude to past events connected with Judea and Jerusalem; neither were they designed to depict literal events yet to happen in the history of the holy land. They do not paint what is wholly past or wholly future; neither do they set forth what is partly the one and partly the other. The sense intended by the writers is made up both of the literal and figurative. These elements are not easily separated by the expositor. Why? Because the prophets themselves had no distinct perception of them. They did not keep them apart in their own minds. The lineaments are drawn with conscious vagueness. Hence it is useless to attempt fixing the limits of what the prophets wrote without any view of such analysis. What proceeded from the authors consciously in that form, should be left in its obscure generality.

We have put together, for the sake of brevity, in one Messianic description chapters ix.-xiv. But the two authors are separable and separate in their conceptions of the golden age. The circle of their ideas respecting it is distinct. The one writer speaks of an individual Messiah, who brings peace to the peoples and rules from sea to sea, from the river to the ends of the earth (ix. 9, etc.); the other speaks of Jehovah who is king over all the earth. The one speaks of a return of the dispersed ones among the covenant-people (ix. 12, x. 10); the other has no regard to those carried away from their own land (xiv. 2). In the one author, a part of the people are cut off while the other part are purified (xiii. 8, 9); in the other writer, one portion goes into captivity and the other is not cut off from the city (xiv. 2). In the one, the enemies of the theocracy are combated by the chosen people (ix. 13); but in the other they are annihilated by Jehovah Himself without the instrumentality of His people (xiv. 3). In the one, the Lord is seen over them (ix. 14); in the other, He comes down on the mount of Olives and fights

among His people against the heathen. In the one, the horse is cut off from Jerusalem (ix. 10); but in the other, the horse is adorned with bells bearing the inscription of *holiness to the Lord* (xiv. 20). Thus each of the two prophetic authors has his own circle of ideas.[1]

Towards the close of the exile, the hopes of the pious were highly raised when they heard of Cyrus. As their deliverance approached, their expectations increased in proportion. A glorious future spread itself out before their imagination in their fatherland awaiting their return. How grievously they were disappointed we can well suppose. But a fresh impulse was given to their patriotic aspirations when a descendant of David appeared at the head of the colony, in the person of Zerubbabel. This fact gave a colouring to the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah. The former believed that a wonderful revolution was at hand—that which was to usher in the Messianic age (ii. 6, 7, 21-23). Zechariah expects a judgment of the nations, as is shewn by the destruction of the four horns, and by the four chariots. After this judicial and punitive process every kind of blessing is to be imparted to Israel (viii. 20-23). But before it should happen, Jehovah would bring forth his servant *the branch*, who should grow up, build the temple, receive glory, ascend his throne, and would stand before the Lord of the whole earth along with the high priest Joshua (iii. 8, iv. 9, vi. 12, 13). The meaning of *Branch* is illustrated by the question, Who despises the day of small beginnings (iv. 10)? It is probable that Zechariah thought of Zerubbabel as the Messiah about to inaugurate the glorious period of prophetic anticipations. He applies the epithet *the Branch* to him—a Messianic epithet taken from former prophets; and uses such language as harmonises with the belief of his being the promised one: "And speak unto him, saying, Thus speaketh the Lord of hosts, saying, Behold the man whose name is The Branch; and he shall grow up out of his place, and he shall build the temple of the Lord; even he shall build the temple of the Lord; and he shall bear the glory, and shall sit and rule upon his throne; and he shall be a priest upon his throne: and the counsel of peace shall be between them both" (vi. 12, 13). But the full-blown hopes thus fixed upon Zerubbabel were unfulfilled. He died, and a descendant of David did not succeed to his office. Hence Malachi, in delineating the future, does not even venture to mention one of David's descendants.

VI. MODE OF WRITING, STYLE, AND DICTION.—The visions, symbols, and discourses of the first part are usually in prose.

[1] See Ortenberg, p. 62.

A foreign air and colouring belong to them which may be explained by the effect of Babylonian cultivation and manners on the exiles. The prophet grew up, thought, and acted amid the general influences which Babylon had upon his countrymen.

The visions he employs are artificially disposed, and definite in their outlines. Much obscurity attaches to them. The language is figurative, and not plain. Had the prophet possessed a higher power of inspiration, their meaning would not have been so dark and enigmatical. Jerome rightly states that Zechariah is the most obscure among the twelve minor prophets. "We pass," says he, "from the obscure to the more obscure, and enter with Moses into the cloud and darkness. Deep calls to deep in the voice of God's cataracts; and the spirit proceeds on wheels, returning to his circles," etc.[1] Similar sentiments uttered by Jewish Rabbis may be seen in Carpzov.[2] Such complaints about the darkness of his prophecies are well founded. The diction cannot be called pure or classical, though Blayney says: "Upon the whole we shall find the diction remarkably pure, the construction natural and perspicuous, and the style judiciously varied according to the nature of the subject."[3] The language Chaldaises. One might expect this both from his time and locality. Yet it is purer than that of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Expressions betraying a late period of the language are אִסְעָרֵם (vii. 14), a Syriasm for אֲסָעֲרֵם (vii. 14). The particle אֵת is used in the beginning of incompleted sentences, as in vii. 7, viii. 17; which occurs in Hag. ii. 5; hard constructions are exemplified by אַחַר כָּבוֹד *after glory, i.e.*, to attain to glory, ii. 12; כִּפְנֵי אִישׁ ii. 4, etc. We may also adduce as peculiarities of later diction יְעִירֵנִי (iv. 1), see Hag. i. 14, Ezra i. 1; the use of אֲשֶׁר (i. 15), *for*, comp. Is. lxv. 16; and *whither* (vi. 10), comp. 1 Kings xii. 2; פְּרָזוֹת *the open country* (ii. 8), comp. Ezek. xxxviii. 11, Esther ix. 19.

VII. DEPENDENCE ON EARLIER PROPHETS.—Zechariah manifests acquaintance with earlier writers and prophets. Thus he presents reminiscences of Is. ii. 3, etc., and Mic. iv. 2, in viii. 20-23. In iii. 8 and vi. 12 he takes the appellation *branch* from Jer. xxiii. 5, xxxiii. 15. In i. 4-6, various passages seem to have floated before his mind—Is. xxxi. 6, Jer. iii. 12, xviii. 11; Ezek. xviii. 30, Hosea xiv. 1, Lam. i. 18, ii. 17. In vii. 7 there is an express allusion to former prophets, Jeremiah and Micah. Compare also vi. 13 with Ps. cx. 4. Hengstenberg gives a

[1] Prolog. ad Commentar., Lib. ii.
[2] Introductio ad Libros Propheticos, p. 433, fourth edition.
[3] Translation of Zechariah, preliminary discourse, p. xv., ed. 1797.

number of others;[1] and Keil repeats many of them, but all are insecure except those mentioned.

VIII. PASSAGES.—Chap. xii. 10: "And I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and of supplications: and they shall look upon me whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him, as one mourneth for his only son, and shall be in bitterness for him, as one that is in bitterness for his firstborn." This is a difficult passage, because Jehovah is the speaker. How could they pierce *Jehovah?* To this Hitzig replies by identifying the sender with the sent, Jehovah with the unknown prophet who had been murdered.[2] Surely this construction is harsh. Many MSS. and some old editions read אֵלָיו *to him,*[3] which agrees with the quotation in John xix. 37; and some critics, as Randolph and Newcome, suppose the Evangelist to have read so in the Hebrew. Yet אֵלָיו looks like a correction of אֵלַי, to clear away the difficulty. The LXX., Vulgate, Targum, and Syriac have the present Hebrew reading. Still the first person is unsuitable to the context, and yields no sense. The third person follows וְסָפְדוּ עָלָיו; and it is absurd to speak of piercing Jehovah, and mourning over Him with bitter lamentation as though He were dead. We suppose then that אֵלָיו was the original reading. Bleek, with less probability, points אֵלַי. A historical fact lies at the basis of the description. The prophet alludes to some well-known martyr who had fallen in the service of God. Bunsen conjectures that Urijah the son of Shemaiah is meant, whom Jehoiakim murdered. In the New Testament quotation, the martyr is viewed as a type of the higher martyr Christ. Thus the passage is not taken as a prediction, but as typical.

If these observations be just, they shew the incorrectness of many ideas that have been put into the words of the prophet. As soon as it is assumed that he had the Messiah in view, the latter is identified *in nature* with Jehovah. He is made truly divine, contrary to the entire tenour of the Old Testament. How grievously the passage has been misunderstood, may be seen in the expositions of Pye Smith and Henderson. Newcome rightly adopts the only reading that yields a good sense; אֵלָיו; *they* reject it, wishing to get out of the received text a proof of *the equality of natures* in Jehovah and Messiah. The ancient Jews would have been horrified at such a notion; and their descendants retain the same aversion to it.

[1] Beiträge, i., p. 367. [2] Die zwölf kleinen Propheten, u. s. w., p. 150.
[3] See Davidson's Hebrew Text of the Old Testament revised, pp. 135, 136.

Chap. xi. 12, 13. "And I said unto them, If ye think good, give me my price; and if not forbear. So they weighed for my price thirty pieces of silver. And the Lord said unto me, Cast it unto the potter: a goodly price that I was prized at of them. And I took the thirty pieces of silver, and cast them to the potter in the house of the Lord." These words are a part of the symbolical description in which the prophet clothes his experience of the rulers whom he was sent to instruct. The breaking of the first staff expresses his disappointment with them because they had not repented, and amended their ways. He therefore declares himself ready to abandon the duties involved in being their shepherd; and asks for his wages as if his work were done; not caring, however, whether they gave it or not. So they weighed out in mockery, as his price, thirty pieces of silver—a paltry sum intended to shew their contempt for his services. Yet he took the sum, and cast it into the treasury in the Lord's house. The disposition evinced in this transaction causes him to break the second staff, *unity* or *peace*. The scene is an imaginary one, depicting the faithful prophet's sad experience for many years. The people were incorrigible, especially their rulers, who wanted those divine virtues which make true sovereigns—fidelity, mildness, and self-sacrifice.

The passage is cited in Matt. xxvii. 9, 10: "Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremy the prophet, saying, And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was valued, whom they of the children of Israel did value; and gave them for the potter's field, as the Lord appointed me." The Evangelist makes very free alterations in the original, and takes it in a typical sense as applicable to the case of Judas betraying his Master. The primary and historical sense is different, referring to the prophet himself parting with the pitiful hire which his countrymen gave him, and throwing it into the temple-treasury as God's property. We have already referred to the name Jeremiah instead of Zechariah. The Hebrew is אֶל־הַיּוֹצֵר *into the treasury*, not אֶל־הַיּוֹצֵר *to the potter*, which is foreign to the context, whatever Hengstenberg, Hofmann, and Lange may say in its favour. But the Evangelist follows the LXX. The verb ἔλαβον is the first person in the Greek version and the Hebrew, but the third in Matthew. The words τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ τετιμημένου ὃν ἐτιμήσαντο ἀπὸ υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ agree more with the Hebrew than the LXX., yet not exactly with either, for instead of אֲשֶׁר יָקַרְתִּי there is ὃν ἐτιμήσαντο; and for מִבְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, ἀπὸ υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ.

Chap. xiii. 7. "Awake, O sword, against my shepherd, and against the man that is my fellow, saith the Lord of hosts:

smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered: and I will turn mine hand upon the little ones." Here the divine anger is invoked against the bad shepherd or ruler who had neglected the flock and torn them in pieces. The prophet may refer to Pekah, whose reign was most disastrous to the people of Israel. When the shepherd had been smitten and the sheep scattered, Jehovah would then turn his hand toward the poor, weak, afflicted ones, and have compassion upon them.

The passage is quoted in Matt. xxvi. 31, Mark xiv. 27, where it is employed in a typical sense of the death of Christ and the dispersion of his apostles. The historical and original sense is different. In arguing against the plain fact that passages of this nature are used by way of accommodation, Dr. John Lee supposes he can settle the question by saying, "Christ himself is a competent expositor," founded on the phrase *for it is written*.[1] But the author is mistaken in his haste. The point is, Does Christ assert that the application of Zechariah's passage in Matt. xxvi. 31 was its *original sense? He does not.* The phrase *for it is written* offers no warrant that he does. Hence the logic of this very confident writer is baseless. He reasons here, as he does in the greater part of his book, on arbitrary assumptions. The citation is made freely, and agrees neither with the LXX. nor the Hebrew. The imperative mood in Hebrew, *smite*, is changed into the future because it is Jehovah who gives the command. Owen and Randolph suppose, without any good reason, that the Hebrew was אַךְ at first, instead of הַךְ.

It is a mistake to imagine, as Pyé Smith does,[2] that "my shepherd" displays him whom God had appointed to be the Saviour of His people. He asserts that the phrase גֶּבֶר עֲמִיתִי is meant to imply *equality of rank* and *identity of nature* with Jehovah. This arises from the mistaken exegesis which makes the prophet consciously predict the Messiah. The Hebrew does not mean, *the man of his union* or *the man closely united to him*, as if the association were that of the divine and human natures in the person of Christ. Henderson errs in believing so.[3] The idea is that of one associated in office. The ruler meant was entrusted under Jehovah with the kingly office. In that respect alone he was allied or related to Him, but in none other. No Jewish writer conceived of the Messiah having *identity of nature* with Jehovah. Their monotheism was averse to the idea. Even supposing that the passage was intended to set forth the Messiah, the expression "my fellow" could not mean *equality of nature*.

[1] The Inspiration of Holy Scripture, p. 313, ed. New York.
[2] Scripture Testimony, vol. i., p. 292, et seqq. [3] Minor Prophets, pp. 434, 435.

THE BOOK OF MALACHI.

I. AUTHOR.—מַלְאָכִי Hebrew; *Μαλαχίας* LXX.; *Malachias* Vulgate. It has been questioned whether *Malachi* be a proper name or an appellative. The Septuagint translates, in the inscription, *ἐν χειρὶ ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ* (i. 1). Origen thought that he was an angel in human form sent from God. The person intended by the symbolical appellation is identified with Ezra by the Targum of Jonathan on Zech. i. 1, and by Calmet; with an unknown prophet by Hengstenberg;[1] and with Mordecai by the Talmud. Jerome himself seems to have agreed with the Jews of his day who identified him with Ezra.[2] Hengstenberg relies much on the word itself, reckoning it equivalent to מַלְאָכִי *my messenger* (iii. 1). This derivation is incorrect. The suffix of the first person is adverse. Hence the LXX. render it by the third person, *ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ*.[3] The word is abridged from מַלְאַךְ יְהוָה *angel* or *messenger of Jehovah*, just as אֲבִי (2 Kings xviii. 2) is equivalent to אֲבִיָּה (2 Chron. xxix. 1). Hengstenberg objects that the cases are not parallel, because the י in אֲבִי is not abridged from Jehovah, but the name of God is entirely omitted.[4] But in מַלְאָכִי the name of God is simply omitted. Though the name is significant, like those of other prophets, it is not proved by that to be merely official or symbolical.

Various apocryphal accounts respecting him are found in Rabbinical and patristic writers. According to some of them he is said to have been born at Sopha belonging to the tribe of Zebulun; and to have died young, after having assisted as a member of the great synagogue in re-establishing order in his native country, etc.[5]

[1] Christologie, vol. iii., p. 372.
[2] Præfat. ad Malach.
[3] Caspari, Micha, p. 30.
[4] Christology translated, vol. iv. p. 159.
[5] Pseud-Epiphanius De prophett., cap. 22.

II. CONTENTS.—The book consists of a connected discourse which resolves itself into three sections, viz. chap. i. 2-ii. 9; ii. 10-16; ii. 17-iii. 24.

To shew how unfounded was the complaint of the people that Jehovah did not love them, the prophet compares Israel and Edom—the former a cultivated land, the latter waste and desolate, a perpetual monument of the divine displeasure. He reproves them sharply, especially the priests, who did not scruple to offer lame and sick animals in sacrifice to Jehovah; admonishes the Levites to attend to their proper duties; and threatens the priests that if they did not discharge their functions Jehovah would dissolve His covenant with them, and make them contemptible before all the people (i. 2-ii.9).

Malachi next censures intermarriages of Israelites with women of another country, and also divorces which had become frequent to facilitate such illegal alliances (ii. 10-16).

The prophet reproves those who pretended that piety was of no avail; that Jehovah did not appear as a righteous judge; and that it was therefore of no use to seek to please Him. To such he announces that the Lord would send His messenger to prepare the way before Him, and would suddenly enter into His temple, purifying the people, especially the sons of Levi, and visiting all classes of sinners with punishment. After this process, the Lord would be again well-pleased with the offering of Judah and Jerusalem as in the days of old. He censures them again for withholding tithes and so robbing God; for which reason the land was cursed with barrenness. But if they would faithfully bring them in future, the land should be blessed with superabundance. Those who alleged that it was vain to serve God and keep His commandments are again reproved. That the case would be very different should be shewn in the day of the Lord, when the wicked and righteous should be separated, the former destroyed, the latter spared and rewarded. Before this great day, Jehovah would send Elijah the prophet to turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the hearts of the children to their fathers, lest He should come and smite the earth with a curse (ii. 17-iii. 24).

De Wette, Maurer, Hengstenberg, and Bleek make six subdivisions or discourses, viz., i. 2-5; i. 6-ii. 9; ii. 10-16; ii. 17-iii. 6; iii. 7-12; iii. 13-24.

III. DATE.—The temple was rebuilt and its worship restored (i. 10, iii. 1). For this reason and because he is not named with Haggai and Zechariah in the book of Ezra, it is rightly supposed that Malachi lived after Haggai and Zechariah. That he was contemporary with Nehemiah is inferred from the contents of his book, which present the same state of things as

existed in the days of Nehemiah. His description nearly agrees with that of the thirteenth chapter of Nehemiah. Marriages with heathen wives are censured, and also the withholding of tithes (comp. ii. 10-16 with Neh. xiii. 23, etc.; iii. 7-12 with Neh. xiii. 10, etc.; i. ii. 8 with Neh. xiii. 15, etc.). Hence it is concluded that he prophesied during Nehemiah's second sojourn in Jerusalem, after the thirty second year of Artaxerxes Longimanus; contributing the weight of his exhortations to the restoration of the Jewish polity and the accompanying reforms, *i.e.* about 420 B.C., according to Kennicott and Hales. But these are insecure grounds to rest upon. In i. 8 it is said, "offer it now unto thy governor; will he be pleased with thee or accept thy person? saith the Lord of hosts," referring to the unsound animals presented in sacrifice to God, which even the governor would not accept. The language applies to a Persian satrap not to Nehemiah, for the latter says: "The former governors that had been before me were chargeable unto the people, and had taken of them bread and wine, beside forty shekels of silver; yea, even their servants bare rule over the people; but *so did not I*, because of the fear of God" (v. 14). Nehemiah was not chargeable to the people for the expenses of his table, as the governor in Malachi's time was. Thus it appears that Malachi did not prophesy under Nehemiah but before the latter became governor of Judea, *i.e.*, under a Persian.[1] Naegelsbach indulges in the needless conjecture that the governor or פֶּחָה was the one that was in office during Nehemiah's absence from Judea, between the times of his first and second administration.[2] There is no necessity however for keeping so near to the person of Nehemiah and his time. The state of things in Judea and Jerusalem was much the same. The same practices prevailed both among priests and people. Nehemiah soon after Malachi found his countrymen in the same situation as the prophet had described. They had not immediately amended their ways. The reproofs and exhortations of the prophet had fallen upon minds habituated to illegal practices. We date the book therefore about 460-450 B.C. If, as is most probable, Nehemiah made a collection of the prophetic books Malachi must have preceded him.

IV. FORM, MANNER, STYLE, AND DICTION.—It is not easy to discover the relation which the prophecy bears in its present form to the oral teaching of Malachi, if indeed he spoke to his countrymen as a prophet. Hävernick supposes that the book presents the substance of oral discourses, whose original character does not entirely disappear even in the mould imparted to them.

[1] Bleek's Einleitung, pp. 566, 567. [2] In Herzog's Encyklopædie, art. Maleachi.

If so, it contains a general summary of the prophet's ministry. The most important particulars of his preaching are concentrated in it.[1] This is not very different from Eichhorn's opinion, that it exhibits the outlines of discourses addressed to the people.[2] One thing is certain, viz., that the book does not contain definite discourses which were delivered to the people in their present form. It appears to us more probable that the prophet did not address his countrymen in the manner of the old prophets, but that he was a *writer*. The artificial treatment of the subject shews the character of a *book* rather than of a *popular address*. Traces of living discourse do not appear in the work. Malachi was a writer instead of a speaker. The contents present an approach to the conversational or dialogue method—a very different feature from the dramatic descriptions of the older prophets. Lofty inspiration and fullness of thought are wanting. The language is prosaic, and manifests the decaying spirit of prophecy. Some say that the prophet consulted the practical wants of his time, which is correct; but that does not account for the characteristics of manner and diction. An *effort* to instruct the people is prominent in the somewhat artificial arrangement of sentences, evincing a deficient mastery of the materials. Besides, traces of careful study of the ancient prophets appear. Two forms of prophetic writing exist unitedly, viz., the old prophetic and new dialogistic—the spoken and the written, the free outbursting of a full heart, and the colder method of culture. Ewald correctly remarks[3] that the dialogistic manner has an uniformity, presenting a short sentence and then the sceptical questions of the people which are fully refuted. Thus the influence of an incipient scholastic representation encroaches upon prophetic discourse, and marks the departure of the prophetic spirit. Considering the late period, the diction is beautiful and smooth though it wants freshness and fullness. It is not, however, without life or power, and is much superior to that of Haggai or Zechariah. There are many participles where older prophets would have had a finite verb, as in i. 7, 12, 14. The parallelism is weak. The priest is called *the messenger of God* only in Malachi and Ecclesiastes (Mal. ii. 7, Eccles. v. 5).

V. CANONICAL AUTHORITY.—The canonical authority of the book is established by various allusions in the New Testament, as Matt. xi. 10, xvii. 11; Mark i. 2, ix. 11, 12; Luke i. 17; Rom. ix. 13.

VI. CHAP. III. 1.—"Behold, I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me: and the Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple, even the messenger of the

[1] Einleit. II. 2, p. 430.
[2] Einleitung, vol. iv., p. 464.
[3] Die Propheten u. s. w. ii., p. 542.

covenant, whom ye delight in: behold, he shall come, saith the Lord of hosts." The meaning of this verse is often misapprehended. The *messenger of the covenant, Jehovah's messenger*, has been identified with *the Messiah* and with *the Lord* (הָאָדוֹן). A careful examination of the words, compared with other parts of Malachi, proves this to be incorrect. The prophet does not refer to a visible head of the new theocratic kingdom or Messianic age. It is true that the desire of the people referred to (אֹתָם חֶפְצִים) means their longing for the person of Messiah; but the messenger of the covenant whom Jehovah would send to them is not necessarily the very one whom they desired. He *precedes* the great day of the Lord; whereas the prophets represent Messiah as coming immediately after that judicial time. It is plain that Elijah the prophet (iii. 24) is the same as the messenger of the covenant. The verse before us asserts that Jehovah would send His messenger to prepare His way—the messenger of the covenant they wished; and immediately after the Lord Himself should suddenly enter His temple, "*He* shall come." "But who may abide the day of His coming," etc. The *coming* refers to Jehovah Himself, not to His messenger who *is sent* as Maurer wrongly explains it.[1] When Pye Smith says truly that the term הָאָדוֹן "is appropriated to signify the Supreme God as the Ruler of His visible church and the Possessor of Universal dominion,"[2] he says virtually but unconsciously that it does not belong to Messiah but to the Father, since the Jews never believed in the proper deity of the Messiah. Jehovah comes to punish, purify, and refine (comp. iii. 17). By connecting the clauses of the verse with one another alternately, the whole becomes apparent:—

> Behold, I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me;
> Even the messenger of the covenant whom ye delight in;
> And the Lord whom ye seek shall suddenly come to His temple;
> Behold, He shall come, saith the Lord of hosts.[3]

Malachi's views shew the influence of the Magian religion. It is said that before the great judgment a messenger, Elias, should appear to preach peace and repentance. In Magianism the messenger is called *Sosiosh*. It was natural for a Jew to identify the messenger with Elijah the zealous reformer, who had ascended to heaven. His mission, however, is to the Jews only. In this respect the mission of *Jehovah's servant* in the Deutero-Isaiah is superior, because he is to teach the heathen. The

[1] Commentarius Grammaticus Criticus in Vetus Testamentum, vol. ii., p. 731.
[2] Scripture Testimony, vol. ii., p. 295.
[3] See Hitzig Die zwölf Kleinen Propheten, p. 322.

angel of the covenant does not perform the *judicial process*, but Jehovah Himself.

In Matt. xi. 14 our Saviour corrects the erroneous notion of the Jews, who expected the veritable Elijah as the Messiah's forerunner, telling the people that John the Baptist corresponded to and fulfilled what was expected of Elijah. *He* was the true forerunner.

APOCRYPHA.

UNDER the name *apocryphal* are comprehended several writings in addition to the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, which are historical, poetical, and didactic in their nature, occupying a position inferior to that of the Sacred Writings. The church of Rome calls those connected with the Old Testament *Deutero-canonical*; but Protestants call them spurious, and believe that they possess insufficient authority, internal or external, to procure their admission into the sacred canon. By the decree of the fourth session of the Council of Trent, April 8th, 1546, the books of Tobit, Judith, the additions to the book of Esther, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch the prophet, with the Epistle of Jeremiah, the Song of the Three Children, Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, and the first and second books of Maccabees, were placed among the divinely-inspired Scriptures of the Old Testament. Since that time, Protestants and Catholics have waged long controversies over them; the former endeavouring to shew their want of proper testimonials and authority, the latter to uphold their credit. But like most disputes connected with the Bible, those of the combatants in this field of sacred literature have been profitless. Excess of zeal has produced extreme opinions on both sides. We agree fully neither with the Protestant nor Romish view of the books in question. Many Protestant positions still advanced in books are untenable in the unqualified sense intended. Thus it is said—

1. That the apocryphal books "possess no internal authority to procure their admission into the sacred canon:" a meaningless statement, because the phrase "no internal authority" is ambiguous. The proposition is partly illustrated in three particulars: (*a*) Not one of them is extant in pure ancient Biblical Hebrew; (*b*) they were all written subsequently to the cessation of the prophetic spirit; (*c*) not one of the writers or authors of them, in direct terms, advances any claim to inspira-

tion. These circumstances are of little weight. That none of them is extant in pure ancient Biblical Hebrew, arises from the date at which the earliest appeared, and from the accidents of time. The fact of not being extant is trifling; and several were written in good Hebrew for their day. Neither Ecclesiastes, nor Esthor, nor Chronicles, is written in pure ancient Biblical Hebrew. They were composed subsequently to the cessation of the prophetic spirit with Malachi; nor does the writer of any advance a claim to inspiration. Thus the argument proves too much.

2. A second proposition advanced respecting the apocryphal books is, that they contain many things which are either fabulous, or contradictory to the canonical Scriptures in facts, doctrines, and moral practice, and also contradictory to authentic profane history.

This proposition is partly neutralised by the fact that the canonical Scriptures contain some things which are fabulous, mythical, legendary, exaggerated; others contradictory to profane history; and others inconsistent with parts of the canonical Scriptures themselves. Proofs of what is here alleged may be found in the preceding pages of the present work. The particulars under this head, embracing (*a*) fabulous statements; (*b*) statements which are contradictory to the history related in the canonical books, and to other statements contained in the apocryphal books; (*c*) contradictory doctrines; (*d*) immoral practices commended, such as assassination; (*e*) passages so inconsistent with the relations of all other profane historians that they cannot be admitted without much greater evidence than belongs to these books, have all their analogies in the canonical Scriptures, though not to the same extent.

3. Another proposition advanced is, that the apocryphal books possess no external evidence to procure their admission into the sacred canon.

This is a vague, and partly unintelligible, statement. If it be meant that they were not received by the ancient Jewish church into the sacred canon, the assertion is true. But when the inference is drawn that *therefore* they were not sanctioned either by Jesus Christ or his divinely-inspired apostles, we hesitate to assent till an explanation be furnished of the word *sanctioned*. Christ and His apostles never formally quoted a passage from any of the apocryphal books. But it does not follow thence that they threw a slur upon them. They did not sanction, it may be affirmed, all the books of the Jewish canonical Scriptures in the sense of stamping on each and all together the seal of infallible authority. It is untrue, however, that the apostles did not sanction the apocryphal books. Some of the

New Testament writers *so far sanctioned* as to shew that they read and used them. This is seen in their writings, which contain reminiscences of passages in the Apocrypha. The influence of such books as Sirach, Wisdom, and the Maccabees is unmistakeable in the Epistle of James and that to the Hebrews, as in others besides. The modes of thought peculiar to the New Testament authors must have been affected by the Apocrypha.[1] "Neither the Apostle Paul, nor any of his brethren, nor their divine Master, ever quoted a single sentence from any one of the apocryphal books of the Old Testament," writes Wordsworth in depreciation of the Apocrypha.[2] How easy to say in reply, "Neither the Apostle Paul, nor any of his brethren, nor their divine Master, ever quoted a single sentence from any one of the books Ecclesiastes, Esther, and Canticles." The force of express quotation may find an equivalent counterpoise in the nature and extent of influences from the Apocrypha upon the New Testament writers, as we believe it does. We admit that no Jewish writers subsequent to the time of Christ have cited the apocryphal books as forming part of their canon of Scripture; that they were not all admitted into the canon in any catalogue of the sacred books, recognized by an early general council; and that the fathers often regarded them as uncanonical. But these vague and general assertions give an imperfect view of the case. In Origen's list of the twenty-two canonical books of the Old Testament, *the Epistle of Jeremiah*, which is unquestionably apocryphal, is given as if it formed part of the Hebrew canon. In the lists of the Council of Laodicea, of Cyril of Jerusalem, Athanasius, and the *Synopsis Sacræ Scripturæ*, the Epistle of Jeremiah and the book of Baruch accompany the canonical books. In one list of Epiphanius's he enumerates the *Epistles of Jeremiah and Baruch* along with the book of Jeremiah and the Lamentations. Elsewhere, however, he speaks differently. There is little doubt that Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremy met with a very general reception in the Greek church in the fourth century, and were looked upon as canonical. The Apostolic Canons give the three books of Maccabees also. In the Latin church Hilary of Poitiers mentions *the epistle* along with Jeremiah and the Lamentations, in his list of the canonical books. Rufinus does the same.

As to synods, we should recollect that three African ones formally sanctioned the apocryphal books along with the canonical, putting all in the same rank. That held at Hippo Regius in Numidia, A.D. 393, in its thirty-sixth canon specifies the Wisdom of Solomon, Jesus Sirach, Tobit, Judith, and two books

[1] See Bleek in the Studien und Kritiken for 1853, Heft 2, p. 337, et seqq.
[2] On the Inspiration of Holy Scripture, p. 79, second edition.

of Maccabees among the canonical ones. The third Carthaginian synod, A.D. 397, repeats and confirms the same list. In the fifth Carthaginian synod, A.D. 419, the resolutions of the two preceding ones were repeated. Now Augustine was present at the three, and took a leading part in their decisions. A paragraph in his work on Christian doctrine, written shortly after the two former, informs us that in establishing the canon the books adopted by the greatest number of churches and the most distinguished were preferred and put along with such as were universally admitted. Accordingly he justifies the reception of Jesus Sirach and Wisdom among the prophetical books; just as he does the books of Maccabees, when writing against Gaudentius.

It is usual for ultra-Protestants to depreciate the third Council of Carthage by calling it a *provincial synod* of forty-four African bishops, and so lessening its authority. This is unfair. Authority in such a matter does not depend on the number of names, but on other considerations. Although it has been asserted that Augustine did not receive the apocryphal books as divinely inspired but that he agreed substantially with the judgment of Jerome and Rufinus, the assertion is undoubtedly incorrect. He regarded the apocryphal writings in his list as *equal to* and *equally inspired with* the rest, even though he knew that several of them formed no part of the Jewish canon. He placed the opinion of the Catholic churches on a par with Jewish tradition in determining the rank which sacred books should hold, provided those churches were numerous and important.

It should also be noted, that the principal fathers of the church, both Greek and Latin, use the apocryphal works in the same way as they do the books of the Hebrew canon. They appeal to them in similar terms. Thus Bel and Susanna are used by Irenæus and Cyprian; Baruch and the Wisdom of Solomon by Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and Cyprian; Sirach by Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian; Tobit and Judith by Clement of Alexandria and Cyprian; Maccabees and third Ezra by Cyprian. We might adduce numerous passages where apocryphal works are quoted by Clement of Alexandria, with the introductory expressions *Scripture, divine Scripture.* In like manner Origen quotes Sirach and Wisdom as θεῖος λόγος. Indeed, many of the fathers used the *apocryphal* books as they did the *canonical* ones, called them by similar distinguished epithets, and employed them in proof of doctrines. Though they sometimes give lists in which the Jewish canon only appears, their practice shews that they freely adopted the books contained in the Septuagint.

The mistake committed by most Protestant writers on the

subject of the Apocrypha arises from erroneous conceptions of the canon and its contents, as well as from an incorrect idea of inspiration. With the view of making a wide line of separation between the canonical and apocryphal books they aver that the one class is *divine*, the other *human;* the one *inspired*, the other *not;* the one *authoritative*, the other *possessing no authority whatever*. Such epithets sound bravely. Inspiration cannot be properly predicated of *writing*. By a common figure *inspired* is applied to *writing* in 2 Tim. iii. 16; correctly and properly it refers to the mind of man. The Holy Spirit breathes into the mind, which gives expression to certain ideas. Yet all minds so influenced do not entertain the same conceptions. They are affected in a mode accordant with, and partly conservative of, previous idiosyncracies, tastes, habits, notions. Inspiration admits of degrees; it is therefore neither synonymous with *infallibility*, nor does it include it. The men that wrote the canonical books were inspired in very different degrees. Hence their works may be classified according to their internal value. One is superior in excellence to another. The writers of the apocryphal books were also inspired. The majority of them, however, did not possess an inspiration of the same extent and purity with that of the writers of the canonical books. They were inspired in a lower degree. Yet some exceptions to this exist; for the books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus evidence a higher inspiration on the part of their authors than do Esther and Ecclesiastes on the part of theirs. As to the canonical being *divine* and the apocryphal *human*, both are divine and human at the same time, with this distinction, that the divine element in the canonical exceeds the same element in the apocryphal.

The Reformed church of the continent advocates a strict separation of the two classes of books, maintaining that the apocryphal should be excluded from our Bibles; but the Lutheran church claims a place for the apocryphal in the Bible, after the canonical. On the *Purist* side, as it has been called, which is wholly adverse to the apocryphal books, appeared some time ago the treatises of Schroeder, Ebrard, the prize essays of Keerl and Kluge, with the subsequent treatise of the former against Stier and Hengstenberg. On the Lutheran side appeared Stier, Nitzsch, Bleek, and Hengstenberg. The British and Foreign Bible Society has adopted for about forty years the practice of circulating the canonical books only. A clamorous influence from Scotland led to this unfortunate procedure. The church of England agrees with the Lutheran. She "doth read them for example of life and instruction of manners, but yet doth not apply them to establish any doctrine." In this respect she observes a wise moderation conducive to a right view of the

subject. She follows antiquity; for Rufinus and Jerome advance the same opinion. The apocryphal writings ought to be read in churches, but should not be used for proving articles of faith. We agree in the main with her and the Lutheran church, not with the Reformed. The apocryphal books are of inferior value to the canonical. But they may be profitably read, notwithstanding; some more profitably than the Song of Solomon, Esther, and Chronicles. The Romanist view of the Apocrypha has been ably advocated by Welte, Herbst, Scholz, and Malou. Those who blame the Catholic church for blending the apocryphal books in her Bible indiscriminately with the other books of Scripture should recollect that Luther was the first who separated the former from their places among the latter in the Septuagint translation. The church in question deserves censure for requiring all together to be received as sacred and canonical under the penalty of an anathema.

Perhaps no man did so much in ancient times as Jerome to make a wide distinction between canonical and apocryphal, and so to put the latter in an inferior place. Hence he is reckoned the bulwark of orthodoxy by writers who maintain the Hebrew canon as absolutely right, to the exclusion of other books. Yet this very father uses the apocryphal books in the same manner with the canonical. Thus he adduces Sirach iii. 33 between Matt. v. and Luke xvi. The words *sicut Scriptum est* occur with a quotation from the canonical Luke (xii. 48) and one from Wisd. vi. 7, as also one from Sir. viii. 13. With the expression *dicente Scriptura Sancta* he cites Sir. xi. 30. This book of Sirach he puts along with the Proverbs; for after giving a passage from it he has, *sed et in alio loco legimus*, adducing Prov. xxvii. 14.

It is unnecessary to enter into farther details, or to quote the early lists and passages bearing on this subject. We refer to the Introductions of Welte and Scholz for farther information. By a careful examination of the portions relating to the canon and Apocrypha in these works, it will be seen how much one-sided reasoning has been indulged in, contrary to the testimony of antiquity; and how the canon has been represented as *fixed* in the first four centuries—absolutely fixed—when in fact it was somewhat unsettled both in theory and practice.

In the following pages we shall discuss the books, called the Apocrypha, which usually accompany large and complete Bibles having the English version in common use, with a few others necessary to the completeness of our Introduction.

THE FIRST (THIRD) BOOK OF ESDRAS.

I. TITLE.—This book is termed the *First* of Esdras in the LXX., Syriac, and Old Latin. As such it is placed before the canonical Ezra, in a position natural and appropriate, because the contents belong in part to a time prior to that of the latter book. In the Vulgate it is called the *third* book of Esdras, Ezra and Nehemiah being counted the first and scond. Some call it the *second* book of Esdras, Ezra and Nehemiah being reckoned together as one work. In editions of the Vulgate prior to that of Sixtus V., the Latin translation of it stood before the canonical Ezra and Nehemiah; but since that time it has been separated from the canonical books and put among the apocryphal ones in various places. The Complutensian Polyglott wants it altogether. Luther did not translate it because it added nothing of importance to the contents of the canonical Scriptures.

In some editions of the LXX. it is called *the priest* (ὁ ἱερεύς), equivalent to Ezra. So the Codex Alexandrinus has it. But the usual title is Ἔσδρας or Ezra.

II. CONTENTS.—1. Chap. i., corresponding to 2 Chron. xxxv., xxxvi., giving an account of the magnificent passover feast in the eighteenth year of Josiah's reign, and continuing the history till the Babylonian captivity.

2. Chap. ii. 1-15, corresponding to Ezra i., relating to the return of the people by Cyrus's permission, under the conduct of Sanabassar.

3. Chap. ii. 16-30, corresponding to Ezra iv. 7-24, describing Artaxerxes' prohibition of the temple building, till the second year of Darius.

4. Chap. iii.-v. 6 contains a peculiar narrative respecting three young men who kept watch over the king, striving to excel one another in uttering the wisest saying. The contest is conducted before Darius, with all his nobles and princes; and the victor Zorobabel gets permission from the king for the Jews to return to their own country and rebuild their city.

5. Chap. v. 7-73, corresponding to Ezra ii. 1-iv. 6, giving a

list of the persons who returned with Zorobabel and others; the commencement of the new temple, and the obstacles thrown in its way for the space of two years, till the reign of Darius.

6. Chap. vi., vii., corresponding to Ezra v., vi., recording how the temple was built under Darius by Zorobabel, and how it was completed in the sixth year of his reign, with the celebration of the passover.

7. Chap. viii.-ix. 36, agreeing with Ezra vii.-x., giving an account of Ezra's return with his colony, in the seventh year of Artaxerxes, and his putting away strange wives.

8. Chap. ix. 37-55, equivalent to Neh. vii. 73-viii. 13, describing the public reading of the law by Ezra.

III. COMPARISON WITH THE CANONICAL WRITINGS RELATING TO THE SAME PROCEEDINGS.—1. The letters given in Ezra iv. 7-24 are here placed after the first chapter: which position is the right one? Everything is suitable and well connected in the history as given in Ezra iv. 7-24, compared with the preceding and following contexts; but the order is disturbing in the apocryphal book. Thus in first Esdras v. 68-71, Zorobabel and his companions refused the proffered assistance of the Samaritans in building the temple on the ground that *Cyrus* had commanded *them* to rebuild it. Why appeal to an old command of Cyrus when the writer had related before that *Darius* had given permission anew? The seventy-first verse of the same chapter is inappropriate where Cyrus is mentioned again in such a way as would lead us to suppose that all which had occurred before had happened under *his* reign; whereas the apocryphal book itself states that it took place under *Darius*. Josephus, who saw this difficulty, attempted to remove it in a singular fashion. He represents Zerubbabel as coming back from Jerusalem to Darius, who makes him his body-guard. According to the historian the Jews said to the Samaritans, "it was impossible to permit them to be their partners, whilst they only had been appointed to build that temple, *at first by Cyrus, and now by Darius*," etc. Immediately after, the complaint to Darius is, not that the building *was begun again*, but that it was *too strong*, looking more like a citadel than a temple.[1] Had Josephus compared the Hebrew he might have resolved the difficulty at once. But he followed the apocryphal Esdras wholly.

2. The peculiar and independent section iii. 1-v. 6 was probably derived from tradition, perhaps by the compiler himself who wrote it down. Chap. v. 4-6 could not have belonged originally to the preceding narrative, since no author, after

[1] Antiqq. xi. 4.

speaking so much of Zerubbabel's wisdom, would say immediately after that "Joacim, son of Zorobabel, spake wise sentences before Darius, king of Persia, in the second year of his reign," etc. Nor could the writer of v. 7 have placed before it v. 4. In like manner the same person did not write v. 5 and v. 8. It is wrong to make Zerubbabel to have come to Judea in *the second year of Darius Hystaspis* (v. 6), and not under Cyrus. Indeed, in our book itself (vi. 17, 18) Zerubbabel's return is put into the first year of Cyrus.

3. According to ix. 38, etc., the public reading of the law took place under Ezra; whereas the text of Nehemiah (vii. 73, etc.) makes it much later, under Nehemiah. Many suppose that the account in Esdras is the more correct one, and expunge the words נְחֶמְיָה הוּא in Neh. viii. 9. It is against this, however, that we find the words *Νεεμίας καὶ Ἀθαρίας, Nehemias and Atharias* (v. 40), which may be compared with Ezra ii. 63; Neh. vii. 65. The text in v. 40 seems to be corrupt. Instead of it we should read *Νεεμίας ὁ Ἀθαρίας*. The compiler looked upon the Nehemiah who is called the Tirshatha (in Neh. vii. 65, etc.), not as the governor of that name, but the person mentioned in Ezra ii. 2. For this reason he explains the epithet *Tirshatha* in Ezra ii. 63 by the Greek *Nehemiah the Atharias* (v. 40).

4. The last verse, ix. 55, breaks off abruptly in the middle of Neh. viii. 13. Hence we infer that the narrative was longer at first, or that it was left unfinished.

5. The independent section iii. 1-v. 6 seems to have led the compiler into transpositions and alterations of the history which disfigure it. Seeing from it that Zerubbabel had come to Judea in the second year of Darius Hystaspis, he naturally took Ezra ii. 1-iv. 5, belonging to Zerubbabel's time, from its proper position, and placed it after the independent piece. The latter he was obliged to bring after iv. 7-24, because ver. 24 led him to suppose erroneously that Artaxerxes reigned before Darius Hystaspis.

6. Zunz supposes that the seven missing chapters (Neh. i.-vii.) belonged at first to the present book.[1] Perhaps matter corresponding to Neh. viii. 13-18 was originally added; since the last eighteen verses are taken from Neh. vii. 73-viii. 12.

IV. ORIGINAL LANGUAGE. — Trendelenburg, Eichhorn, and Fritzsche think that the greater part of the work is a translation made in Greek from the Hebrew in the Old Testament books. They compare it with the originals (Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah), and find it very free in character. The differences are

[1] Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden, p. 29.

accounted for partly by the liberties the translator took with the Old Testament text, and partly by the fact that the text was sometimes different from what it is now. Sometimes the Hebrew is abbreviated; sometimes it is adapted to the Greek idiom by small additions or omissions. The language is, on the whole, good Hellenistic Greek, possessing considerable purity and shewing good taste. It contrasts with that of the LXX. very favourably, and approaches nearer to Theodotion's. We cannot say that Fritzsche's argument for this is cogent or convincing.[1] The text does not leave the impression on a reader's mind that it was taken from Hebrew and put thus into Greek. A Greek original is more probable. This is pretty certain with regard to the piece iii. 1-v. 6, which had no Hebrew basis; for the language is original Hellenistic, as Fritzsche himself admits. Hence he excepts this piece, admitting that it appeared at first in Greek, without, however, v. i-6, whose original he takes to have been Hebrew. Keil supposes that the work was taken substantially from the LXX. translation of the books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. The compiler did not, however, follow the Greek literally and exactly, but acted freely. The proofs adduced in favour of this hypothesis are often plausible.[2] We adopt it in preference to that which Ewald inclines to hold, viz., that the compiler had before him a Greek version of the Chronicler's large work, one prior to that made by the LXX. and much freer, whose maker had taken considerable liberties with the original text; that with this Greek version he incorporated iii. 1-v. 6, and compiled the present work, unskilfully, as appears to any attentive reader, because contradictions between the two parts were allowed to remain. A Greek version of the books of Chronicles (including Ezra and Nehemiah) in Egypt prior to that now in the LXX. is an improbable thing.

V. AUTHOR AND TIME.—It is difficult to discover anything definite about the compiler and his age. He was a Hellenist or Greek-speaking Jew. Fritzsche thinks that he belonged to Palestine, on account of v. 47: "But when the seventh month was at hand, and when the children of Israel were every man in his own place, they came all together with one consent into the open place of the first gate which is towards the east." He also supposes, from the first historical trace of the book being found in Josephus, who records the history of Ezra and Nehemiah according to it, that the same conclusion is probable. Zunz agrees so far as to hold the Palestinian origin of at least iii. 1–v. 6. Egypt rather than Palestine was the country of the compiler. The nature of the language he uses is too pure for

[1] Exeget. Handbuch in die Apokryphen, i., p. 4. [2] Einleitung, p. 682.

the latter. The piece iii. 1–v. 6 shews this more clearly than the other portion, for Zorobabel being asked to name any favour he wished to receive, only reminds Darius of his vow to build Jerusalem and the temple and send back all the vessels, as Cyrus had intended. The purport of this seems to have been to influence the mind of some heathen ruler favourably towards Judea, probably one of the Egyptian Ptolemies. Hence the compiler belonged to Egypt, and may have lived in the first century before Christ.[1]

VI. SCOPE.—It is difficult to discover the object for which this compilation was made. It may have been intended to present a continuous history of greater extent than that contained in Ezra and Nehemiah. Its fragmentary character, however, is adverse to this idea. De Wette says truly that it has no historical value, but merely a philological and critical one.[2] We think it likely that the compiler intended to hold up to view the generous conduct of Cyrus and Darius towards the Jews, as an example to the heathen rulers of his time who held the chosen people in subjection. He wished to make them feel compassion for a nation whom other monarchs and conquerors had befriended.

VII. TEXTS AND VERSIONS.—The received Greek text, which is in the main that of the Codex Vaticanus, is the best. Holmes and Parsons give various readings from twenty-four Greek MSS. The old Latin version is literal; but as published by Sabatier it is not in a very pure form. The Syriac is freer. It is in Walton's Polyglott; but the text has suffered. The Vulgate version is the old Latin improved by Jerome. The Armenian, judging of it from the readings given by Holmes and Parsons, is useless for critical purposes.

VIII. AUTHORITY.—In applying the work to the criticism of the original text great caution should be used, because the translator and compiler have made many mistakes. As they have handled the original sources freely, it is very difficult to distinguish the authentic Hebrew readings from their own matter and language. If we could surely see that another recension of the Hebrew text is sometimes followed, the fact would deserve attention. In some cases we should prefer its readings to those of the canonical text; but not generally. Eichhorn has collated many words which provide the critic with specimens, if he wishes to pursue the inquiry.[3]

The Greek and Latin fathers often mention the first book of Esdras, and some of them use it against heretics, as Athanasius

[1] See Ewald's Geschichte, vol. iv., p. 132, et seqq.
[2] Einleitung, p. 441.
[3] Einleitung in die Apokryphischen, u. s. w., p. 354, et seqq.

against the Arians.[1] Augustine and Cyprian quote or refer to it. It is remarkable that Cyprian[2] should quote a passage from it with the formula *sicut Scriptum est.* The same passage is alluded to by Augustine, who thinks that it may be prophetical of Christ.[3] The passage occurs in iv. 38: "veritas manet et invalescit in æternum, et vivit et obtinet in sæcula sæculorum." Augustine put it among the *canonical* books.[4] But it did not obtain canonical authority. Jerome speaks unfavourably of it. The Councils of Florence and Trent decided against its canonical credit; and Protestants have always considered it apocryphal. In recent times it has at length obtained its proper place in the later Jewish literature, and is recognised by critics as of some importance in the criticism of the text.

[1] Select Treatises of St. Athanasius in Controversy with the Arians, Part II., p. 309, in the library of the fathers of the holy Catholic church.
[2] Epist. LXXIV., p. 337, ed Venet., 1758.
[3] De Civitate Dei, xviii., 36. [4] De Doctrina Christiana, lib. ii., 13.

THE FOURTH BOOK OF ESDRAS

(SECOND ESDRAS, IN ENGLISH VERSION).

I. NAME.—In the Latin text this work is called the *fourth* book of Esdras, as it is also by Jerome. In the Arabic and Ethiopic texts it is termed the *first* book of Esdras. The last two chapters (xv., xvi.) of the Latin text are considered an independent production, to which the name *second* Esdras was given. The Latin also calls it *second* Esdras, the title it bears in the English translation. In the Greek church it was styled ἀποκάλυψις or προφητεία Ἔσδρα, *the Apocalypse* or *prophecy of Esdras.*

II. CONTENTS.—Ezra, a captive in the land of the Medes, in the reign of Artaxerxes, receives a command from God to announce to the people that Jehovah would cast them off for their disobedience, and turn His grace towards a nation from the East, who would believe Him though they had seen no signs and heard no prophets (chap. i.). The mother of the people, or Zion, calls upon her children to ask mercy from God. But the prophet calls for righteous judgment upon them. God says to Ezra that He would give His covenant people the kingdom of Jerusalem. Ezra receives the charge upon mount Horeb; he delivers it and is despised. He turns to the people who were ready for the kingdom of God, and addresses them. After this he beholds on mount Zion an innumerable multitude praising God; and in the midst of them the Son of God crowning them and putting palms in their hands (ii.).

From the third to the fourteenth chapter inclusive forms a connected whole, having no relation to the first two chapters.

In the thirtieth year after the destruction of Jerusalem Ezra was in Babylon, troubled in mind. He began therefore to pray to God and acknowledge the sins of the people; but complained that the heathen ruled over them though the latter were still more wicked (iii.). The angel Uriel being sent to him declares the ignorance of Ezra respecting the divine judgments; and

advises him not to meddle with things above his comprehension. Ezra states that he is content to know only worldly things; yet he asks various questions and receives replies. In consequence of a question put to the angel, the signs of the time to come are declared. The first dream-vision begins with ii. 1 and terminates v. 14; on which he awakes much exhausted. But the angel strengthens him.

The night after this vision, Salathiel the captain of the people comes to him, complaining of his absence, and requesting him not to forsake the people committed to him in the land of captivity. But Ezra sends him away, and having fasted seven days receives the second vision, a description of which is contained in v. 20–vi. 34. He turns to God in prayer, and asks why the Almighty, choosing but one people, cast them off; in answer to which he is taught that God's judgments are unsearchable, and that He does not perform all at once. God's purpose is eternal. The next world will follow this immediately. The end of the present world will be attended with great and terrifying natural phenomena, as well as by war among men. He is promised a new vision.

The third vision begins with vi. 35 and reaches to ix. 25. Ezra asks a number of questions, to which Uriel replies. At the close of the interview he is commanded to go into a field of flowers on which no house is builded, to taste nothing but fruits for seven days, and wait for a new revelation in continued prayer (ix. 23, 24). In ix. 26 it is related that he goes into the field Ardath, and does as he was commanded, after which he has a fourth vision (ix. 27–x. 60). While mourning and complaining he sees a woman weeping, who in answer to his inquiry explains the cause of her grief, and is comforted by Ezra. After she had suddenly vanished a city appeared in her place, and Uriel explains the vision.

The eleventh and twelfth chapters contain the fifth dream-vision, relating to an eagle that came up out of the sea with twelve wings and three heads. A lion out of a wood talked to the eagle; and the latter was wholly destroyed. An interpretation of the vision is given.

The thirteenth chapter contains the sixth dream-vision respecting a violent wind rising out of the sea like a man, surrounded by the thousands of heaven. All things trembled before him. An innumerable multitude were gathered together to subdue him. He stood upon a mountain and annihilated his foes by the fiery blast of his mouth. The dream was then interpreted by the angel.

The fourteenth chapter contains a new revelation to Ezra. A voice out of a bush calls him, and tells him that the world is

growing old. On his complaining that the law was burnt, he is commanded to take with him five ready scribes, and write all that should be revealed. Having drunk a cup of inspiration he dictated to the five for forty days, and they wrote 204 books. The first 134 he was ordered to publish; the last 70 were to be delivered to the wise only.

Here the book ends in the Arabic and Ethiopic, which add a few words respecting Ezra's translation to heaven, and give the year of his death according to the years of the world, but differently. In the Latin, the voice of God, which had begun to speak to Ezra at the forty-fifth verse of the fourteenth chapter, is continued. A new prophecy is delivered to him respecting the destruction of the nations, especially Egypt. Other places, too, are threatened. The people of God are exhorted to repentance in the mean time.

III. DATE OF THE WORK.—When was the book written? Here we must look only to the *proper* contents, *i.e.* chapters iii.-xiv., since the remaining chapters did not belong to these at first. Both matter and manner shew the author to have been a Jew. He personates Ezra; and attributes to him miraculous inspiration with great wisdom. He asks (iii. 32) "Is there any other people that knoweth thee beside Israel?" Israel hath kept the divine precepts, but not the heathen (iii. 36). In the thirteenth chapter the Messiah is spoken of as future, and conquers his enemies with the power of his spirit, not with the sword. Even his death is spoken of in Jewish fashion; yet it is obscurely expressed as if all mankind were to die together with him at the same time, and then the judgment to follow with the end of the world. The character he gives of the Messiah is very different from what a Christian would have given. There are also Jewish mythical notions interwoven with the author's description of land and water, behemoth and leviathan.[1]

The eleventh chapter describes an eagle rising from the sea which had twelve feathered wings and three heads. This denotes the Roman Empire; and was taken from Daniel's fourth empire, which was interpreted of the Roman empire in the Roman period of Jewish history. The current opinion is followed by the writer of the book. Hence the production could not have appeared before the middle of the first century before Christ, when that view of Daniel's fourth empire began to be entertained. Thus the *terminus a quo*, before which the book was not in existence, is about 50 B.C. How long after that did it appear?

[1] Lücke's Versuch einer Vollständiger Einleitung in die Offenbarung des Johannes, p. 189, et seqq., second edition.

Laurence,[1] Van der Vlis, Lücke and Hilgenfeld,[2] put it before the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, either in the time of Pompey and Cæsar, or the beginning of Octavianus's sole reign. Laurence fixes it precisely between the 28th year, B.C., and the 25th of the same era, when Octavius first assumed the title of Augustus. Semler,[3] Corrodi,[4] Gfroerer,[5] Wieseler,[6] B. Bauer,[7] Volkmar,[8] and Keil[9] place it at the end of the first century after Christ, about 94-98.

To ascertain the precise time of writing critics have often speculated about the meaning of the eagle's twelve wings, three heads, and small feathers growing out of other feathers. It is very difficult to arrive at probability by this means. Ingenious speculation helps little towards a safe conclusion. Thus some suppose that the writer lived in the time of the three heads, and after the middle, which was the larger one, had disappeared. These were Sylla, Pompey, and Cæsar. In xi. 35 it is said that the right head devoured the left, *i.e.*, Cæsar conquered Pompey. Hence it is inferred that the author wrote after Pompey's death. So Lücke reasons. The same critic argues that the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple by the Romans is neither mentioned nor implied. That final struggle between the beloved city with which the fate of the theocracy was bound up, and the representative of the heathen world-power would not have been passed in silence by the author.

Others have supposed that the Jewish author lived after Christ because that view is apparently favoured by the sentiments enunciated respecting Adam's transgression of the divine commandment, and death resulting thence to himself and all his descendants (iii. 7, etc., 20; iv. 38; vii. 46, etc.), and by God's eternal purpose in the election of Israel (vi. 1, etc.), which may seem to have been influenced by the Pauline doctrine. To this it is replied that the latter is rather the fact, because ideas current among the Jews before Christ's advent were connected by Paul with the personal Saviour and his work of redemption. It has also been said that the apocalyptic character and chronology of the book are adverse to its composition after the advent of Christ. Barnabas (xii.) quotes Ezra and calls him a prophet. Clement of Alexandria expressly quotes a passage, v. 35, with

[1] Primi Ezrae libri versio Æthiopica, general remarks, p. 310, et seqq.
[2] Die judische Apokalyptik, p 187, et seqq.
[3] In Vorrede to Oeder's Christlicher freier Untersuchung ueber d. Offenbarung Johannis, p. 19.
[4] Versuch einer Beleuchtung d. Geschichte d. Bibelkanon, Band, i., p. 146.
[5] Jahrhundert des Heils, i., p. 70, et seqq.
[6] Die Jahrwochen Daniel's, p. 206, et seqq.
[7] In the Berlin Jahrbuch für wiss. Kritik, 1841, p. 837, et seqq.
[8] Das Vierte Buch Esra.
[9] Einleitung, p. 739.

the introductory formula, "Esdras the prophet says." These citations are far from proving that the book was well known at the beginning of the Christian era; for Barnabas's epistle was certainly later than 120 A.D. The mention of Messiah's death is perfectly appropriate after the commencement of Christianity, being founded on Is. liii.; and the contests between Jews and Christians would naturally call up the point, since the former would hope to neutralise by its means some arguments of the latter. The pre-existence of Messiah is not mentioned or implied in the book. In xiii. 3 it is merely said that "he waxed strong with the thousands of heaven."

It appears to us more probable that the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans was past. The temple was in ruins. The tone of the writer is one of complaint and mourning throughout. Many of his questions imply perplexing doubts respecting God's conduct towards the Jews in the past, and His present procedure. Zion was no more. The heathen ruled over the chosen people. The Levitical worship was discontinued. Hence all hopes were directed towards the Messiah, who should soon appear to set up a new kingdom and reign gloriously in Zion. Perhaps various passages, as iii. 1, 2, 27, etc.; x. 20, 22; xii. 44, etc., point to the desolation of Jerusalem and the temple in the author's time. It is possible indeed that they may only relate to the assumed stand-point of Ezra himself, after the destruction of the city by the Babylonians. In that case they are mere apocalyptic fiction. But the whole strain of the book reflects the time of *the author* more than that of *the personated Ezra*. The three feathers that represent three kings reigning in succession (xi. 12, etc.) may mean Cæsar, Octavianus, and Tiberius. The second is said to have reigned longer than the rest, and none after was to reach even half his time. Whether the three heads denote Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, as Keil supposes,[1] is doubtful. Perhaps the twelve wings and the six little wings are significant, though it is now impossible to tell their import. These observations shew that we incline to agree as to the date with Wieseler[2] and others, making it 90-98 A.D. The author was a Palestinian Jew, a Greek-speaking or Hellenistic one. Yet Van der Vlis, Lücke, and others, think that he belonged to Egypt.

IV. INTEGRITY.—Laurence rightly perceived[3] that the work was early interpolated by Christian hands, the first two and last two chapters being adventitious parts. But in addition to these Christian elements, he might also have noticed that occasionally

[1] Einleitung, p. 740.
[2] Die 70 Wochen und die 63 Jahrwochen des Proph. Daniel, p. 206, et seqq.
[3] Primi Ezræ Libri versio Æthiopica, etc., p. 309.

things too Jewish in the body of the work were omitted. Glosses were inserted, and a few omissions made, for the purpose of adapting it more nearly to Christian ideas. Thus in vii. 28, *filius meus Jesus*, for which the Ethiopic has *my Messiah*, and the Arabic, *my son Messiah*. The Arabic omits *et morietur filius meus Christus* in vii. 29; and the Ethiopic omits 400 years in vii. 28. The appendix, consisting of chapters xv., xvi., is of Christian origin. The writer of it was acquainted with the Apocalypse of John (xv. 8, 13, 40). The first two chapters betray a Christian hand also; for the Jews are said to be already rejected, and the Gentiles received into their place. Some things in them are reminiscences of John's Apocalypse (ii. 36, 43-45). Neither piece has any connection with the work itself; and both are probably of Egyptian origin.

V. ORIGINAL LANGUAGE.—Was the Greek text made from a Hebrew original? John Morin supposed that the work is so thoroughly Jewish in all respects that it could not have been written in Greek at first. In like manner Bretschneider tried to shew from the Latin that mistakes made by the Greek translator betray a Hebrew original.[1] These, however, are mere conjectures. There is no doubt that it was written in Greek, since it is pervaded by Græcisms inconsistent with a version. This has been proved by Van der Vlis.[2] The original must have been excellent Hellenistic Greek, corresponding to the bold original ideas which are set forth. The writer was not deficient in mental vigour, invention, and artistic skill. His descriptions are spirited and striking. The work is a very interesting specimen of the later Jewish literature; and deserves attention as a record of Jewish ideas on various important points soon after the destruction of the theocracy. Daniel is its type, especially in some visions. It has most resemblance to that work and the book of Enoch.

VI. AUTHENTICITY.—Very few have regarded the book as Ezra's authentic production, except some fanatics and mystics. Whiston thought and endeavoured to prove that it is a genuine and authentic prophetic book of the Old Testament.[3] Sir John Floyer was of the same opinion.[4] Lee[5] quotes a work entitled "Prophecy that hath lain hid above these 2,000 years" (vol. i., p. 154), which also elevates the work to the rank of an inspired composition. Laurence refers to another production advocating the same view, "Middle State

[1] In Henke's Museum, vol. iii., p. 478, et seqq.
[2] Disputatio critica de Ezræ libro apocryphô, chaps. i. and ii.
[3] Collection of Authentic Records, part i., p. 46, et seqq.
[4] The Prophecies of the second book of Esdras amongst the Apocrypha.
[5] Apoleipomena, or Dissertations by Francis Lee, M.D., vol. i.

of Souls Departed." Clement of Alexandria ascribed it to Ezra the prophet, and looked upon it as divine. Tertullian too seems to have thought so. Ambrose has quoted more than once from *the prophet*, as he styles him, evidently regarding his book as canonical, for he calls it *Scriptura* twice (De bono Mortis, chap. x.), represents the visions contained in it as divine revelations (ibid., xi.), and founds an argument upon it as Scripture in his Commentary on Luke. It seems to be cited by Barnabas also (chap. xii.), where Ezra is called *a prophet*. Yet Lücke thinks that the writer of the so-called Barnabas Epistle cited from another apocryphal work. Colomesius, Jacobson, and Hefele also believe that there is an allusion to 4 Esdras, ii. 16, in the epistle of Clement of Rome (chap. l.). Jachmann finds traces of its use in the Pastor of Hermas, Book i., Vision iii. 1; Book ii., preface; Book iii., Similitude viii. 1, ix. 1 and 13. Lücke, however, doubts the certainty of all references except Clement's (Alexandrinus).

VII. TEXTS.—There are three texts of this book—the Latin, the Arabic, and the Ethiopic. The first is the oldest. It is printed in the fourth volume of the London Polyglott, in Sabatier's third volume, and elsewhere. The Arabic is in two MSS. in the Bodleian not yet printed. The Ethiopic was published by Laurence from a MS. in the Bodleian, with a Latin and English translation.

The Latin is a translation from the Greek. This appears from Latin words in it formed from Greek ones, as *pausa* (ii. 24), *plasmatus* (vi. 46), *plasma* (viii. 38), *plasmatio* (viii. 7, 8), *plasmare* (viii. 8, 44), *romphæa* (xv. 15). It has also Græcisms in construction, as the genitive for the ablative after comparisons; attraction of the relative into the case of the antecedent, and mistakes resolvable by means of a Greek original, as *ipsa quiescebat* for *ipsum*, because *αὐτὴ* referred to *κεφαλή* (xi. 30, xii. 3, xiv. 39).[1] It is of the same character as the old Italic generally. All that can be certainly known of its age is that it is older than Tertullian, who has two quotations from it. Van der Vlis has observed that the Latin version of chapters i., ii., xv., xvi., differs from that of the remainder in having fewer mistakes and corruptions. It seems derived from Greek written in a better style. Perhaps the Latin had not these chapters at first. In most Latin MSS. they are wanting.

Various Latin MSS. of the Bible have the last two chapters as *the fifth* book of Esdras. Laurence mentions one codex in the British Museum which speaks of the *six* books of Esdras, viz., Ezra, 1; Nehemiah, 2; Ezra, 3, *i.e.* the first two chapters

[1] Van der Vlis, p. 10, et seqq.

of the present work; Ezra, 4, or the third Esdras in the LXX.; Ezra, 5, or the fourth book of Esdras (chaps. iii.-xiv.); Ezra, 6, *i.e.* the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters.

The Arabic version was translated into English by Simon Ockley, and published by Whiston in his Primitive Christianity Revived (vol. iv.). It wants the first two and last two chapters of the Latin. The text is more paraphrastic than the Latin, and seems to have been taken from the Greek independently. Besides, the Greek text was different from the one used by the Latin translator, since not only are four chapters wanting, but a section is inserted in the seventh chapter between the thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth verses which the Latin has not. Lücke thinks that it was not made before the seventh century.[1]

The Ethiopic MS. used by Laurence has many mistakes; and his version requires correction by a better knowledge of the language. Van der Vlis has shewn that it was made directly from a Greek text.[2] It is not so literal as the Latin, nor so paraphrastic as the Arabic. The contents agree with those in the Arabic version. All that can be known of its age is that it is later than the fourth century.

Both Ethiopic and Arabic are better representatives of the original Greek than the present Latin text. This has been inferred not only from their wanting the four chapters, which were of later origin, but also from the addition at vii. 35 of a long passage, a considerable part of which is quoted by Ambrose, though it is not in the Latin text. This paragraph is the sixth chapter in the Ethiopic, and contains a curious account of the intermediate state of souls, ending with a denial of the efficacy of human intercession after death. That it belonged to the Latin at first is proved by the want of connection which its absence causes.

VIII. CANONICAL AUTHORITY.—The fourth book of Esdras was never admitted into the canon. The Roman Catholic church rejected, and Luther did not translate it.

[1] Versuch, u. s. w., p. 149.

[2] Disputatio Critica, etc., p. 77, et seqq.

THE BOOK OF TOBIT.

I. TITLE.—The book of Tobit is entitled *Βίβλος λόγων Τωβίτ (Τωβείτ, Τωβήτ)*, a phrase taken from the commencement, or simply *Τωβίτ*; in Latin, *Tobia, liber Tobiæ, Tobit et Tobias, liber utriusque Tobiæ.*

II. CONTENTS.—Tobit, of the tribe of Napthali, was carried away captive to Nineveh, in the time of Shalmaneser king of Assyria. He was an upright and pious man, punctilious in the observance of the law, and free from idolatry. He married Hannah, of his own kindred, by whom he had a son, Tobias. Under Shalmaneser his condition was prosperous; he became his purveyor, and deposited with Gabael at Rages in Media, ten talents of silver. But under Sennacherib, who killed many of the Jews, he was obliged to flee, because of his alms and charity in burying the dead bodies of his countrymen, so that he lost all the property he had. After Sennacherib's assassination he was allowed to return to Nineveh, under Esarhaddon, at the intercession of Achiacharus, his brother's son. Soon after, he lost his eye-sight through birds, in consequence of sleeping outside by the wall of his courtyard with his face uncovered, after burying a poor Israelite who had been strangled and thrown into the market-place. But though blind and poor, he was conscientious and upright. When his wife received the present of a kid, Tobit thought it had been stolen, and got into a dispute about it with his wife, who taunted him with his alms and righteous deeds. Being vexed, he prayed to God that he might die. On the same day Sara, being reproached by her father's maids, betook herself to God in prayer. *She* was the daughter of Raguel, belonging to Ecbatana, and had lost seven husbands, each on the bridal night, by the instrumentality of Asmodeus the evil spirit. Accordingly, Raphael was sent to both (i.-iii.).

Expecting death as he wished, Tobit gave instructions to his son Tobias, telling him of the money deposited with Gabael. Hence the youth went to Media to fetch the money, accom-

panied by an angel who offered to be his guide, and called himself Azarias son of Ananias. As they journeyed to Ecbatana, they came to the Tigris, where Tobias took a fish which leaped out of the river and would have devoured him, drew it to land, and extracted the heart, liver, and gall at the command of the angel, who also advised him, being the only man of her kindred, to marry Sara the daughter of Raguel. When he hesitated on account of what had befallen the maid, the angel taught him how to drive away the wicked spirit. Raguel gave his daughter in marriage to the young man, who drove away the wicked spirit as he had been taught. Asmodeus fled into the utmost parts of Egypt, where the angel bound him. As Tobias was obliged to stay fourteen days for the wedding feast, he sent the angel to Gabael for the money, and the latter was brought to the wedding. On the expiration of the wedding feast, Raguel sent away Tobias and his wife with half their goods, blessing them at their departure. As the travellers approached Nineveh, Raphael advised Tobias to hasten forward before his wife, and apply the gall of the fish to the father's eyes at their first meeting. By this means Tobit recovered his sight. The daughter-in-law was joyfully welcomed; and the wedding was celebrated seven days. On Tobit's offering the angel half of what he had, the latter took father and son aside, blessed them, and exhorted them to be faithful to their God, telling them that he was Raphael, one of the seven holy angels, and was now returning to heaven. Accordingly he disappeared (iv.-xii.).

We have next a song of praise to God written down by Tobit, containing prophetic glances into the future. The book closes with a record of various particulars concerning the family. Tobit attains to an unusual age, and advises his son to leave Nineveh, because it was to be destroyed according to the predictions of Jonah. After the death of father and mother, Tobias removed to Ecbatana and died there, after hearing of Nineveh's destruction (xiii., xiv.).

III. NATURE OF THE HISTORY.—Are the contents of the work historical?

1. Scholz, Welte, Reusch, and most writers of the Romish church, suppose the narrative to be proper history. In favour of this view it is alleged that the exact notice of the tribe to which Tobit belonged could hardly be expected in the case of a fiction; still less a number of special accounts of Tobit's family-relations that contribute nothing to the object a novelist could have had in view, such as Tobit's marrying a woman called Anna out of his own tribe (i. 9); Gabelus's taking part in the marriage feast of Tobias (ix. 7, etc.), and staying two weeks

with Raguel (viii. 23); Tobias's separation from his people at Charran and hastening on before (xi. 1). In like manner Achiacharus and Nasbas came to congratulate Tobit (xi. 20), who had been blind four years, and after receiving his sight lived forty-two years, *i.e.* 102 years in all (xiv. 1-3). Of the same nature are the particulars of Tobias leaving Nineveh after the death of his parents, and going to his father-in-law, where he reached the age of ninety-nine years (xiv. 14-16).[1]

These things weigh little in opposition to the general tone and character of the work. Indeed they fill out the author's general outline with necessary details, however tedious they may be at times. Verisimilitude required specialities of narration.

2. Ilgen supposed that the basis alone is historical;[2] the rest fictitious ornament. The essence is real history, but the filling up of the outline and the dress it is clothed in belong to the writer himself, or were partly traditional, receiving in the course of their oral transmission a certain shape. Of course all attempts to separate the historical basis from the fabulous elements must be conjectural, since no data are extant towards the discovery of the respective parts.

3. A third opinion is that the whole is fictitious, written for some definite purpose. This is the opinion of Jahn, Eichhorn, Bertholdt, De Wette, Fritzsche, Sengelmann; and seems most in harmony with the nature of the work. There are inherent difficulties which cannot be solved satisfactorily on any other hypothesis: such as geographical inaccuracies, contradictions of history, physical improbabilities, the marvellous contents of the book, significant proper names, similarity of fortune between Tobit, Job, Tobias, and Sara.

Rages is called a city of the Medes, which is situate in the mount of Ecbatana (v. 8). But Rages was ten days' journey from Ecbatana. In iii. 7 (Vulg.), vi. 9 (LXX.), Rages appears to be the abode of Sara; yet Asarias is sent thence to Gabelus at Rages (ix. 2). Welte[3] replies to this that the Latin text is corrupt; and that Rages should be Ecbatana in iii. 7, corresponding to the Greek. Reusch agrees with this. It is true that some MSS. have the reading recommended, but was it not suggested by the difficulty? It is very improbable, as some critics have supposed, that the Vulgate took the Ῥάγη of the Greek text, a place in the neighbourhood of Ecbatana, and different from the Raga where Gabelus lived, as the abode of Raguel.

[1] Welte in Herbst's Einleitung, zweyter Theil, dritte Abtheilung, p. 84.

[2] Die Geschichte Tobi's nach drei verscheidenen Originalen, dem Griechischen, dem Lateinischen des Hieronymus und einem Syrischen, u. s. w., p. lxxii., et seqq.

[3] Einleitung, pp. 88, 89.

The book states that Tobit was carried away to Nineveh by Shalmaneser; whereas the tribe of Napthali had been already transported to Halah and Habor by Tiglath-pileser (comp. i. 2 with 2 Kings xv. 29). The reply of Welte to this is far-fetched. It is difficult to see how the sparrows could have muted warm dung into both eyes of Tobit at once, depriving him of sight ever after; and how the gall of a very peculiar fish, or rather river-monster, could have restored it (ii. 10, and 11). Welte supposes that the slightest wind could have caused the dung to scatter sufficiently to do its work! The sixth chapter relating to the monstrous fish which came up to devour Tobias, states that it was caught by the gill and killed, apparently with ease. It could not therefore be very large, or voracious towards a man.

The marvellous contents of the book are connected with its angelology. Seven angels are represented as standing before God, and presenting the prayers of the pious before His throne (xii. 12, 15). The angel Raphael in human form gives a false account of his belonging to an Israelite tribe and family (v. 18). With Tobias he makes a very long journey, above 1,000 miles (v., etc.). The evil spirit Asmodeus burns with lust for the beautiful Sara; and, through envy, all the men that approached his beloved were smitten with death, no fewer than seven of them (iii.). The smoke arising from the heart and liver of a fish drove him away for ever (viii.): and he was bound by an angel or good spirit in the extreme parts of Egypt.

The similarity between the fate of Tobit and Job is apparent, so that the story of the former is partly an echo of the latter. While some expressions of Tobit's wife at the end of the second chapter remind the reader of Job's wife, much more do the commencing verses of the third resemble some that fell from Job's lips. So the cases of Tobit and Sara are similar. Raphael was sent to heal them both.

The names are also significant. Tobit or טוֹבִי is *my goodness;* Tobias is טוֹבִיָּה *good is Jehovah;* Raphael is אֵל רָפָא *whom God heals.*[1]

We have no doubt that the angelology and other marvellous circumstances betray a later age when foreign ideas and elements had penetrated into the Jewish belief.[2]

IV. SCOPE.—What was the writer's object? What is the moral of the fable? The narrative was written to shew that the truly upright man who continues to trust in God, in good works, and in prayer, is amply rewarded at last. Piety may suffer for

[1] See Jahn's Einleitung, vol. ii., p. 896, et seqq.
[2] Sengelmann's Das Buch Tobit erklärt, p. 17, et seqq.

a while: it receives its recompense in the end. This appears most plainly from the words of the angel to Tobit and his son in xii. 6-10. The story is characterised by originality and simplicity. Hence it has always been popular. Though the book of Job was evidently before the author's mind, influencing parts of the narrative more or less perceptibly, there is a degree of independence which raises him far above the copyist. Piety is described in an attractive form. Its fruits appear salutary and safe. In like manner, human affection is depicted naturally. The work is pervaded by religious earnestness. The speeches and dialogues are appropriate, without being prolix. Persevering piety unaffected by prevailing corruption is seen in attractive colours, passing through severe trials, but victorious in the end. Hence Luther pronounces a very favourable opinion upon the work, calling it useful and good to read as the production of a fine Hebrew poet.

V. ORIGINAL LANGUAGE.—It is difficult to tell whether Greek be the original language, or a version from Hebrew or Chaldee. Ilgen has pointed out many mistakes of the translator, as he conceives;[1] but all do not bear the character he gives them. Jahn[2] has tried to weaken them as much as possible. Fritzsche inclines to deny them.[3] In ix. 6 *καὶ εὐλόγησεν Τωβίας τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ* is a wrong version of the Hebrew וַיְבָרֶךְ טוֹבִיָּה אֶת־אִשְׁתּוֹ, which means, "Tobit with his wife blessed them" on their arrival. In i. 13 the two words *χάριν και μορφήν* appear to be a double version of חֵן. The Vulgate has *gratiam*. In iv. 11 *δῶρον ἀγαθόν*, represented by *fiducia magna* in the Vulgate, is probably a mistake. The translator may have read מְנָחָה. The strong Hebraisms also shew that the original was Hebrew. Barbarisms of diction favour the same view. Fritzsche thinks that a Jew was capable of writing it in Greek as it stands, which is certainly true; but the probability is against it. It is most unlikely that a *Palestinian* Jew could or would have composed it in Greek.

Was the original Hebrew or Chaldee? Jerome writes, in his preface to Tobit: "Exigitis ut librum sermone Chaldæo conscriptum ad latinum stilum traham, librum utique Tobiæ. Feci satis desiderio vestro, non tamen meo studio. Et quia vicina est Chaldæorum lingua sermoni Hebraico, utriusque linguæ peritissimum loquacem reperiens unius diei laborem arripui et quidquid ille mihi hebraicis verbis expressit hoc ego accito notario sermonibus latinus exposui." Thus Jerome knew none but a Chaldee copy. In like manner Origen had no knowledge

[1] Geschichte Tobi's, p. cxxiii., et seqq. [2] Einleitung II., p. 902.
[3] Exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apokryphen, 2, p. 8.

of a Hebrew text. We must therefore suppose that the original was Chaldee, not Hebrew, though Ilgen tries to shew the opposite.[1] His proofs of a Hebrew original are almost as good in favour of a Chaldee one. It is easy for Keil to say, that Jerome's translation is of such a nature that we can neither discover more nearly the Chaldee text he used, nor prove that it was the original:[2] such assertions are lightly made; but the date, place, and circumstances of the work must be taken into account. Is it likely that a Chaldee version of a Greek work should have been made either in Palestine or Egypt for the use of the Jews between the first century anterior to Christ and the time of Jerome? If the Greek original was of Palestinian origin, as Keil holds, a Chaldee version was not needed there. Nor would it have been needed in Egypt, where the Jews spoke Greek.

VI. AUTHOR, DATE, AND COUNTRY.—At one time it was the prevailing opinion that Tobit himself wrote the first thirteen chapters, Tobias the son the greater part of the fourteenth, and that some unknown person, perhaps a son of Tobias, perhaps an Israelite who acted as publisher of the work, added the last two or four verses. Even Allioli takes this view.[3] According to it, the book would be older than several canonical ones, and anterior to the Babylonish captivity. The grounds, however, on which the opinion rests are untenable, as Welte himself admits.[4] Later critics, such as Arnold, Sainte-Croix, and Scholz, suppose that the father and son left family memoirs, which were put together in their present shape by some later hand, in the time of the Greek-Macedonian dominion as Scholz conjectures.[5] Eichhorn supposes that it might have originated after the time of Christ, because neither Philo nor Josephus refers to it.[6] But this is no proof of its non-existence in their day. Fabricius goes so far as to put it 100 years after Christ.[7] Unquestionably the work was written before Christ, how long it is difficult to ascertain. In i. 7, 8, Tobit speaks of a tenth, a second tenth, and a third tenth. The latter two were unknown to the Chronist, else he would have mentioned them in Neh. xii. 44-47. Thus the book was considerably later than the Chronicles. It represents seven archangels about the throne of God—a Persian doctrine, which did not obtain currency among the Jews till after Darius Hystaspis, when the custom of surrounding the throne of the Persian monarch with seven councillors gave rise

[1] Geschichte Tobi's, p. cxxiii. [2] Einleitung, p. 711.
[3] Die heilige Schrift des A. und N. Test., p. 369, fifth edition.
[4] Einleitung, pp. 81, 82. [5] Einleitung, vol. ii., p. 563.
[6] Einleitung in die Apokryphischen Schriften, u. s. w., p. 408.
[7] Liber Tobiæ, Judith, etc., p. 4.

to the idea. The power of alms to deliver from sin and death (iv. 11, 12) savours of a later period of Judaism. Tobit recommends moral duties to his son Tobias, not ceremonial rites. This shews that the work was composed before the prevalence of Pharisaism; though the incipient Pharisaism of Palestine may be discerned in the four cardinal virtues set forth—prayer, fasting, alms, and righteousness. There is also a simple naturalness about the work unlike the artificiality and superstitious air belonging to the productions of the first century before Christ. Hence it must be dated shortly before the Maccabean period, about 180 B.C. The tone of it is decidedly Palestinian. Its ethics point to that land. No trace of Hellenism appears. The author could not have been a Babylonian, else he could not have believed that the Tigris flowed pretty far to the east of Nineveh, as is implied in vi. 1. He was a Palestinian.[1] Ewald conjectures that the book was composed by a Jew living in the remote east not much later than the end of the Persian period; and that it was translated out of the Hebrew original into Greek, perhaps in the last century before Christ, or still later.[2]

VII. VERSIONS.—The Greek text in the LXX. is the best which has been preserved, as it is the oldest. Here the narrative is the simplest. We are able to explain by it why alterations were adopted in other texts. All investigations of authorship and time must be conducted on this basis, as if it were *virtually* the original itself. It seems to have been made in the first century before Christ. The text has been preserved in a tolerably pure state. Holmes and Parsons collated eighteen MSS. of it.

Another Greek text is in the Codex Friderico-Augustanus, which Tischendorf printed in 1846, and is in 44, 106, 107 of Holmes and Parsons. The last codex only has from i. 1 to ii. 2, the remainder being lost. The last three MSS. give from vi. 9 to xiii. The remaining chapters in them have the earlier text. This second Greek text is nothing more than a revision of the LXX. Enlargements and abbreviations are made. Names, numbers, words, are altered, usually for the better; *i.e.*, they make the Greek rounder, fuller, and more perspicuous. The turns and constructions are improved. Fritzsche has endeavoured to restore the text as far as possible, and to exhibit it with the necessary critical apparatus. But he has made too great use of *the revision*, and so reproduced a text departing in many instances from the original Greek one. Sengelmann has printed lengthened specimens of both Greek texts in parallel columns, subjoining remarks;[3] and Reusch has compared the two in the same manner.[4]

[1] Herzfeld's Gesch. des V. Israel, p. 316. [2] Gesch. des V. Israel, vol. iv., p. 233.
[3] Page 39, et seqq. [4] Das Buch Tobias uebersetzt und erklärt, p. xxi., et seqq.

Closely related to the Septuagint Greek text is a Syriac version printed in the London Polyglott as far as vii. 9, according to the marginal annotation in Ussher's MS. The remaining portion was taken from a MS. or MSS. having the second or revised Greek text.

There are three Latin versions, viz., the Versio Vetus or old Latin, the Vulgate, and one printed by Sabatier among the various readings of the Versio Vetus.

The old Latin version was first published by Sabatier from two MSS. of about the eighth century. He also printed the various readings of another codex defective in many places. The text of another MS. belonging to the Vatican (No. 7) differed so much from that of the other MSS. that he thought it a different version taken from the same Greek original. But the MS. is incomplete, having only i. 1–vi. 12, verses 13 and 14 being from the Vulgate. This second version is later than the other, and the Latin of it less barbarous.

The language of the Versio Vetus is barbarous; the style diffuse and prolix. It shews that the translator had considerable difficulty in rendering the Greek into Latin. With respect to the original of it, Fritzsche's investigations have led him to the following results:—

1st. That the greater part of it was made from the revised Greek already mentioned.

2nd. That in various places the usual Greek text was the basis, as in vi. 15-17, vii. 15-18, viii. 14-17, xii. 6-9, 11-22, xiii. 6-18.

3rd. That in x. 1-xi. 19 there is a mixture of both texts.[1]

The list of additions to or modifications of the story in the old Latin is pretty numerous, so much so that Welte denies the Greek to have been its original throughout. Probably the additions belonged for the most part to the Latins. It omits that Achiacharus was cupbearer and steward to the Assyrian king (i. 22); that the account of Tobit's blindness made Raguel weep (vii. 7); and that Tobit died 150 years old, and received an honourable burial (xiv. 11). In the second verse it adds immediately after Tobit's original abode: "post viam quæ ducit in occidentem, ex sinistra parte Raphain." In i. 5 it adds, "the sacrifice for the golden calf at Dan which Jeroboam king of Israel had made." In i. 14 the Itala makes Gabael a brother of Tobit, whereas Gabrias is his brother in the Greek. In ii. 1 it has qui est sanctus a septem annis for the Greek ἥ ἐστιν ἁγία ἑπτὰ ἑβδομάδων. The version seems to belong to the second century, and to have been made in Africa. As the

[1] Exeget. Handbuch, ii., pp. 11, 12.

various readings are so numerous, the text has suffered much corruption in the course of transmission.

Angelo Mai[1] has printed the Bible citations contained in a Roman MS. of the Speculum of Augustine, which belongs to the sixth or seventh century according to Mai and Wiseman. The whole work is given in his Nova Bibliotheca patrum (vol. I). This is a different recension of the Itala. It departs from the other very considerably. The text is made easier and often enlarged.

The Latin text of the Vulgate is a version made from a Chaldee copy by Jerome, as he himself states. The Greek was not used in making it. There is considerable difference between it and the Greek. The story in both is hardly the same. Thus the Greek text makes Tobit speak of himself in the first person, and relate his own life; whereas Jerome's version speaks of him in the third person, and so assumes another than Tobit as the author. The former is more copious in the moral part; the latter in the historical.

It has been suspected with reason, that though the Greek text was not used in making this version, the Chaldee original was not its sole basis. The language Hebraises too little to justify the idea of its being *a proper translation*. The style is unlike Jerome's, being less neat and elegant. It agrees in many respects with the old Latin. There is also a Christian and monkish character about the book in this form which the Chaldee copy could not have had. It resembles an abridgment from a larger work, filled out with other traits to give more concinnity to the narrative and adapt it to practical use. Hence it is probable that Jerome used the Chaldee original in a very cursory way. His version was made in one day, as he states. Doubtless he collated the old Latin. The Chaldee was the basis; but he must have subsequently used the old Latin very freely, in adapting his work to ecclesiastical use. Indeed there is more of the latter element in it than of the Chaldee. Hence the version he produced is of a mongrel nature. It is strange that he does not mention any but the Chaldee as the original of his version. He has told the truth but not the whole truth, as Fritzsche says.[2]

His use of the old Latin has been denied by Welte, though Ilgen has said enough to prove its truth. That many passages are expressed partly in the same words as the old Italic, and yet depart from it in a way that could not well be in case of its use, for example, in i. 13; ii. 4, 7; iii. 3, 8, 14, 24; iv. 4, 10, 11, 23; v. 1, 4, 6, 13; vi. 11; vii. 3; viii. 2, 6, 14; xi. 2; xiii.

[1] Spicilegium Romanum, vol. ix., after pp. 21-23.
[2] Exeget. Handbuch ii., Einleitung, pp. 12, 13.

10, 11, 18; xiv. 11, shews nothing more than that he did not follow the old Latin absolutely. The omissions and additions of the Vulgate compared with the old Latin, frequent and important as they are, do not prove that the latter was not employed. As little does the circumstance stated by Welte, that not a single verse of the old has been taken unaltered into the Vulgate, prove it.[1] Reusch very properly departs from his fellow-religionist on this point, and asserts that Jerome had constant regard to the old Latin, and adopted a great deal from it, with such modifications as appeared to him necessary. Martianay had expressed the same view long before.[2] In some cases the difference consists merely in a word or two, as in iv. 7, ix. 4, x. 2, xii. 7, 10, which favours at least the conclusion already stated.[3]

The translation thus made soon supplanted the old Latin, and became the accredited one in the Romish church. It is that adopted by Roman Catholics, being in the Vulgate. Luther translated from it. The version in our English Bibles was taken from the Greek.

There are also two Hebrew translations of the book. One was printed at Constantinople (1517, 4to.) and afterwards by Paul Fagius along with the proverbs of Ben Sira, accompanied with a Latin version (1542, 8vo.). This is little else than a paraphrase of the Septuagint Greek, not differing essentially from the source it was derived from. There are minor charges, consisting of explanatory additions, enlargements of the ascetic matter, and various abridgments. The meaning of the original was misunderstood in many cases. In some places at least, the translator had more texts than one before him. Since the version was made, the readings of both texts have been more or less mixed together. Ilgen attributes it to a Constantinopolitan Jew of the twelfth century. Fritzsche puts it a century earlier. It is marked by Fritzsche H. F.

The other Hebrew text first published by Sebastian Münster (1542, 4to.), is the revision of an existing text, not a first translation. The editor worked on the basis of the old Latin and revised Greek, and treated them with great freedom. He made many alterations, shortening the original, and inserting Jewish legendary materials. The author was a Jew, not a Christian as Eichhorn conjectured.[4] Ilgen supposes that he lived in Italy in the fifth century. But Fritzsche thinks the present Hebrew younger than even H. F.[5] Probably it should be put in the seventh century. Both are in Walton's Polyglott.

[1] Einleitung, p. 72.
[2] Das Buch Tobias, Einleitung, p. xxxiv.
[3] See Sengelmann, p. 57, et seqq.
[4] Einleitung, p. 418.
[5] Exeget. Handbuch ii., p. 14.

Bartolocci translated a Hebrew version into Latin, with remarks; and deposited the MS. in the Vatican library.[1]

The relation of these texts to one another gives rise to many conjectures. They differ in names, numbers, forms, and turns of speech, with other secondary circumstances. But the general basis and form of the narrative are the same in all. Two hypotheses are possible, either that the various writers elaborated the same materials independently of one another, or that they wrought on the foundation of a written document, with tolerable freedom in the treatment of its contents. The latter hypothesis is the true one. Hence the problem for discussion is an inquiry into the common basis. The first scientific attempt to solve the problem was made by Ilgen, who displayed great critical tact and sagacity. His results were adopted by Bertholdt, and with some exceptions by De Wette. We believe, however, that the critic's ingenuity constructed a complicated fabric out of frail materials. Fritzsche, availing himself of Ilgen's investigations, has been more successful because he is less constructive.

The Armenian version is taken from the Septuagint Greek text, which it renders clearly and well. The deviations from it are few and unimportant, consisting sometimes of small additions put for the sake of perspicuity. Some clauses and sentences of the Greek are occasionally wanting. This version probably belongs to the fifth century, and is printed in the Armenian Bible of Venice, 1805.[2]

VIII. AUTHORITY AND RECEPTION AMONG JEWS AND CHRISTIANS.—The Jews never put Tobit in their canon, as Origen expressly testifies. This is confirmed by the fact that the oldest lists of the canonical books given by the fathers, by Melito, Origen, and Jerome omit it. Athanasius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory of Nazianzum, Epiphanius, Hilary of Poictiers, and Jerome do not give it in the canon.

In the Greek church, Clemens Alexandrinus quotes xii. 8 as taken from ἡ γραφή, *Scripture*, and therefore he considered it a sacred book.[3] He applies the same epithet in citing iv. 15.[4] Even Origen cites it as γραφή or *Scripture*, in two places.[5] In consequence, however, of Origen's declaration that the Jews did not use it, and that they spoke against it,[6] the Greek fathers commonly placed the book among the apocryphal writings. This Alexandrian father is somewhat inconsistent with himself where he speaks of Tobit in different places; or perhaps he meant to put the opinions of the Jews, and of himself or Chris-

[1] Bibliotheca magna Rabbinica, vol. i., p. 47 f.
[2] See Reusch, Einleit., pp. xliv.-xlvi. [3] Stromata, vi. 12. [4] Ibid, ii. 23.
[5] De Orat., p. 220. In Epist. ad Rom. viii, 640.
[6] Epist. ad Africanum et De Oratione.

tians generally, in contrast. If he intended the latter, he has not expressed his meaning clearly. We agree with De Wette[1] in finding either inconsistency or obscurity in his statements.

According to Athanasius, Tobit was not among the canonical writings, but among those proposed by the fathers to be read by such as were growing up and wished to be instructed in the word of piety. It was read by the church for edification; in catechising and preaching it was practically applied; but doctrinally and theoretically it had no authority. This distinction between canonical and apocryphal afterwards disappeared, if not generally in the Greek church, at least here and there; for in the Nomo-canon of the Antiochenian church, composed by Bar-Hebræus, Tobit appears among the sacred books. Athanasius himself cites Tobit xii. 7 with the formula *as it is written*.[2]

In the Latin church, the work was more highly valued than in the Greek. Thus Cyprian of the African branch frequently cites it in a way indicating his high opinion of its value. He even calls it *divine Scripture* in one place;[3] and in another he introduces a quotation from iv. 11 with, *as it is written*.[4] Ambrose calls it *a prophetic book*.[5] Hilary states, that some wished to add to the canonical list Tobit and Judith, and so to make twenty-four after the number of letters in the Greek alphabet.[6] Both Hilary and Augustine use it as canonical.[7] The influence of the latter appears in the reception of the book by the Councils of Hippo and Carthage (393 and 397 A.D.), which formally declared the canonicity of Tobit and the rest of the Apocrypha: a judgment confirmed by the Roman bishop Innocent I. (405), in an epistle to Exuperius bishop of Toulouse. Jerome declared that it was not in the Jewish canon, but pronounced no unfavourable opinion of it. He even commented upon it and Judith. In the Roman church the book was canonical, as we see from the decree of pope Gelasius. And though several fathers spoke of it as the Greek church usually did, in this they gave their private sentiments merely; for it was unquestionably canonical among the Latins generally. We have given distinct utterances on the subject of the book's reception by many of the fathers, which shew that they thought it *more* than a popular religious book. It is admitted, that no quotation, nor any number of quotations from a book, prove it to be divine, or even that those who used it thought it to be so; but when fathers of the church, Latin and Greek, applied to the work, in quoting it, introductory formulas employed of the canonical writings exclusively, the

[1] Einleitung in das A. T., p. 40. [2] Advers. Arianos, vol. i., p. 133; ed. Maur.
[3] De Orat. domin., p. 272, ed. Paris, 1574; referring to xii. 8.
[4] Epist. 52, p. 96. [5] De Tobia, liber unus, p. 591, vol. i., ed. S. Maur.
[6] Prol. in Psalm., p. 9, ed. Benedict. [7] De Doctrina Christiana, II. 8.

fact proves a great deal. The fathers indeed might err in thinking it inspired or canonical; but do not indiscreet Protestants who say so cut away their own ground? Why do they appeal to the fathers *against* its canonicity? Might not those old witnesses err in this matter of fact? They could not err about the Jewish canon; and it is to *that* list they refer. But many of them did not agree with the Jews about the canon, and extended the number of books included in it, holding that *the church* might determine the matter differently from the Jews. The decree of the Council of Florence (A.D. 1439) relating to the work has been suspected. The Council of Trent in 1546 pronounced it canonical, adding an anathema against all who differed in opinion. We have already seen that Luther recommends the book as furthering piety; and Pellican speaks still more strongly, saying that it is full of the most salutary instructions pertaining to faith and morals; and that language as well as contents shew the writer to have been imbued with a prophetic and holy spirit. Carlstadt would place it among the Hagiographa.

THE BOOK OF JUDITH.

I. CONTENTS.—The book of Judith contains the story of a Jewish widow called Judith, who delivered her native town Bethulia and all Israel from destruction.

Nebuchadnezzar, king of Nineveh in Assyria, made war upon Arphaxad of Media, who resided in the fortified city of Ecbatana. Having threatened all who would not join him, he marched against Arphaxad, slew him, and utterly destroyed his city. After he and his army on their return to Nineveh had indulged in revels for the space of 120 days, he resolved to wreak his vengeance on the whole earth. Holofernes was appointed general. The latter proceeded on his destructive campaign, with orders to spare none that would not submit. With a well-equipped army he marched forward till he descended into the plain of Damascus. Nothing could withstand his progress; he wasted, destroyed, and murdered. The inhabitants of the sea-coast begged for peace: yet Holofernes cut down their groves and destroyed their gods, that all nations might worship Nebuchadnezzar only. Approaching Judea, he pitched between Geba and Scythopolis, that he might collect all the baggage of his army. Under these circumstances the Jews were afraid, being in great trouble for Jerusalem and the temple. They had but recently returned from captivity; and the house of Jehovah had not been long re-dedicated. The high-priest Joakim wrote charging the inhabitants to fortify the mountain passes; and all the people humbled themselves before the Lord in supplication (i.-iv. 17).

Having inquired of the Canaanite princes who the children of Israel were, and received a brief account of them from Achior the Ammonite, who advised him not to meddle with them except they sinned against their God, Holofernes despised the Deity; threatened Achior, and sent him away in custody, to be delivered to the Israelites by whom he was well received. The next day Holofernes's army marched to Bethulia, laid siege to the place, and cut off its supply of water. Terrible want soon

began to be felt in the city; the people fainted, were disheartened, and requested the elders to deliver it up. They begged the space of five days, after which, should no help arrive, they promised to surrender (v.-vii.).

At this part of the history Judith is introduced—a pious, beautiful, and rich widow, who blamed the governors for their promise to submit, and advised them to trust in God. She engaged to do a thing that should be perpetually remembered, about which they might not then inquire; and to deliver Israel within the five days. After a remarkable prayer to the Lord, she dressed herself gaily, and went forth by night from Bethulia with her maid. Having reached the first Assyrian watch, she was conducted to the tent of Holofernes, where both the general and his servants greatly admired her beauty. He asked her who she was, and the cause of her coming. She addressed to him a flattering speech; but refused to eat of his food, and repaired to the valley of Bethulia three successive nights to pray (viii.-xii. 9).

On the fourth day the general made a feast on her account, with the view of winning her over to his desires the more effectually. She complied with the invitation, appearing so beautiful and attractive at the banquet that his heart was ravished with her charms. Through the joy of having her company, he drank to excess. When all the guests had retired and she was was left alone with Holofernes, she prayed to God beside the bed he lay on, took down his falchion, and cut off his head at two strokes. She, and her maid carrying the head, then went together to prayer according to custom, passed the camp, and arrived safely in Bethulia. Achior became an Israelite; and Holofernes's head was suspended on the wall. As soon as it became known in the camp that the general was dead, great noise and consternation arose; the Assyrians fled; the Israelites rushed out upon them; the camp was taken and spoiled; there was great slaughter, and the Assyrians were pursued beyond Damascus. Judith received great praise; the high-priest came to see her; she got Holofernes's tent, all his plate, beds, vessels, and stuff. The women gathered around, and crowned her with a garland of olive. She then sang a song of praise, escorted by all the people. Having entered Jerusalem, the people first worshipped the Lord, and continued feasting for three months. Judith returned to Bethulia, where she lived in much honour the rest of her days, and died at the age of 105, greatly lamented by all the people, who were not disturbed by the fear of enemies for a long time after her death (xii. 10-xvi.).

II. NATURE OF THE STORY.—The question naturally arises,

Is the narrative historical? Does it contain a record of actual events?

1. Most Roman Catholics receive it as historical, and defend its credibility. So Montfaucon, Du Pin, Huet, Welte, and Scholz. B. Lamy and Jahn dissent. Johannes Von Gumpach and Wolff, though Protestants, defend the historical view.

2. Protestants generally have considered it to be fictitious, but differ in their views of its nature and purport.

The latter is the only correct opinion. That the work is unhistorical and fabulous rests on the following grounds:—

(*a*) The impossibility of such an occurrence having happened, because history has no room for it. It could not have been before the Babylonian captivity, because the book itself states that the people had returned (iv. 3, v. 18, 19). Besides, the Jews had then a king over them; whereas all measures of defence and other matters are superintended by a high-priest Joakim or Eliakim, whose name does not appear in the lists of high-priests given in Chronicles and Josephus. The period of the captivity must necessarily be left out of account, because the Jews were not then in their own land. If it be affirmed that the events took place after the exile, there is no point of time suited to them. The Hebrews were subject to Persia for 207 years. They were next under the dominion of Alexander, and finally of the Ptolemies. Besides, where was a Nineveh after the return, or a Nabuchodonosor, or an Arphaxad king of Media? Where was there an Assyrian or a Median kingdom?

In reply to this argument, Welte admits that no post-exile time can be found for the events narrated in the book.[1] The reign of Cambyses will not do, though Eusebius and Augustine fixed upon it. That of Xerxes will not do, though Julius Africanus thought so. The reigns of Darius Hystaspis and Artaxerxes Ochus do not answer. Under all these sovereigns the Jews were subject to Persian dominion, and made no formal attempt to cast it off. Indeed none has more effectually shewn the impossibility of the events related in Judith having happened after the exile than Bellarmine.[2] Hence he and most advocates of the historical credibility place the occurrences before the exile, in opposition to internal evidence. Roman Catholics usually fix upon the reign of Manasseh, after the northern kingdom had been destroyed. We rely upon iv. 3 and v. 18, 19, for proof that the events are supposed to have succeeded the return from captivity. Attempts are made to explain away these places without success. "For they were newly returned from the captivity, and all the people of Judea were lately gathered

[1] Einleitung, pp. 120, 121.

[2] De verbo Dei, lib. i., c. 12.

together: and the vessels and the altar and the house were sanctified after their profanation" (iv. 3). Does this language exclude the idea of return from the Babylonian exile? Does it not rather suppose it? The profanation and re-dedication of the temple imply its rebuilding. Wolff goes farther than Welte, who denies the relevancy of the passage, and maintains its later interpolation. It is certainly not in the Vulgate; but it is unsafe to conclude from that circumstance its absence from the original. Wolff holds that the verse interrupts the connection, and that the passage contains within itself a plain historical contradiction. But he has laboured in vain to prove his position.[1] It is certain that ver. 18, 19, suppose the captivity at Babylon to be past. Here again Wolff has recourse to corruption of the Greek text either by the translator himself or an interpolator, and holds by the Latin of Jerome where the words "and the temple of their God was cast to the ground, and their cities were taken by the enemies" (v. 18 Greek, 22 Latin) are omitted. The context appears to us to imply the Babylonian exile; though Wolff maintains the contrary.[2]

(*b*) The work contains many historical and geographical improbabilities. Nebuchadonosor governs in Nineveh, and is called king of Assyria (i. 1, 7); whereas his father had destroyed Nineveh, and was king of Babylon. If another than the well-known Nebuchadnezzar be meant, history is silent respecting him. Eusebius and an old Syrian chronicle say that he is the same with Cambyses who conquered the Medes. Wolff labours to identify him with Kiniladan the son and second successor of Esarhaddon, who, according to Berosus and Polyhistor, was the brother of his immediate predecessor Samuges, and reigned till 635 B.C. Arphaxad reigned over the Medes in Ecbatana (i. 1). Who was he? Was he Arbaces the founder of the Median kingdom? Or was he Phraortes, as Wolff supposes? We know that Phraortes perished in a war with the Assyrians; but why does not the book of Judith speak of Kiniladan and Phraortes by their usual names? Why call them Nebuchadnezzar and Arphaxad? We know that Assyrian, Babylonian, and Median rulers frequently bore different names; but here the names are inexplicable on the ground of their belonging to the persons with whom Wolff identifies them. The names throughout the book are peculiar—names of places and cities as well as of persons, shewing an intentional disguise inconsistent with the assumption of literal history. History knows nothing of Nebuchadnezzar and Arphaxad, as they are named in Judith. Arphaxad is said to have fortified Ecba-

[1] Das Buch Judith, p. 17, et seqq.

[2] Ibid. p. 20, et seqq.

tana with remarkable walls seventy cubits high and fifty cubits broad; with towers on the gates one hundred cubits high and sixty broad. The very gates were seventy cubits high and forty broad. All this is exaggerated. Herodotus describes in similar language the fortification of the royal fortress at Ecbatana by Deiocces.

Holofernes's army marches three days' journey from Nineveh to the plain of Bectileth; and pitched from Bectileth near the mountain at the left hand of the upper Cilicia (ii. 21). But no army could march in three days from Nineveh to Cilicia. In ii. 25 we read that Holofernes in his march took the borders of Cilicia and came to the borders of Japheth which were toward the south over against Arabia. It is impossible to connect Cilicia, Japheth, and Arabia.

The city of Bethulia is a place unknown in history. According to the narrative it could not have been very distant from Jerusalem among the mountains. It was near Esdraelon. Different geographers have identified it with different places, as at Beit Ilfa north of mount Gilboa, where Schultz and Wolff place it; at Safed; at Sanûr; at Ginäa; and in Pella, because the Syriac has Beth-Pallau. The last is absurd, because the Syriac Beth Phalu is only a corruption of Beth Ulpha, whence that version favours Beth Ilfa, which is indeed the most probable opinion. Wherever it was, the conduct of Holofernes and the Jews, before and at its siege, is incomprehensible. The former remains encamped with his immense hosts for upwards of a month before this unimportant town; and takes no active measures against it as if it were impregnable. He waits to get possession of it by the inhabitants dying of thirst. The Jews in the town do nothing, but expect Jehovah's sudden interference on their behalf. When the Assyrian general is murdered, the huge army accustomed to victory takes to flight, leaving their camp a prey to the Jews.

In v. 2, 3, Holofernes addresses the princes of Moab, the captains of Ammon, and the governors of the sea-coast as *the sons of Chanaan*, a title which is unsuitable. He must have known who the Jews were.

In x. 3 Judith is represented as washing her body all over with water; whereas it is said just before that the citizens of Bethulia were dying of thirst. A bottle of wine, a cruse of oil, a bag filled with parched corn and lumps of figs and with fine bread, were all carried by her maid. The admiration of her beauty as she passed before different persons is exaggerated.

The high-priest, who acts as governor of the Jews throughout the course of events, sends unto all the coasts of Samaria as well as to other places, that the people there might be prepared for

the hostile army under Holofernes (iv. 3). This is unlikely at the very time when the Jews and Samaritans were bitterly opposed to one another.

It is impossible to trace the marches of the Assyrian army by means of the localities specified; for when a known place or people is mentioned, we are suddenly transported to a distant locality. The huge host goes hither and thither, crossing and recrossing the same route. Places obscure or unknown are thickly planted in the book. When we attempt to identify them they elude discovery. Or when probably identified, some abrupt digression occurs, taking the reader far away from where he was just before. Thus the geography is in a state of hopeless confusion. It seems to have been derived from the writer's memory of cities and countries which he put down without thought wherever he pleased.

The history does not suit the reign of Manasseh, because at the time of Bethulia's siege Judith says to the elders of the city: "There arose none in our age, neither is there any now in these days, neither tribe, nor family, nor people, nor city among us, which worship gods made with hands, as hath been aforetime" (viii. 18). But we learn from 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14-17, that during all the period of Manasseh's captivity the idol remained in the house of the Lord and strange gods in Jerusalem. The language of Judith is also inconsistent with the early part of Manasseh's reign. Nor could it be properly spoken even in the reign of Hezekiah. In like manner, the siege of Bethulia does not suit the commencement of Josiah's reign, when he was a boy of about ten years of age, as Wolff supposes. The high-priest would then be the virtual ruler of the people. The reigns of Amon and Josiah together lasted thirty-three years. The death of Judith, followed by *a long time* of peace (xvi. 25), must have occurred at least ten years before the death of Josiah. If the siege of Bethulia took place in the tenth year of Josiah it must have happened about eleven years before Judith's death. Hence, as she lived to the age of 105, she must have been 94 when Holofernes was captivated by her charms. In order to suit Josiah, the high-priest Joacim (in the Greek text), or Eliakim (in the Vulgate), Wolff arbitrarily supposes the name to have been changed and corrupted from Hilkiah.[1]

We are, therefore, unable to adopt the opinion of those who find authentic history in the book. Nor does it appear probable that there is a substratum of real history dressed out and disfigured with oral traditions, as Sandbücher[2] and Keil[3]

[1] Das Buch Judith, p. 46.
[2] Erläuterungen der biblischen Geschichte, Theil i., p. 369, et seqq.
[3] Einleitung, p. 700.

assume. The essential and historical cannot be separated from the external shell within which it is encased. The true cannot be distinguished from the foreign mixture incorporated with it. Let any one make the attempt to separate them, and he will soon find it hopeless. The basis of the story in that case must have been some remarkable deliverance of the Israelites from their enemies, which the Bible history would not have omitted to mention.

Grotius thinks[1] that the contents of the work are a historical allegory relating to the insane attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes to exterminate the Jewish worship in Palestine. Against this improbable hypothesis Bertholdt makes a few remarks.[2] The book contains pure fiction. It is of little moment, therefore, what name be applied to it: whether drama with Buddeus; or epopee with Artopœus and Marcus Von Niebuhr; or apologue with Babor; or didactic poem with Jahn; or moral fiction with Bauer; or romance with Semler; or with Ewald, a prophetic-poetical narrative presenting a confused mixture of fiction and history.

We do not believe that the proper names can be allegorised as if they were intended to be significant, though Grotius adopted this view, making Judith to represent the Jewish nation; Bethulia (בית־אל יה), the temple; Nebuchadnezzar, the devil; Assyria, pride; Holofernes, Antiochus or the devil's instrument (הלפר נחש), etc. There is no reason for holding the names to be thus symbolical. If they were, we should understand Bethulia to be *the virgin of Jehovah*, from בְּתוּלְיָהּ.

Though the history shews a strange mingling of heterogeneous materials, yet viewed as a whole it has simplicity and originality. The principal characters are well drawn, especially Judith herself. In colouring and verisimilitude, the author has not been successful. He has neglected historical accuracy and consistence, either from ignorance or carelessness. This feature mars the completeness of the narrative. From a Christian point of view, the character of Judith cannot be approved; for though she displays patriotism, courage, and piety, she employs dissimulation, lies, and murder to accomplish her end. Such immorality, in connection with a rigid attachment to the law, does not comport with christian principles. It has a parallel, however, in the case of Sisera and Jael. As a didactic fiction, which the work appears to be, it was well conceived and composed by a Palestinian Jew.

III. ORIGINAL LANGUAGE.—Was the book written in Greek;

[1] Prolegomena in librum Judith.

[2] Einleitung, vol. v., p. 2551.

or was it translated into that tongue from Hebrew or Chaldee? Cappellus, Fabricius, Jahn, Eichhorn, Daehne, and Ackermann are in favour of the originality of the Greek. But Bertholdt, De Wette, Scholz, Welte, Keil, and Wolff suppose it to be taken from a Hebrew or Chaldee original. This is the true view, and is proved by mistakes in translating, as well as by constructions which could not be expected even from a Greek-writing Jew. Thus in xvi. 4 it is said of the Assyrian, *ἦλθεν ἐν μυριάσι δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ*, translated by Jerome *in multitudine fortitudinis suae.* The Hebrew רב was taken for רִבּוֹ. In i. 9 occurs *καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ἕως Ἱερουσαλήμ, πέραν* standing for עֵבֶר, which does not suit here, though it is in general a correct version of the word. In i. 16, *ὁ σύμμικτος*, and in ii. 20, *ὁ ἐπίμικτος*, mean the covenant people, as translations of הָעֵרֶב. In xi. 7, *ζήσονται ἐπὶ Ναβουχοδονόσορ καὶ πάντα τὸν οἶκον*, corresponding to the Hebrew תַּחַת יְהוֹ, the translator confounded יְהוֹ with יְחִי. In xi. 11, *καὶ ἐπιπεσεῖται θάνατος ἐπὶ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν*, where the Vulgate has *tremor* for *θάνατος*, the translator read מוֹתָא for מוֹרָא. In xiv. 13 it is said that the enemies of the Jews shall be *utterly* destroyed, *εἰς τέλος*, translated from לָנֶצַח. In iv. 2, *σφόδρα σφόδρα* is equivalent to מְאֹד מְאֹד. In vi. 12, *ἔβαλον ἐν λίθοις* is the translation of יְרוּ בָאֲבָנִים. The frequent demonstrative supplement to the relative also shews a Hebrew original, as *οὗ διεσπάρησαν ἐκεῖ* v. 19, אֲשֶׁר נְדָחוּ שָׁם; *ἐν οἷς αὐτοὶ ἐνοικοῦσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς*, vii. 10, אֲשֶׁר בָּהֶם יָשְׁבוּ. The language bears the stamp of a Hebrew original throughout. Everything about it has a colouring which makes it easy, for the most part, to tell what was before the translator. Many geographical names also shew incorrect renderings of the Hebrew, as *Βετάνη* from בֵּית עֲנוֹת; *Χελλούς* from חֲלָחוּל; *Ῥασσίς* for תַּרְשִׁישׁ, etc.[1]

IV. DATE.—It is not easy to discover the time when the book was written. It is first mentioned by Clement of Rome in his Epistle to the Corinthians.[2] Neither Josephus nor Philo alludes to it; nor are there any references to it in the New Testament, though some have thought so. No external evidence therefore can throw light on the point. We must examine the contents. Even here there is room for doubt. It seems to have been composed in the second century before Christ. The Jews had long been in a state of oppression. This had nourished

[1] See Gesenius in the Hallische Literatur-zeitung for 1832, January; and Movers in the Bonn Zeitschrift für Philosophie und katholische Theologie, Heft 13.

[2] Cap. 55.

within them a spirit of revenge. Their ideas had become narrow, legal, limited. The eves of the sabbath and new moon are mentioned, as well as the Sanhedrim (viii. 6, iv. 8, xv. 8), indicating the second century, B.C. The spirit which animates the work is that which was stirred up in the Maccabean struggles—a spirit of wild and murderous war. Perhaps it was intended to reanimate the passion as it began to cool. It agrees best with the time of John Hyrcanus, when the Seleucidæ, after subduing the Jews, led large armies into eastern countries. The Jews might well fear for their state, if their rulers returned victorious. The writer disguised the names of peoples and places belonging to his own time, under Biblical appellations of the past. By the Assyrians he meant the Syrians. Perhaps Holofernes pointed to Demetrius II. To kill such a general would be a heroic deed. If a woman had the courage and cunning to cut off Holofernes's head and free her people from the yoke of a tyrant, why might not the renowned exploit be imitated? The name of the doer would be illustrious for ever. Thus the date may be fixed at 130 B.C., where Ewald places it.[1] Vaihinger agrees.[2] Movers, on the contrary, puts it 104 B.C., arriving at that conclusion by several ingenious but improbable conjectures.[3] It is matter of regret that Volkmar should indulge in such singular conjectures respecting the book, as to place its composition under Adrian, 117 or 118 A.D.,[4] where it is easy for Ewald to refute him.[5] The object which the author had in view was to awaken and encourage the long-oppressed covenant people by shewing that God never forsakes them as long as they are faithful to Himself, even in times of the greatest distress, but inflicts fearful vengeance on their heathen rulers.

V. VERSIONS.—The Greek translation in the Septuagint must have been made soon after the original appeared. The character of it is literal. Its author seems to have followed the Hebrew very closely. Hence he produced a version which faithfully represents the history as it was written. The translator was well acquainted with the Greek language, and could have made a freer version had he been disposed. According to Fritzsche, the original text has been best preserved in Cod. ii. There are two other forms of the text, which depart more or less from the fundamental one presented by the usual text of the LXX. They are revisions or elaborations of the latter. The one is found in MS. 58, and in an old Syriac version printed

[1] Geschichte des V. Israel, vol. iv., p. 541, et seqq.
[2] In Herzog's Encyklopaedie, vii., p. 135, et seqq.
[3] In the Bonn Zeitschrift for 1835, p. 47, et seqq.
[4] In the Tübingen Theol. Jahrbb., 1857, pp. 441-498.
[5] Jahrbb. ix., p. 192, et seqq.

in Walton's Polyglott; the other in the old Latin and MSS. 19, 108.

The Syriac version was made from the Greek, to which it adheres verbally. The old Latin was taken from the same source. In it the diction is rough and barbarous; a sort of Latinised Hebrew-Greek, as Fritzsche terms it. The translator frequently misunderstood the Greek. Sabatier printed it from five MSS., which he describes; and Nickes has particularly examined the text.[1] The Vulgate proceeded from Jerome. Here the form given to the materials of the story is considerably different. Some parts occupy a different place. Thus xiv. 5-10 stands at the end of the thirteenth chapter. Other parts are omitted, as i. 13-16. Some things are added, as after iv. 11 and xiv. 8. Abridgments and enlargements are frequent. Names and numbers vary. The sense is often dissimilar. The relation of the Latin to the other forms of the text has been pointed out by Cappellus,[2] from whom Eichhorn, Bertholdt, and others give many specimens. In rendering the Chaldee text which Jerome had before him, he acted freely. Welte, Scholz, and Wolff think that he translated *the original* Aramæan text; but his words scarcely justify that opinion. They are these; and we give them because Wolff makes so much of their import: "Apud Hebræos liber Judith inter Hagiographa (Apokrypha) legitur, cujus auctoritas ad roboranda illa quæ in contentionem veniunt, minus idonea judicatur. Chaldæo tamen sermone conscriptus inter historias computatur. Sed quia hunc librum Synodus Nicæna in numero sanctarum Scripturarum legitur computasse, acquievi postulationi vestræ, immo exactioni, et sepositis occupationibus, quibus vehementer arctabar, huic unam lucubratiunculam dedi magis sensum e sensu quam ex verbo verbum transferens. Multorum codicum varietatem vitiosissimam amputavi, sola ea, quæ intelligentia integra in verbis Chaldæis invenire potui, Latinis expressi."[3] In connection with this language should be taken that of Origen: "Ἑβραῖοι τῷ Τωβίᾳ οὐ χρῶνται οὐδὲ τῇ Ἰουδίθ, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔχουσι αὐτὰ καὶ ἐν Ἀποκρύφοις Ἑβραϊστί, ὡς ἀπ' αὐτῶν μαθόντες ἐγνώκαμεν.[4] Jerome translated from an Aramæan text; and Origen says that the book did not exist in Hebrew. We do not think with Eichhorn and De Wette that these testimonies are contradictory. The Aramæan of Jerome had supplanted the original Hebrew. The fact that he speaks of mending the most corrupt variety existing in many MSS. is against the idea of his having the original Aramæan in that state, and doing so much to purge

[1] De Veteris Testamenti Codicum Græcorum familiis Dissertatio, 1853.
[2] Commentarii et notæ criticæ in Vetus Testamentum, p. 574, et seqq.
[3] Præf. in librum Judith.
[4] Epist. ad Africanum.

it. It can scarcely be said that he *translated* the Aramæan into Latin. What use he made of it in the production of his Latin text is not clear. It seems to have been slight. He says that he amputated the most corrupt variety of many MSS., referring to the great variety in the Latin MSS. of the *versio vetus*. We believe that he usually worked on the basis of the old Latin, which agrees in the main with his. Hence we find in his text Latin forms and expressions which he does not employ elsewhere. Thus the MSS. of the old Latin were the basis of Jerome's translation. He used the Chaldee also, but did not produce a good version because he proceeded hastily.

It is needless to refute the opinion of Welte and Wolff that Jerome's version being taken from the original Chaldee is superior in value to the Greek one in the Septuagint.

Many suppose that other texts, in addition to the Greek and Latin with which we are now acquainted, are known to the fathers because they sometimes quote passages not existing now. Thus citations are produced from Origen's works, which have not their originals in the present book of Judith. In like manner, a passage is quoted from Fulgentius of Ruspe with the same view. Fritzsche, however, has shewn that they are not citations from Judith.[1]

The Syriac version printed by Walton was made from the Greek, probably in the second century.

VI. Reception among Jews and Christians.—The book was not in the canon of the Jews. Among the early Christians it was usually put with Tobit and judged accordingly. It is quoted by Clemens Alexandrinus, who cites viii. 27 between Ezek. xviii. 23, 32, and Prov. x. 4, 5, 8 by which process the text is treated as a part of Scripture.[2] Origen quotes a passage out of Judith with the introduction *κατὰ τό*.[3] Yet this father in his list of the Old Testament canon mentions none of the deutero-canonical books except Baruch and Maccabees. Judith and her history are frequently referred to in the Apostolic Constitutions. Tertullian adduces Judith as an example of chastity.[4] Ambrose,[5] Jerome,[6] and Augustine[7] quote the work. It is true that Jerome did not place it among the canonical books, but only among such as might be read for edification. Others, however, did not make that distinction, but put it on an equality with the sacred books. It is difficult to tell what Jerome means by the Nicene synod putting Judith in the number of the holy

[1] Exeget. Handbuch, ii., pp. 122, 123.
[2] Stromata ii. 7.
[3] Select. in Jerem. Cap. 23.
[4] De Monogam. 17.
[5] De Officiis Ministr., iii., 13.
[6] Epist. ad Furiam, p. 559, vol. i., ed. Migne
[7] De Doctrina christiana, ii. 8.

books.[1] The Latin church valued it more highly than the Greek. The Pseudo-Athanasius treats it like the canonical writings; and the third council of Carthage expressly places it in the canon. The council of Trent received it formally into the same sacred list.

[1] Præf. in Librum Judith, Tom., x.. p. 39, ed. Migne.

THE ADDITIONS TO THE BOOK OF ESTHER.

I. TITLE AND PLACE.—Certain additions to the canonical Esther are scattered through the latter in the Septuagint and old Latin, which Jerome separated and put at the end of the book, because they did not exist in the Hebrew.

II. CONTENTS.—These pieces are—

1. A dream of Mordecai respecting the dangers impending over his countrymen, their deliverance, and his discovery of a conspiracy against the king, for which he is richly rewarded. This stands before i. 1 in the Greek. In the Vulgate and English version it is xi. 1–xii. 6.

2. The edict of Haman addressed to the Persian satraps, enjoining them to destroy all the Jews. In the Septuagint, this piece comes after iii. 13; but in the Vulgate after xiii. 1-7.

3. The prayers of Mordecai and Esther on behalf of the Jews: in the LXX. after iv. 17; in the Vulgate xiii. 8–xiv. 19.

4. An embellished account of the scene between Esther and the king: in the LXX. chap. v. 1, etc.; in the Vulgate, xv. 4–19.

5. Mordecai's edict mentioned in viii. 9, in which the king abolished his former decree against the Jews; in the LXX. after viii. 12; in the Vulgate xvi. 1-25.

6. The interpretation of Mordecai's dream, and an account of the proclamation of the Purim festival in Egypt; in the LXX. and Vulgate after x. 3, *i.e.* x. 4-13.

III. AUTHOR AND DATE.—It is difficult to discover the writer of these additions. Some have supposed that he and the translator of the book into Greek were identical. The difference of style, however, is opposed to this assumption. The genealogy of Mordecai is repeated. There is also a want of connexion between the Hebrew and Greek parts, as well as an improper placing of the latter, which do not shew the hand of one person. Hence the Greek translator was not the same with the writer of the additions. The subscription found in Greek MSS. may lead perhaps to the time and place at which the apocryphal additions originated: "In the fourth year of the reign of Ptolemeus

and Cleopatra, Dositheus, who said he was a priest and Levite, and Ptolemeus his son, brought this epistle of Purim which they said was the same, and that Lysimachus the son of Ptolemeus who was in Jerusalem had interpreted it." By *this epistle of Purim* we understand the whole book of Esther. But who was the Ptolemy spoken of? Ussher, Hody, Valckenær, Scholz, and Langen think that he was Ptolemy Philometor, principally because Josephus[1] puts Dositheus under him and Cleopatra. Dositheus, however, was a common name. If, as is likely, the last Cleopatra is meant we must fix about 48 B.C., in which year this Ptolemy died. The subscription states that one Lysimachus took with him from Jerusalem a copy of the book of Esther in Greek including the apocryphal alterations and additions in one of their numerous recensions. The subscription might be restricted to the Greek translation of the book, without referring to or including the additions, which were subsequently incorporated with it. But it is better to refer it to the whole work including the additions. About 48 B.C. the book was already furnished with supplementary and legendary matter. The writer was an Egyptian Jew, the language shewing a cultivated Hellenist of that country, and lived about 50 B.C. The canonical work may have been translated before; the apocryphal parts had already existed, but were not perhaps committed to writing previously.

IV. ORIGINAL LANGUAGE, DATE, AND CHARACTER.—Scholz argues that these additions were translated from a Hebrew or Aramæan original because it is said, in the subscription appended to the LXX., of *the epistle* of Purim that Lysimachus the son of Ptolemeus interpreted it. From a part he infers the whole, arguing that if this epistle were translated all the additions were so.[2] We admit that the word ἐπιστολή characterises the whole book, which is regarded as an epistle of Mordecai to the Jews (ix. 20); nor do we exclude the additions; but it is too exact to restrict the meaning of *interpreting* to *mere translating*, and make it apply to all parts alike in one and the same sense. Lysimachus *interpreted* the extended work, *i.e.*, he put all into Greek. The oral embellishments of the canonical Esther were current for the most part in Hebrew. He gave them a Greek form.[3] The Hebraisms adduced by the critic prove no more than that the writer was a Jew. Indeed so unlike a version is the character of these additions that it would be difficult to render them into Aramæan or Hebrew. Like Scholz, Welte argues for the Greek being translated from a Hebrew or Aramæan original; but admits

[1] Contra Apion., II. § 5. [2] Einleitung, vol. ii., p. 537.
[3] Ewald's Geschichte des V. Israel, vol. iv., p. 264.

that no decisive internal evidence favours the opinion, because no mistakes in translating have been discovered; nor do many and strong Hebraisms strike the attention. The few particulars which he does adduce are insignificant.[1] De Rossi supposed that in consequence of some portions of the additions under consideration being found in Aramæan in various Hebrew MSS., (the dream of Mordecai with the prayers of Mordecai and Esther) in the second Targum on Esther, Josippon, and the Midrash on Esther, there was a twofold Hebrew original, a shorter and more extended one.[2] It is certain that the deviations from the Greek in these Aramæan pieces are important. Indeed they are too considerable to allow of the supposition that the Greek was taken from Hebrew. Besides, the Aramæan is a product of the Gaonian period (after 658 A.D.), as contents, style, and forms of words prove.[3]

The pieces before us were first written down from oral tradition by a Hellenist of Egypt, and inserted into the Alexandrian version of the Old Testament. They were not of course *made* by him. They were legends current among the Jews before his day. None of them, however, dates as far back as the great event described in the book of Esther—the wonderful deliverance of the Jews in Persia. All are subsequent to that event. Were they not so, we should have found them in the canonical book. But their later character is obvious. They spoil the simple beauty of the original book, and are considerably younger on that very account. In one such transformation of the canonical book, Haman is metamorphosed into a Macedonian; because the Macedonians were identified with the enemies of the Jews after the Maccabean wars.

The dispersion of them through the Septuagint version of Esther, though not made without system, constitutes a history which is but ill-adjusted. In several cases they contradict the older narrative. Thus in LXX. i. 1; Vulgate xi. 2, xii. 1, etc., Mordecai discovered a conspiracy against the king in the second year of Artaxerxes, for which he was rewarded with a place at court; whereas in Esther ii. 16, 19–22 we read, that the conspiracy and its detection happened in the seventh of Artaxerxes. From LXX. i. 18, Vulgate xii. 6 we learn that Haman's hatred to Mordecai was excited by his bringing the conspirators to punishment, that is, by detecting and making known their plot; whereas, according to Esther iii. 4, 5, it arose from Mordecai's refusal to offer him worship. According to LXX. iii. 7, 13,

[1] Einleitung, p. 268.

[2] Specimen variarum lectionum sacri textus et Chaldaica Estheris additamenta cum latina versione et notis, etc., pp. 108, 120, 144.

[3] Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden, p. 121.

etc., Vulgate xiii. 6, the Jews were to be massacred on the fourteenth day of the twelfth month; whereas we read in Esther iii. 13, ix. 1 that it was to be on the thirteenth day. The prevailing religious tone also differs from that of the Hebrew writer. Thus no analysis can make these supplementary additions fit in exactly with the older history.

V. DESIGN.—As the name of God is absent from the canonical Esther, though the deliverance recorded in it is so remarkable an instance of His interference, the defect began to be supplied by supplementary legends. A pious motive led to the enlargement of the story related in the book. Additional particulars suggested by those already written were invented, tending to enhance the memory of the deed, to glorify queen Esther and Mordecai, and to stamp the name of Haman, Israel's enemy, with everlasting infamy.

VI. TEXTS AND VERSIONS.—There are two Greek texts or forms of the text, A and B. The former is the usual one found in most MSS. The latter is in 19, 93*a*, 108*b*, and was first exhibited by Ussher.[1] It is very peculiar, a later revision of the common one, presenting considerable changes in the language. Wherever the reviser did not understand the text he altered it, condensing and enlarging as seemed fit. Contradictions were also removed. It is a thorough revisal of the older Greek text, apparently made at one time and on one principle. The style of both is ornate, inflated, and somewhat poetical. The older text, however, is simpler and more prosaic than the Ussherian one.

Of these additions there are numerous versions, the old Latin, Coptic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Georgian, and Slavonic. All were taken from the LXX., and therefore the apocryphal parts have the same position in them as they have in the Greek whence they were taken.

The most important of these versions are the Old Latin and Vulgate. The former was printed by Sabatier from three MSS., and is incomplete as well as corrupt. It is very free in its character. Additions and omissions are frequent in it. The translator was hardly fit for his work; and therefore his diction is rough. Fritzsche[2] thinks that he had a mixed Greek text, substantially that of A but with elements from B; in some places B decidedly. The additions are particularly noticed by this critic.

Jerome, the author of the version in the Vulgate, had A before him, and translated very freely. It was he that put all the apocryphal parts at the end, as additions.

[1] Syntagma de Græca LXX. interpretum versione.
[2] Exeget. Handbuch, I., p. 75.

The Armenian version is literal, and belongs to the fifth century.

VII. CANONICAL AUTHORITY.—The first trace of the existence of these additions appears in Josephus, who has incorporated the substance of them into his Antiquities,[1] sometimes verbatim, oftener in his own way. It is absurd to suppose that while Josephus believed the additions to be historically true, he did not consider them inspired; for what advantage does inspiration add to the historical truth of a narrative? Does historical truth become *more true* by inspiration being predicated of it? To speak of *inspired history* as separate from *true history* is a misappropriation of terms, originating in a confused notion of inspiration. Origen expressly mentions some passages in the book of Esther which were wanting in the Hebrew, and declares their rejection to be an unchristian accommodation to the Jews —a refusal of the sacred books which the church made use of.[2] Hence Sextus Senensis is wrong in saying that Origen exploded these additions.[3] The parts before us are frequently mentioned by succeeding fathers, as Epiphanius, Hilary, Augustine. Being incorporated with the Septuagint version, they were read along with the canonical Esther, and possessed the same authority. Those who had critical perception saw that they did not properly belong to the book of Esther; and hesitated to allow them the same rank. Jerome speaks unfavourably of them. The council of Trent declared them canonical. Luther has a higher estimate of them than most Protestants since his day.

[1] Antiqq. xi. 6, 6. [2] Epist. ad Africanum, No. 4.
[3] Bibliotheca Sancta, p. 27, Lugduni, 1591.

THE BOOK OF WISDOM.

I. TITLE.—The inscription of this book in Greek MSS. and editions is *Σοφία Σαλωμών* or *Σαλομῶντος*. After the time of Jerome it was called the *Book of Wisdom*, as it is termed in the Vulgate. Athanasius and Epiphanius name it *πανάρετος σοφία, all-virtuous wisdom;* a phrase also applied to the Proverbs and Sirach. The appellation is suitable to the contents, which relate to wisdom and recommend it to all, especially to kings and princes.

II. CONTENTS.—It is best divided into three parts, viz., i.–v.; vi.–ix.; x.–xix. The first begins with an address to all rulers of the earth, enjoining them to apply themselves to wisdom as the sole condition of immortality, in contrast with the principles of the ungodly and free-thinking who deny immortality and future recompense. The author describes the temporal and eternal lot of the pious; the misery and destruction of the wicked. In the second part, Solomon is introduced describing wisdom, stating how he obtained it (*πῶς ἐγένετο*), how it comes forth from God by earnest prayer, and what it produces, viz., temperance, prudence, justice, and courage. He also shews how he himself had been exalted by it. The third part contains historical examples drawn from Old Testament history, shewing the happiness which had followed the pursuit of wisdom, with the fatal consequences of folly and idolatry. Thus the first contains a general exhortation to strive after wisdom, avoiding everything opposed to it; the second furnishes particular instruction as to the manner of obtaining it, its nature and blessings; and the third recommends it through the medium of Jewish history.

III. UNITY.—The unity of the work has been impaired by various critics. Thus Houbigant divided it into two parts i.-ix.; x.-xix., regarding the first as the work of Solomon, the second of a later writer, perhaps of him who rendered the first into Greek.[1]

[1] Prolegomena in Not. crit. in omnes V. T. libros, vol. i., pp. ccxvi. and ccxxi.

Eichhorn also made two divisions, i.-xi. 1 and xi. 2-xix., assigning them to different authors; or if they proceeded from one the critic supposes that he could only have written the second in his younger years.[1] Heydenreich, Bauermeister, and Grimm have written against this hypothesis, and refuted it.

Bertholdt's view is merely a modification of Eichhorn's. His two divisions are i.-xii. 27 and xiii.-xix., attributed to different authors.[2] Heydenreich has refuted it.[3]

Bretschneider begins the second part with vi. 9 and extends it to x. This he thinks was written in Greek by an Alexandrian Jew at the time of Christ; while part one, consisting of i.-vi. 8 is the fragment of a larger work originally written in Hebrew by a Palestinian Jew; and part three, viz., xii.–xix. proceeded from another Jew. He who joined the three into one inserted the eleventh chapter.[4] Heydenreich, Bauermeister, and Grimm, have shewn that the hypothesis is untenable. Engelbreth's[5] modification of Bretschneider's view, and Nachtigal's[6] very artificial dismemberment of the book, need not be mentioned. Rhode has refuted Nachtigal.[7]

The arguments advanced in support of a separation into distinct pieces proceeding from two or more persons are weak, however plausible some of them may appear. The parts hang together well enough, and form a united whole. Both style and language are not more various than the different points touched upon would lead us to expect. It cannot be denied, however, that there is a perceptible difference between the contents and manner of the last ten chapters compared with the preceding nine. But certain ideas occur *throughout*. Favourite expressions, turns of discourse and single terms, appear in all sections. The principles inculcated are the same. Hence the unity of the book should not be disturbed.[8]

IV. INTEGRITY.—Those who have impugned the unity have generally spoken against the integrity, thinking that the work has not come down to us in its original form, but that it is either imperfect at the beginning or end, or has been furnished with subsequent interpolations. Houbigant thought that if the work was not a fragment belonging to a larger one, it must at least have had a commencement, with an inscription similar to those at the beginning of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. Sirach

[1] Einleitung in die apokryphischen Schriften, p. 142, et seqq.
[2] Einleit., vol. v., pp. 2261 and 2276, et seqq.
[3] In Tzschirner's Memorabilia, Band vii., p. 77, et seqq.
[4] De libri Sapientiæ parte priore Cap. i.–xi., etc., 1804. Three programmes.
[5] Lib. Sapientiæ Salomonis Vulg. inscript. interpretandi specimina, i. et ii., 1816.
[6] Das Buch der Weisheit. p. 1, etc.
[7] De Veter. Poet. Sap. gnom, p. 240, et seqq.
[8] Grimm, Commentar ueber das Buch Weisheit, Einleitung, p. xxxiii., et seqq.

has no such inscription. Calmet, Grotius, and Eichhorn looked upon the work as incomplete at the end. The opinion of Hasse and Heydenreich is analogous. But a proper close is formed by xix. 22.

Interpolations by a Christian hand are assumed by Grotius;[1] and though he does not specify them he must have meant the passages parallel in sense and expression to New Testament ones. Thus he remarks on iv. 7, "This savours more of the gospel." The view of Grotius rests on the erroneous assumption of a Hebrew original; for it is to the translator, not the author, that he attributes the insertion of Christian ideas, or rather the adaptation of passages suitable for the purpose, to Christian notions. Grätz is more definite, specifying xiv. 7, ii. 24, iii. 13, iv. 1 as proceeding from Christian copyists.[2] Let us see. In xiv. 7 it is said, "For blessed is the wood whereby righteousness cometh." Here Grätz supposes the allusion to be to *the cross* and *righteousness by faith*. The context however shews, that the wood is synonymous with "the weak vessel" (ver. 6) in which the hope of the world escaped, *i.e.*, the ark with Noah and his family. In ii. 24 we read, "Nevertheless through envy of the devil came death into the world: and they that do hold of his side do find it." This is a Jewish idea. The same may be said of iii. 13 and iv. 1, in which there is nothing distinctively Christian. We cannot admit the hypothesis of Christian interpolations. All the places which seem to favour it yield a sense consistent with Jewish authorship.

V. DOCTRINES OF THE WORK.—The doctrines of the author came from various sources, of which the chief was the holy books of his nation. A Jewish philosopher necessarily inherited the current belief of his ancestors and race. Their writings and sayings formed the central part of his creed. We expect therefore that the leading ideas of the work are contained in essence or detail in the sacred writings which constituted the treasury of the covenant people in all ages. But he lived at Alexandria where a peculiar philosophy prevailed. There Platonism had been incorporated with the thinking of the educated. Hence we find Platonic, along with Jewish, ideas in the book of Wisdom. There is thus an Alexandrianism in it—the religious philosophy of Philo-Platonism, as it has been called. This result could hardly have been otherwise. A cultivated Jew living at Alexandria, however strongly attached to the faith of his nation, must have been affected to some extent by surrounding influences. We are therefore prepared to find in the work sentiments and expressions derived from the Greek philosophy

[1] Preface to his Commentary on Wisdom.
[2] Geschichte der Juden, vol. iii., pp. 494, 495.

of Alexandria, whose substance was Platonism. As Plato conceived of the soul as something that existed before the body, so the author of Wisdom asserts the pre-existence of souls (viii. 19, 20). He taught that the human body was the seat of sin, the prison of the soul as it were, by which the latter is restrained in its attempts to know the divine; and therefore his disciples declaimed severely against it. Hence our author says in ix. 15: "The corruptible body presseth down the soul, and the earthly tabernacle weigheth down the mind that museth upon many things" (comp. i. 4, viii. 20). As in Plato so here, the Deity is not expressly termed a *being of light*. But from *the manifestations* of Deity both lead us to infer that they considered Him a being of light; for Plato represents the world-soul, which is an emanation from God, as consisting of light; and the author of our book describes the spirit of wisdom as a fine, pure, clear emanation of the everlasting light. The πνεῦμα or *spirit*, wisdom (σοφία), equivalent to the πνεῦμα ἅγιον or θεῖον as appears from i. 4-7, is λεπτόν, *subtle*, which is of the Anaxagoras-philosophy, and νοερόν *intellectual*, which is of the Stoical (vii. 22). The four leading virtues σωφροσύνη, φρόνησις, δικαιοσύνη, ἀνδρία (viii. 7) are from Plato's school. The *world-soul* as Plato conceived of it and the *spirit of wisdom* as depicted by the anonymous author of Wisdom are nearly the same, the latter being derived from the former. It is certain, however, that this Jewish philosopher has departed in many instances from Platonic views where they were inconsistent with the national faith. He wrote with independence, modifying or else abandoning the doctrines of Platonism. It is also possible that various traits in the book were derived from an oriental source —from Chaldee or Persian philosophy. The leading tenet of oriental philosophy was the efflux or emanation of all things from God. We do not think, however, that the writer derived aught from this philosophy directly. Some subordinate features in his work most favourable to the belief of such an origin belonged to the Greek philosophy current in Alexandria, which orientalism may have tinged and coloured.

The descriptions of divine wisdom (σοφία) and the epithets applied to it in the book have given rise to much speculation. It has been asked whether the author conceived of that wisdom as a personal existence who came forth from God before the creation of the world and by whom God made the world; or as the pervading, quickening energy issuing from God, which is only a poetical personification of the Wise Being himself? (comp. vii. 7, 25, 26; viii. 1-6). In opposition to Daehne[1] and

[1] Geschichtliche Darstellung der jüdisch-Alexandrinischen Religions-philosophie, ii., p. 155.

Gfrörer,[1] we adopt the latter view, and refer to Prov. iv. 7, etc., viii. 26, as parallel. Gfrörer quotes *συμβίωσιν θεοῦ ἔχουσα*, *dwelling together with God* (viii. 3); *ἡ τῶν θείων θρόνων πάρεδρος*, *that sits beside on a divine throne* (ix. 4); *ἐξαπόστειλον αὐτὴν ἐξ ἁγίων οὐρανῶν*, *send her out of the holy heavens* (ix. 10). He adduces besides the description in x. 13-19, where wisdom is represented as Israel's guide through the wilderness, the pillar of fire before them (ver. 17); and infers that all this can be asserted of *a person* only. But the figurative character of the language is sufficient to account for it, without assuming on the part of the writer a conscious hypostatising of the divine attribute or energy. He invests it with God-like qualities, and associates it with Jehovah as his eternal companion much in the same way as the writer of Proverbs does in the eighth chapter. There is no need to suppose that the writer of our book derived his doctrine of divine wisdom from any other than a Jewish source. He did not represent it as a *hypostasis* any more than do some places in Proverbs and Ben Sira; the most prominent of which are Prov. viii. 22, etc., and Sir. xxiv. 1 where there is a very bold personification. The λόγος of Philo is the *σοφία* of our book. The former seems to have been a later word to express the same conception as *σοφία*, and is therefore much more frequent in Philo, in whom Jewish and Platonic views are more strongly developed, and whose system is more complicated. With him the λόγος and the *σοφία* are either identical or very closely connected.[2] Daehne thinks that he considered the *σοφία* only as a part of the λόγος, which scarcely gives a correct idea of their relation. Philo hypostatised the λόγος; but the author of Wisdom did not hypostatise the *σοφία*. As soon as the λόγος was hypostatised, the Christian idea of Christ as the λόγος, is suggested. The attributes assigned, both here and in Philo, to the divine *σοφία* and λόγος find their highest realization in Christ alone. A full discussion of the peculiar doctrines promulgated in the book of Wisdom and their probable sources cannot be attempted in the present place. The subject was investigated by Eichhorn. It has also been discussed more or less fully by Bauermeister, Grimm, Daehne, Gfrörer, and Welte. The last writer incorrectly argues against the idea that the book presents an Alexandrian-Jewish philosophy of religion, contending that the doctrines are entirely of Jewish growth and origin, the apparent Alexandrianism of the work being taken from the same Jewish source.[3] Scholz seems to be of the same opinion.[4]

[1] Philo und die Alexand. Theosophie, ii., p. 227.
[2] Grimm. Exeget. Handbuch vi. Einleitung, p. 23.
[3] Einleitung, p. 161, et seqq.
[4] Einleitung, vol. iii., p. 216.

We believe that Daehne[1] and Gfrörer[2] have carried their hypothesis too far in seeking things in the book out of Judaism, that ought to be looked for within it. Yet it is certain that the philosophy of Alexandria in the second century before Christ—a type of Greek Platonism—was wrought up with Judaism by the cultivated Egyptian Jews, and moulded the old national belief in various ways. It gradually became a speculative element in their creed.

The book is a valuable exponent of Jewish religious philosophy in Egypt at a certain period. It contains Jewish dogmatics influenced by Alexandrian Platonism in the second century before Christ. The views propounded respecting God and his providence, the original state of man whom God is said to have created immortal and to have made an image in his own eternity (ii. 23), of the entrance of sin and death into the world, a future state of rewards and punishments, etc., are scriptural and correct. With the exception of some extravagant statements, the contents are of a pure, noble, and elevated character, such as few philosophers of the ancient world could have promulgated. The work is not filled with strong prejudices and prepossessions. The meritoriousness of sacrifices, lustrations, asceticism do not appear. The narrow views entertained by the Jewish nation on moral subjects—the particularism which led them to hate all other peoples—are not prominent, except in the latter part, where the old inhabitants of Egypt are spoken of. The writer knows only the pious and the godless in the world; so that he must have been a liberal and enlightened Jew who had risen above some of the littlenesses of his countrymen by the force of an enlarged philosophy. His portrait of a wise man is elevated. We need not therefore be surprised at the very favourable reception the book has met with. Its religious and moral tendency entitle it to pre-eminent distinction. It is difficult to see why it should be excluded from a canon which contains the book of Esther.

VI. DESIGN.—The author's design arose out of the circumstances of the time at which he lived. The connection between Israel and Egypt suggested the reflections of this enlightened and patriotic Jew. His countrymen were suffering from the oppression of the Ptolemies. He meant to comfort and instruct the Israelites under their misfortunes, to strengthen them in fidelity to God, and to open up the prospect of a speedy deliverance from servitude. The warnings and exhortations against the principles of apostate free-thinkers shew that some had fallen into idolatry, had begun to lead vicious lives, to deny

[1] Geschichtliche Darstellung, u. s. w., pp. 126-150.
[2] Philo und die Alexandrinische Theosophie, zweiter Theil, pp. 200-272.

immortality, and to prove themselves heathen in thought and disposition. Before such unbelieving Jews the writer held up the mirror of practical wisdom. He also meant to shew the heathen themselves the folly of idolatry. Divine wisdom in its nature and manifestations was alike opposed to the perversion of Judaism and the character of heathenism. It conducted to virtue and immortality. It is also probable that the author designed to bring what had once befallen the Egyptians for their harsh treatment of the chosen people, to the recollection of the tyrannical monarchs of his day, and to shew them by the example of Solomon, the only way of having a victorious and happy reign. Thus the occasion of the book lies in the historical circumstances of the times in which it appeared. The writer had a definite object in view. Seeing his countrymen under the yoke of unbelieving and worldly rulers, their partial apostasy from the national faith, heathen idolatry leagued with severity toward the covenant people, his spirit was stirred within him; he held forth wisdom as the heavenly antidote to the false principles of apostates, the only way to happiness, the safeguard of prosperous rule. While he aimed at the establishment of the pious in the true faith, and the promotion of their comfort under hard treatment, he intended to explain to the degenerate Jews the better way they had forsaken, without forgetting the recommendation of wisdom to the rulers and princes of the world, from whom oppression had come upon the representatives of Judaism.

The author personates Solomon, whom he introduces as speaking because that monarch embodied the ideal of wisdom in the opinion of the later Jews. By ascribing the book to him, or using his name as a veil, he was likely to procure greater acceptance for his doctrines. A similar course was followed by the author of Ecclesiastes, of which book the present is a partial imitation.

VII. AUTHOR AND DATE.—At one time the author was thought to be Solomon himself. Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Hippolytus, Cyprian, Lactantius, R. Asarias and Gedaliah entertained this opinion. Various catholic divines, as Holkot, Sixtus of Siena, Tirinus, and Houbigant in part, believed it. Even modern Protestants as Petersen, the authors of the Berlenburg Bible, and modern Jews, as H. Wessely,[1] have not shaken it off. It is needless to refute it at the present day.

A modification of this view, viz., that the book has a Solomonic basis—that the main ideas and sentiments in it are Solomon's, which a Hellenistic Jew afterwards reproduced and

[1] See Fraenkel's Hebrew version of the Apocrypha, Præfatio, p. viii.

elaborated freely, was held by Bellarmine, Huet, Foucher, Gundling, etc.

Augustine regarded Jesus son of Sirach as the author, but afterwards retracted his opinion.[1] Faber[2] thought that the book was written by Zerubbabel, who might be called the second Solomon, as he restored the temple. The passage in ix. 8 suits Solomon alone, not any other who might be called Solomon by a figure of speech; for the throne of his father is mentioned (ix. 7, 12).[3]

Even in Jerome's day some held the opinion that Philo wrote the book of Wisdom. Subsequently, Nicholas de Lyra, Luther, Strigel, Rainold, J. Gerhard, A. Calovius, and others adopted it. Several Rabbins concurred. In theological views, the author of Wisdom and Philo present a general agreement. The complexion and tendency of their writings have considerable similarity. But there is also a material difference between them. In our book we see no evidence that the Platonic philosophy had penetrated the author's mind, as it had done that of Philo. His speculative ability is not great. He had not studied Greek philosophy deeply like Philo; nor had it evoked the hidden powers of his mind. Rather had it fallen lightly upon his spirit, and affected it superficially. The Pseudo-Solomon is a popular philosopher; Philo an acute, profound, speculative, spiritualising one. In Philo's system, Platonic doctrines occupy a prominent place and colour all his ideas; though many of the latter came from other philosophical schools, especially the Stoic one. Philo's doctrine of ideas is not in Wisdom. Yet in many passages it would have been appropriate; and must have been inserted had the writer of the apocryphal book known it. The diversity appears particularly in the description of divine wisdom or *σοφία*, compared with Philo's delineation of λόγος and *σοφία*. Traces of the speculative use of λόγος are wanting in our book; in Philo they are abundant. The λόγος of Philo takes the place, for the most part, of the *σοφία* of Wisdom. The *σοφία* of Philo is vague and indefinite; his λόγος more definite and intelligible. In Philo, Jewish Alexandrianism appears in a more developed state. Dogmas bearing a substantial shape and form in his writings, ramifying through his system and full-fledged beneath the warmth of his speculative spirit, are but feebly germinant in Wisdom. Besides, the style and manner are very different from those which characterise Philo. Its complexion is of an earlier and less metaphysical type.

[1] Doctrina Christiana, ii., 8; and De Civitate Dei, xvii., 20, 1.
[2] Prolusiones de libro Sapientiae, Parts I.-VI., part v.
[3] See Grimm in the Exeget. Handbuch vi. p. 18.

Others anxious to keep this name of the supposed author conjecture that it was not the well-known Philo of Alexandria, but an older one, who either composed the work, or put it into its present form. Josephus[1] mentions an older Philo; but he was a heathen, not a Jew, and could have had nothing to do with the book of Wisdom.

Lutterbeck[2] fixed upon Aristobulus the Alexandrian Jew as the writer, in the second century before Christ. This is unlikely, because the author of the book inveighs against kings in vi. 1, etc., whereas Aristobulus was a favourite of Philometor's. The Jews in Egypt were well treated during his reign.[3]

All attempts to discover the writer's name are vain. One thing is certain that he was not a Palestinian Jew who wrote in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, else he would have written in Hebrew. Nor was he a Hellenistic Jew in the Syrian-Macedonian empire before the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, as Paulus supposed.[4] Such Grecian culture could hardly have existed there at that day. He was an Egyptian Jew living at Alexandria, and therefore acquainted with the philosophy and Grecian literature of the place. We do not believe that he was one of the Septuagint translators; though Cornelius à Lapide, Goldhagen, and others, think it probable. Most of these critics, as Eichhorn, Gfrorer, Daehne, Zeller, Jost, who assume that he belonged to the sect of the Therapeutæ, as they were called in Egypt, or Essenes in Palestine, relying on such passages as iii. 13, etc.; iv. 8, etc.; viii. 28, xvi. 28, are in error. The asceticism of the Therapeutæ and their peculiar ecstatic spirit are foreign to the genius of the book.

It is needless to speak particularly of the hypothesis respecting the Christian origin of the work advocated by Kirschbaum, Weisse, and Noack. Grimm has effectually proved its futility.[5]

The time of the writer cannot be particularly defined. It was after the Septuagint version, because both the Greek Pentateuch and Isaiah are used by the author. Thus we read in xv. 10, "His heart is ashes, his hope is more vile than earth, and his life of less value than clay," taken from Is. xliv. 20, Sept. In ii. 11 we read, "Let our strength be the law of justice; for that which is feeble is found to be nothing worth," from Is. iii. 10, Sept. On the other hand, the work cannot be brought, with Noack,[6] into the time of Caligula; for the passage in xiv. 16-20 does not refer to that emperor's command to have a

[1] Contra Apion., i., 23.
[2] Die Neutestamentliche Lehrbegriffe, vol. i., p. 407, et seqq.
[3] See Grimm, Exeget. Handbuch vi., Einleit., p. 21.
[4] In the Heidelberg Jahrbücher for 1833, p. 1068, et seqq.
[5] In the Exeget. Handbuch vi., Einleitung, p. 25.
[6] Der Ursprung des Christenthums, vol. i., p. 222, et seqq.

colossal image of himself set up in the temple at Jerusalem, and to the compulsory erection of his statues in the Alexandrian synagogues. It contains the writer's opinion respecting the origin of polytheism, which arose, as he conjectures, from the ignorant multitude offering adoration to the images of rulers. If the insane and blasphemous procedure of Caligula respecting his own deification had been the occasion of writing the book, or if the author had referred to it, his allusion would have been far more emphatic. The time of writing was between 250 and the advent of Christ. It was considerably before Philo, because the doctrines of the book required some time for their developed form as seen in the latter. The Jews were oppressed and persecuted when the author wrote. A century prior to Philo seems to be required for the degree of development which the religious philosophy of Alexandria had attained in the interval between the two writers. The author may have lived about 140 B.C. Grimm puts him between 145 and 50 B.C.[1] Both Welte and Bruch, who fix upon the reign of Ptolemy IV. Philopator (222-217 B.C.), antedate the book. The dynasty of the Ptolemies had become corrupt and vicious, as may be inferred from its tone.

VIII. ORIGINAL LANGUAGE AND STYLE.—The original language of Wisdom was not Hebrew, as those who advocate its Solomonic authorship must believe. Others, not holding its Solomonic composition, advocate its Hebrew original, either wholly or in part. Thus Grotius imagined that it was written in Hebrew. But Houbigant confined a Hebrew original to the first nine chapters; Bretschneider and Engelbreth to the first five. Faber thought that it was written in Chaldee. These conjectures have been refuted by Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Hasse, Grimm, Welte, and others. It is needless to appeal to Hebraisms, or to alleged mistakes of translation from the Hebrew. All such reasoning is insufficient. The originality of the Greek is undoubted. The style is much better than one could expect even in a free version. So many pure Greek expressions could not have proceeded from a translator. Examples occur in iv. 2, x. 3, 12, and elsewhere. There are many compound adjectives, for which corresponding terms would be sought in vain in the Hebrew, as *νηπιοκτόνος* (xi. 7); *τεκνοφόνος* (xiv. 23); *ὑπέρμαχος* x. 20, xvi. 17); *ὀλιγοχρόνιος* (ix. 5); *κακότεχνος* (i. 4, xv. 4). There are also numerous assonances, plays on words, paronomasias, and oxymora, proving the originality of the Greek, as *ἀγαπήσατε, φρονήσατε, ζητήσατε* (i. 1); *ἐν ἀγαθότητι καὶ ἐν ἁπλότητι* (i. 1); *ἀδόλως, ἀφθόνως* (vii. 13); *δίκαιος, δίκαιως, καταδικάσαι* (xii. 15); *δυνατοὶ δὲ δυνατῶς* (vi. 6); *τῆς ἰδίας*

[1] Exeget. Handbuch vi., Einleitung, p. 35.

ἰδιότητος (ii. 23) κ. τ. λ. The characteristic complexion of the language speaks decidedly for a Greek original, not less than the place and time of its appearance.

The style is very unequal, as Lowth justly remarks. It is pompous, turgid, diffuse, tautological, simple. Varying with the subject, it is seldom tedious. The tautologies are the effect of Hebrew parallelism. Figures of speech are numerous. The author's mastery of Greek appears throughout, and his skill is not less obvious. Wherever epithets seemed likely to give oratorical fullness or effect, they are accumulated. Thus Wisdom is described by a great variety of adjectives selected and suitable. Twenty predicates are used in its delineation (vii. 21, 22). It is an active energy of God in the physical and moral world, all-pervading, omnipresent (i. 7, vii. 7, 22; ix. 17, xii. 1).

IX. TEXT AND ANCIENT VERSIONS.—The Greek text has descended in a tolerably good condition. Some mistakes of transcribers may be occasionally corrected by critical documents. Only a few corruptions are so ancient and universal in MSS. as to make the original reading uncertain, as ἐκ μέσου μυσταθείας σου (xii. 6), where neither MSS. nor versions give assistance. The most copious apparatus of various readings is in Holmes and Parsons. Thilo's collations of nine Paris MSS. were not published, except a small specimen.[1] Angelo Mai's splendid edition contains the text of the old Roman edition slightly corrected here and there.

The Latin edition in the Vulgate is older than Jerome. It is very literal, even so much so as to be occasionally unintelligible. Jerome's language implies that he altered it very little. Its errors are few. Some of them are, *ex nihilo* for αὐτοσχεδίως (ii. 2); *quoniam antecedebat me ista sapientia* for ὅτι αὐτῶν ἡγεῖται σοφία (vii. 12); *cum abundarent* for ἀπορούντες (xi. 5); ξίφος ὀξύ taken as a nominative instead of the accusative (xviii. 16). A few unimportant additions to the Greek text are, *nullum pratum sit, quod non pertranseat luxuria nostra* (ii. 8); *quæ ventura sunt illi et sciemus* (ii. 17); *talia dixerunt in inferno hi qui peccaverunt* (v. 14); *melior est sapientia quam vires, et vir prudens quam fortis* (vi. 1); *diligite lumen sapientiæ omnes qui præstis populis* (vi. 23); *quicunque placuerunt tibi Domine a principio* (ix. 18); *admirantes in finem exitus* (xi. 14). There is but one remarkable example of omission (ii. 4).

The Syriac version printed in the Polyglotts adheres to the Greek more closely at its commencement than at the close. It is freer and more paraphrastic than the Latin, contracting or

[1] Specimen exercc. critt. in Sapientiam Salomonis, 1825, Halle.

enlarging the original without any alteration of the sense. Its departures from the Greek, though numerous, are unimportant; and many apparently peculiar readings are only the mistakes of copyists. The date of this version cannot be exactly discovered.

The Arabic version in the Polyglotts adheres more closely to the Greek. It is literal for the most part, and never diverges into wide paraphrase, though sometimes explanatory. Its additions to the original are few and inconsiderable, as that of iii. 9. It may be characterised as a faithful and good version. The date is uncertain.

The Armenian version is probably the most literal. It follows the Greek text word for word, and often imitates the play upon terms not unskilfully. The author was well acquainted with Greek; and few cases of misunderstanding it appear, as in iv. 2. The translation belongs to the fifth century, and is of inferior importance to none in the criticism and interpretation of the book.

X. CANONICITY.—The first traces of the book belong to the apostolic period. Various New Testament writers shew an acquaintance with it. We do not say that they *quote* or use it formally. Their knowledge of it appears in influencing modes of thought and expression—in shaping descriptions and giving a certain complexion to them. Hence the allusions are not of a tangible or palpable kind which carries irresistible conviction to the mind. They are rather reminiscences, which suggest the idea of similarity to a thoughtful mind, but may be overlooked. Though they are denied by the opponents of the apocryphal books generally, as militating against a cherished principle, it is clear to many that they do exist. After the excellent essays of Nitzsch[1] in relation to the book of Wisdom and the New Testament, it is difficult to find a good reason for denying numerous points of contact between our present apocryphal work and the apostolic Christian writers. The following are worthy of notice. The description of Wisdom in vii.-ix. was surely an antecedent step in the development of the Logos-doctrine of John the apostle. Compare viii. 3 with John i. 1; and ix. 1 with John i. 3. Comp. Wisd. xvi. 5, etc., with John iii. 14, 15; Wisd. xiii.-xv. with Rom. i. 20-32; Wisd. xi. 16 with Rom. i. 21; Wisd. xv. 7 with Rom. ix. 21; Wisd. xii. 20, 21, with Rom. ix. 22, 23; Wisd. xi. 24 with Rom. xi. 32; Wisd. xv. 1 with Rom. ii. 4; Wisd. iii. 8 with 1 Cor. vi. 2; Wisd. ix. 15 with 2 Cor. v. 4; Wisd. v. 18-20 with Ephes. vi. 13-17; Wisd. iii. 18 with 1 Thess. iv. 13; Wisd. vi. 6, 24, etc., with

[1] In the preface to the list of lectures published as the programme of the summer Semester of the Berlin University for 1850; and in the Zeitschrift für christliches Wissenschaft. u. christl. Leben, 1850, Nos. 47-49.

James ii. 13-16; Wisd. vii. 25, i. 4, with James iii. 15; Wisd. iii. 5-7 with 1 Peter i. 6, 7; Wisd. iii. 7 with 1 Peter ii. 12; Wisd. vii. 26 with Heb. i. 3; Wisd. vii. 22-24 with Heb. iv. 12, 13; Wisd. ix. 8 with Heb. viii. 2, ix. 11. It is necessary to compare all these places with one another in their phraseology as well as their sentiments. We cannot resolve the coincidences into a common Jewish education and manner of thinking, nor into the common use of Old Testament passages, as Grimm does.[1] Stier's list includes more places than ours, and has not a few doubtful ones.[2] He has not been cautious enough; and therefore Keerl[3] has pointed out some of his weaknesses, without however overthrowing his position. Scheckenburger and Kern in their works on James's epistle had already shewn the allusions to Wisdom which it contains. Nitzsch and Bleek[4] have exhibited most judgment in their identification of designed resemblances between Wisdom and the New Testament writers.

After the New Testament, the earliest trace of the book is in Clement's epistle to the Corinthians.[5] The supposed allusions in Barnabas[6] and in Hegesippus[7] cannot be sustained.

The Jewish canon never included the book of Wisdom. Josephus and Philo do not quote it. Neither is it in the catalogues of Origen, Jerome, Epiphanius, Athanasius, Cyril, and others. Some have thought that Melito's list in Eusebius[8] mentions it; but the correct reading of the passage excludes it, which is, *παροιμίαι ἥ καὶ σοφία*, not *ἡ καὶ σοφία*. *Σοφία* does not mean the book of Wisdom, but is another name for the Proverbs of Solomon.[9] A passage in the Muratorian canon is peculiar, where the book *Sapientia* is introduced. As this mention of the work occurs in connexion with the writings of the New Testament, it has sometimes been thought that *Sapientia* was a recent work by a recent writer, and ranked as to date with the others there spoken of. The place of the canon in which *Sapientia* occurs is corrupt. Bunsen[10] supposes that the epistle to the Hebrews had been mentioned as written by some *friend* of Paul's immediately before the words, "et sapientia ab amicis Salomonis in honorem ipsius scripta." If this were so, the Wisdom of Solomon means the book of Proverbs as having been similarly compiled by friends of Solomon. The fact that the

[1] Commentar ueber das Buch der Weisheit, Einleitung, p. lxx.
[2] Die Apokryphen, pp. 18-22. [3] Die Apokryphenfrage, p. 49, et seqq.
[4] Ueber die Stellung der Apokryphen, reprinted from the Studien und Kritiken, p. 73, et seqq.
[5] § 27; comp. Wisd. xi. 22, and xii. 12. [6] Cap. ix.
[7] Ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccles., ii. 23. See Heinichen, vol, i., p. 170.
[8] Hist. Eccles., iv. 26.
[9] See Heinichen's note to his edition of Eusebius's history, vol. i., p. 404.
[10] Hippolytus and his Age, vol. ii., p. 135, et seqq.

book of Proverbs, or the latter part of it at least, was written out by the men of Hezekiah (*οἱ φίλοι Ἐζεκίου*, LXX. xxv. 1), establishes a connexion between the Muratorian fragment and the Proverbs. The author of the Muratorian canon misunderstood, or misinterpreted from want of recollection, the Greek words in Prov. xxv. 1, by putting the friends of *Solomon* for the friends of *Hezekiah*. Credner and Wieseler read *ut* for *et* before *Sapientia*. According to this the text intimates that a similar value belongs to the epistles just mentioned as to the Wisdom of Solomon, which did not proceed from himself, but from friends of his. This is an improbable explanation. We prefer applying *Sapientia Salomonis* to the book of Proverbs, which was often called *ἡ σοφία* by early Christian writers. The apocryphal book of Wisdom was perhaps not meant by *Sapientia Salomonis* in the Muratonian canon. Credner himself subsequently doubted the correctness of his former explanation of *Sapientia*.[4] Many of the fathers and early Christians used the book of Wisdom like the canonical writings, giving it the same value and authority. Some of them indeed, as Jerome, made the distinction that it might be employed for the edification of the people, and not to establish ecclesiastical doctrines; but the distinction was not commonly observed. Thus Clement of Alexandria applies to the book the introductory phrase, *ἡ θεία σοφία λέγει*;[2] and in another place, *Solomon says*. Origen refers to it as *ὁ θεῖος λόγος*, *the divine word*.[3] Tertullian quotes it;[4] and Cyprian says of it, *By Solomon the Holy Spirit speaking*.[5] Both term it *the Wisdom of Solomon*. Cyril also refers to it as such.[6] Hippolytus quotes a passage (ii. 12-16), calling it *Solomon's*, and speaks of the writer as the prophet.[7] Athanasius quotes it as *Scripture*.[8] Epiphanius often adduces it against the Gnostics, employing the expressions, *Solomon says*, *As the Scripture says*, *As the most blessed of the prophet says*.[9] Eusebius appeals to 3 Kings (1 Kings in Hebrew) and the book of Wisdom as *θεία γραφή*, *divine Scripture*. He also refers to the latter as a *θεῖον λογίον*, *divine oracle*.[10] Hilary refers to the anonymous author as *a prophet*.[11] Augustine says of Sirach and Wisdom that, *since they deserved to be received authoritatively, they are to be numbered among the prophetical books*.[12] In another work he says of Wisdom that it deserved to be read in the church for so many years.[13]

[1] In Baur and Zeller's Jahrbücher, iii. p. 301.
[2] Stromata iv. 16, p. 609, ed. Potter. [3] Contra Celsum, iii., 72.
[4] Advers. Valentinian, c. 2. [5] Exhortat. Martyr, 12.
[6] Catech. ix., p. 127. [7] Ed. de Lagarde, p. 67. [8] Orat. iii., tom. i., p. 580.
[9] Comp. Adv. Hæres, L. i., vol. i., pp. 580, 543; Lib. iii., p. 573; Lib. iv., pp. 713, 607, ed. Petav. Colon., 1682.
[10] Præp. Evang., Lib. iv. 33, Lib. i. 9. [11] Vol. i., p. 545, ed. Benedict, 1730.
[12] De Doctrina Christiana, ii. 8. [13] De Prædestinat. Sanctorum, cap. xiv. 29.

He uses it as canonical Scripture, quoting ix. 9 in his De civitate, xvi. Isidore of Seville affirms that in the church Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom possessed the same authority with the other canonical books.[1] Ambrose quotes Wisd. iv. 8, 9, with the formula "Scripture says."[2] The third Council of Carthage put it among the canonical writings; and the Council of Trent did the same at a later period.

[1] In libros Vet. et Nov. Testamen. procemia, vol. v., p. 158, ed. Migne.
[2] De Jacob et vita beata, ii. 8, ed. Maur, vol. i., p. 470.

THE WISDOM OF JESUS THE SON OF SIRACH.

I. TITLE.—The Greek title of this book as found in Greek MSS. and fathers, is *Σοφία Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Σειράχ, the Wisdom of Jesus son of Sirach*, or abbreviated, *Σοφία Σιράχ*. The Latin title is *Sapientia Salomonis, liber Jesu filii Sirach*, and subsequently *Ecclesiasticus, an ecclesiastical reading-book*, shewing that it was probably used in the churches, as may be inferred from statements of Jerome and Rufinus. Fritzsche conjectures that the last title became usual after the middle of the fourth century. Some suppose that the Latin title was given to distinguish the book from Ecclesiastes, which it partially resembles. The Greek fathers sometimes called it *πανάρετος σοφία* or *λόγος, treasure of all virtue*. It has been inferred from Jerome's language in his preface to Proverbs that the original title was מִשְׁלֵי *proverbs*. But this was not in all probability the title given to the work by the author himself. An older one seems to have been סֵפֶר חָכְמָה or simply חָכְמָה *Wisdom*. But in the Talmudic time the title מִשְׁלֵי frequently accompanied with שְׁלֹמֹה *proverbs of Solomon*, is the usual one. In the Midrashim it is also quoted as בֶּן סִירָא *Ben Sira*, abridged from *the wisdom or proverbs of Jesus, son of Sirach*.

II. CONTENTS AND DIVISION.—The nature of the contents makes it very difficult to distribute them into parts or sections. No general plan is observable, nor does a continuous thread run through the whole. The materials are miscellaneous, and were evidently written without much regard to order. The book is not characterised by unity and method. Yet we should not, with Bertholdt, call it a rhapsody. It is rather a collection of sentences and proverbs. Tetens[1] conjectures that the writer has followed the order of the decalogue in the delivery of his moral precepts; but this is incorrect. And

[1] Disquisitiones generales in Sapientiam Jesu Siracidæ, p. 51, et seqq.

when Sonntag explains the want of connection partly by disorder afterwards introduced among the separate sections, partly by the peculiar form in which it has come down to our time, viz., a mere rough outline intended to be filled up and moulded into a whole, the hypothesis is inadmissible.[1]

Eichhorn divides the work into three parts: i.-xxiii.; xxiv.-xlii. 14; xlii. 15-l. 24; and supposes that they were at first distinct works which the author afterwards united.[2] Formidable objections lie against this view, as Bretschneider has shewn.[3]

Scholz discovers twelve sections with peculiar inscriptions.[4]

Ewald thinks that the final author made two older works on proverbs the foundation of his book: viz., the first, chaps. i.-xvi. 21, written in the fourth century before Christ, and characterised by calmness and simplicity; the second, xvi. 22-xxxvi. 22, composed in the third century before Christ, and exhibiting greater passionateness as well as acuteness; the third, which is Ben Sira's own, extends from xxxvi. 23 to li., except xxxix. 12-35 belonging to the author of the second book.[5] The critic's usual ingenuity appears in this investigation of the composition and unity of the whole work. But we are unable to adopt his hypothesis, to which Keil has made several pertinent objections.[6]

Fritzsche divides the book into seven sections: viz., i.-xvi. 21; xvi. 22-xxiii. 17; xxiv. 1-xxx. 24; xxxiii. 12-xxxvi. 16*a*, xxx. 25-27; xxx. 28-xxxiii. 11, xxxvi. 16*b*-22; xxxvi. 23-xxxix. 11; xxxix. 12-xlii. 14; xlii. 15-l. 26. An epilogue, l. 27-29, and an appendix, li. 1-30, follow.[7] This is a clumsy and most artificial distribution. Every division like it which makes the twenty-first verse of the sixteenth chapter terminate a book or section is improbable, because the context there does not admit of it.

No proper separation of the parts can be made before the end of the forty-third chapter. Hence we divide the whole into two sections—chaps. i.-xliii., and xliv.-li. The last chapter is a sort of appendix. The first of these divisions resembles the Proverbs of Solomon and the book of Wisdom. It contains encomiums on wisdom and exhortations to follow it, with numerous rules of life and conduct adapted to the different ages, conditions, and relations of men. These are arranged in order, but are often interrupted, so that the same things return in different places.

[1] Commentatio de Jesu Siracidæ Ecclesiastico non libro, sed libri farragine, 1779, 8vo.
[2] Einleitung in d. Apokryphischen Schriften, u. s. w., p. 50, et seqq.
[3] Liber Jesus Siracidæ, Prolegomena, p. 18, et seqq.
[4] Einleitung, vol. iii., p. 183, et seqq.
[5] Geschichte des Volkes Israel, iv., p. 300, et seqq. [6] Einleitung, p. 714.
[7] Exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apokryphen, v., Einleitung, p. xxxii.

Is it not probable that the book was written at different times by the author? May he not have composed it in pieces, at distant intervals? Why should we look for a plan and arrangement in it which suit our ideas in this remote age and country? The writer was evidently a practical, not a speculative, man. He intended to set forth maxims relating to the conduct of life —principles and examples bearing upon men's business and circumstances. No doubt several transpositions and corruptions adhere to our oldest and best translations. The Hebrew work as it came from Ben Sirach's hands was in a much better state than it is now. In substance, however, it was the same. Nor is there any good reason for supposing that whole chapters have been displaced. Our acuteness is sometimes applied to the restoration of a work which does not need it; although it may give a better form than it had at first. In this way the book of Sirach could be mended without much difficulty. But we fear to attempt its re-arrangement, lest injustice be done to Sirach himself.

After the origin and superior excellence of wisdom are set forth in the first chapter, the author admonishes to righteousness and the fear of God; to confidence in His aid, and resistance to temptations. The good fruits of such conduct, and the disastrous results of the opposite, are shewn (ii.). The fifth commandment of the decalogue is adduced, and the blessing or curse attending its observance or neglect described. Obstinacy and pride of heart are censured; while prudence, almsgiving, and beneficence are recommended (iii. 1-iv. 11). Wisdom is again introduced as the subject of praise, together with the love of truth, and other virtues. The writer sets forth the leading virtues, and exhorts his readers to practise them; while he censures the opposite vices and describes their consequences. Among other things, Sirach treats of moderation, and excess in eating and drinking (xxxi. 12-31, xxxvii. 28-31), and the honour due to the physician (xxxviii. 1-15). He gives prudential rules respecting intercourse with others, especially superiors (xiii. 1-18); recommends cheerfulness, contentment, and freedom from anxious care (xxx. 21-25, xxxviii. 18, 19). The principal topic, however, is wisdom, whose excellence and fruits are praised. It came forth from the mouth of the Most High and covered the earth as a cloud, compassed the circuit of heaven, and walked in the bottom of the deep, got a possession in every people and nation, and took up its permanent abode in Israel (xxiv.).

The second part is occupied with praises of the patriarchs and renowned forefathers of the Jews, who were distinguished by active zeal for the theocracy, and manifested themselves as

instruments in the hands of Jehovah, through whom He was exalted among His people. A prayer setting forth Jehovah's goodness and faithfulness closes the book (xliv.-li.).

III. NATURE OF THE CONTENTS.—The book is of considerable value and interest, as shewing the ethics of the Jews after the exile. Its resemblance to the Proverbs of Solomon in matter and form is apparent. Here Wisdom is described as the source of all happiness. Chaps. i.-ix., xxiv., are based upon the old Proverbs (i.-ix.). The morality embodied in the work is founded upon the belief of the recompense in this life, like that of the Proverbs. Neither the doctrine of the resurrection, nor any future state of reward and punishment appears. The view taken of the world is a prudential one. Yet the precepts are valuable and excellent. That they do not reach very far, nor penetrate beyond the best form of Judaism, is natural in the circumstances. The commands of God are held forth as requiring obedience, and individual virtues are recommended; but with this piety are connected happiness, a good name, and a refined eudæmonism which still savour of the earthly and material. The writer was a man of reflection and culture. He had studied the manners of the age with the calmness and attention of a philosopher. He had thought much on the varied aspects of human life, and has embodied in his book the result of his own experience. He has also drawn from the writings of older moralists. For the most part he has addressed himself to the middle class, seldom rising to the consideration of those in higher stations. Only once does he speak to the workmaster and artificer, the physician and the learned (xxxviii.); twice to princes and rulers (x.). The book is not without defects. Darkness is mixed here and there with its light. The prejudices of old times appear along with recent ideas. Thus God is rudely represented as taking vengeance, using for that purpose fire, hail, famine, the winds, etc. (xxxix. 28, etc.). Hatred against national enemies, for whose destruction prayer is uttered, appears in xxxvi. 2, etc. Alms have great value assigned to them (xxix. 9-13). His dogmatic theology is defective and erroneous. The Messianic delineations are general and indefinite, containing nothing of the Messiah's person or kingdom. The writer, however, hoped for a speedy deliverance from the oppression of the heathen, with the re-establishment of his countrymen in peace and prosperity, after Elias had appeared. Messianic hopes are expressed in iv. 15; x. 13-17; xi. 5, etc.; xxxii. 17-19; xxxiii. 1-12; xxxvi. 17-23; xxxvii. 25; xxxix. 23; xlviii. 10, etc.

Stier is so enthusiastic in his view of the book that he terms any moderate estimate of its value, like that now given, ration-

alist or half rationalist. He will have it that Sirach comments on the Proverbs of Solomon; and deprecates the attachment of blame to its precepts or its morality. But he is blinded by excessive zeal in the matter.[1]

It is not very clear that the work contains traces of Alexandrian theosophy. Gfrörer, who holds that it does, refers to the twenty-fourth chapter as presenting the Alexandrian idea of Wisdom, and so totally different from other places where Wisdom is celebrated (i. 1-10; iv. 11-19; vi. 17-37; xiv. 20-27), that it was not written by the same author.[2] Dachne himself, who repudiates Gfrörer's notion of Alexandrian elements in the twenty-fourth chapter, is compelled to recognize them in a few places, where he arbitrarily assumes interpolation on the part of the author's grandson and translator.[3] Fritzsche finds only two points which are apparently of Alexandrian origin, viz., in xvii. 14, the sentiment that Jehovah has assigned a guardian angel to every nation, but reigns Himself in Israel. This is found in Deut. xxxii. 8, LXX. Again, in xliv. 16, Enoch appears a type of repentance, as in Philo, Gen. v. 24.[4] Philo allegorises there. Fritzsche need not be so anxious to explain these two ideas apart from Alexandrianism. Though the Palestinian mind is reflected in the substance and form of the book, the influence of Greek philosophy is observable at times. A few phenomena point to Egyptian culture, from whose spirit the Jews in Palestine could not be wholly separate, though the philosophic sentiments of the Alexandrian Jews were very different from the old type of Hebrew belief that forms the essence of the book.

IV. AUTHOR AND DATE.—The writer calls himself Jesus the son of Sirach of Jerusalem (l. 27), which is all the information we have about him. Grotius thinks he was a physician, because xxxviii. 1-15 contains an encomium on physicians; and others suppose him such from rules of health being given (xxxi. 21, 22), and from evidences of pathological knowledge (xxiii. 16, 17; xxv. 17; xxvi. 12; xxx. 24; xxxi. 20). Linde[5] conjectures that he was a priest, because the Hebrew priests were also physicians. George Syncellus[6] calls him high priest of the Jews, and thus he is identified with Jason or Jesus. The character of Jason does not agree with the writer's. How could one who purchased the high priest's office from Antiochus

[1] Die Apokryphen, p. 49, et seqq., 1853.
[2] Philo und die Alexandrinische Theologie, zweiter Theil, p. 32, et seqq.
[3] Geschichtliche Darstellung der Jüdisch-Alexandrinische Religion's-philosophie, zweite Abtheilung, p. 141, et seqq.
[4] Exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apokryphen 5, p. xxxv. Einleitung.
[5] Uebersetzung des Buches Jesus Sirachs Sohn, Einleitung, p. 8.
[6] Chronographia, p. 276.

Epiphanes, who set aside his own brother, Onias III., and began to introduce heathen customs into Judea, write a work which speaks so respectfully of Mosaism? Or how could he recommend rectitude, order, and goodness? We can hardly suppose that the author was a priest, though he counsels esteem towards the priests (vii. 29-31), and praises Aaron and Simon highly (xlv. 1).

The time he lived in cannot be easily ascertained. His eulogy of great men terminates with Simon the high priest. But there were two Simons priests, *Simon the Just*, in the reign of Ptolemy Lagi, about 300 B.C., and Simon II., in the reign of Ptolemy Philometor, 217-195 B.C.

In favour of Simon I., it is urged that the great encomium passed upon Simon shews that he was *a renowned* high priest, which Simon II. was not; that he was the deliverer of his people from destruction, whereas no deliverance was necessary in the time of Simon II.; that Hellenism, the enemy of Judaism, had made great progress under the sons of Tobias when Simon II. lived, whereas the book never alludes to this; and that Simon I., so great and good, could not be passed over in silence. These considerations are not valid evidence. One of them is incorrect, viz., that Simon is spoken of as the deliverer of his people from destruction. He is *not* so mentioned. Simon is noticed as one that fortified the city against besieging, and took care of the temple (l. 4). This agrees better with the later time of the second Simon, because Ptolemy Philopator, contemporary of Simon II., persecuted the Jews, according to the third book of Maccabees. In the days of Simon I., and immediately after, the people were undisturbed by foreign aggression. Nothing more is known about Simon I. than that he was a pious man, whose merits were great in relation to literature and science. How can it be accounted for that, in all the laudations of Simon, no allusion is made either to his surname the *pious*, or to his literary merit? Is not this an indication that Simon II. is meant? The encomiums bestowed ignore the very qualities for which Simon I. was distinguished.

The notice in the prologue prefixed to the work by the writer's grandson who translated it into Greek, states that he came into Egypt in the thirty-eighth year, when Euergetes was king. Was this Euergetes first son and successor of Ptolemy Philadelphus II. (247-222 B.C.), or Euergetes II. Physcon (145-116 B.C.)? The Greek words ἐν τῷ ὀγδόῳ καὶ τριακοστῷ ἔτει ἐπὶ τοῦ Εὐεργέτου βασιλέως can only mean here "in the thirty-eighth year of Euergetes's reign," not in the thirty-eighth year of the writer's age. No one would use the words as they stand in the context in any other sense. To speak of age in such a

connection would be totally irrelevant. We are therefore surprised that Jahn and Winer should understand it of the author's own age. Our translation is *not* at variance with the grammatical structure of the sentence, though it makes better Greek to translate "in the thirty-eighth year of his age." The context, not grammar, fixes the meaning. The thirty-eighth year of Euergetes cannot apply to Euergetes I., who only reigned twenty-five years, but to Euergetes II., who, if his co-regency with Philometor be taken into account, reigned longer than that time (170-116 B.C.). By subtracting 38 years from 170 we get 131 B.C. Thus the grandson made his translation about 130 B.C. Allowing fifty years for the interval between grandfather and grandson, we bring the composition of the original to 180 B.C. This agrees with the fact implied in the description of Simon, that the Ben Sirach had seen the high priest, or was almost contemporary with him. The latter was fresh in the recollection of his countrymen at the time. After Nehemiah he was the most prominent individual that arrested the attention, because his practical measures reached to the writer's time and were felt. Thus we put Ben Sirach under Ptolemy Philometor, and the grandson under Euergetes II.

This view is much more probable than that of Cornelius à Lapide, Natalis Alexander, Goldhagen, Jahn, Welte, Scholz, etc., viz., that the book was written about 300-280, and the translation made about 230-220, supposing that Simon I. is meant in the fiftieth chapter, and Euergetes I. by the translator.

Hitzig thinks that Sirach wrote during the Maccabean struggle for freedom about 170 B.C.[1] This is deduced from some passages which that critic identifies with specific particulars in history, but incorrectly (iv. 28, x. 8-10, xxxii. 22, etc., xxxiii. 1-13, xxxvi. 13-17). The book contains no proper evidence of the effect of the Syrian persecution under Epiphanes, else it would have had other exhortations, and breathed hopes of deliverance resembling those in Daniel.

V. LANGUAGE IN WHICH THE WORK WAS WRITTEN.—The prologue of the grandson states that the book was written in Hebrew. Jerome also affirms that he saw the Hebrew original, which had the title מִשְׁלֵי *proverbs* or *moral maxims*. It has been doubted, however, by Scaliger, Bretschneider, and others, whether Jerome really had the original document before him. They think that it may have been a Syriac or Chaldee version *in Hebrew letters*. There is some reason for entertaining these doubts, if with Lowth, Eichhorn, and Bretschneider, we under-

[1] Die Psalmen, vol. i., p. 118.

stand Hebrew to have been the original language. But if the word *Hebraicum* used by Jerome, and its corresponding Ἑβραϊστί in the prologue, mean *Syro-Chaldaic*, as they may do, there is nothing against Jerome's having the original in his hands. We believe that the original was Hebrew not Aramæan, because the numerous quotations from the book in the Talmud and Midrashim are in Hebrew. Jerome probably saw merely an Aramæan version in Hebrew letters, and hastily looking at it mistook it for the original.

The character of the Greek diction employed in the translation shews that it is a stiff and slavish imitation of the Hebrew. The structure is Hebraic. The parallelism of members shews a Jew thinking in his own tongue. The translator has often followed the order of the Hebrew, putting together words and sentences with great care to represent the original as exactly as possible. He has thus sacrificed elegance to literality. Accordingly, the Greek can be easily rendered back into Hebrew which would have all the appearance of an original. This remark is verified by Lowth's Hebrew translation of the twenty-fourth chapter, containing a description of wisdom personified; where the elegant critic "has endeavoured as much as possible to preserve or rather restore the form and character of the original."[1] Fritzsche has also given one, agreeing almost verbally with Lowth's, though made independently.[2]

Misunderstandings of the Hebrew appear in the Greek, as in xxv. 15, οὐκ ἔστι κεφαλὴ ὑπὲρ κεφαλὴν ὄφεως. Here κεφαλὴ stands for רֹאשׁ *poison*, but was supposed to mean רֹאשׁ *the head*. In vi. 22 we read, "Wisdom is *according to her name*, and she is not manifest unto many," where there is an allusion to the Arabic علم *to know*, in Hebrew *to be hid*. This cannot apply to the Greek word σοφία, but to the Hebrew עֲלוּמָה. In xxiv. 27 stand the words, "He maketh the doctrine of knowledge appear *as the light*, and as Geon in the time of vintage." The term φῶς is wrongly used, for the original was גִּיחוֹר=גִּיאוֹר as in Amos viii. 8, meaning *like the Nile*. In xxi. 12 we have the noun πικρία *bitterness;* whereas the context requires *rebellion*. The translator confounded מְרָה *bitterness*, and מְרָה *rebellion*. In xliii. 8 it is said with respect to σελήνη *the moon*, μὴν κατὰ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς ἐστιν, where μήν must represent יֶרַח *month*, and σελήνη, יָרֵחַ *moon*.

VI. TRANSLATIONS.—The Greek translation was made by a Palestinian Jew as we infer from the prologue, where it is said that Jesus son of Sirach came to Egypt at a certain time, and

[1] Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, p. 207, et seqq., Stowe's edition.
[2] In the Exeget. Handbuch zu d. Apok., v., p. 134, et seqq.

there rendered the book into Greek. The translator does not give his name; but the author of the *Synopsis Sacræ Scripturæ* in Athanasius's works, Epiphanius, and others, call him Jesus son of Sirach. This may have been a conjecture on their part. Some have thought that he added the fifty-first chapter. If so, he must have written it in Greek, whereas it bears the character of the rest.

The second prologue in the Complutensian Polyglott and the Vulgate is taken from the *Synopsis Sacræ Scripturæ*. It proceeded from a Christian hand, and contains little else than conjectures. A very few Greek MSS. have it. It is printed by Linde, Bretschneider, Augusti, Apel, etc.

The Greek text has suffered great corruption and interpolation, partly from its frequent use in the Greek church, partly from other causes. Its rectification at the present day is a hopeless task. The varieties in Greek MSS. have naturally passed into editions. Thus in the Sixtine edition x. 21, xi. 15, 16, xvi. 15, 16, are omitted. The last chapter is wanting in many MSS. and editions. The Complutensian has the additions xvi. 10; xix. 2, 3, 5, 18, 19, 21; xxii. 6, etc.; xxiii. 5, etc.; xxv. 16; xxvi. 19, 27. The different arrangement of sections from chap. xxx. 25 and onwards in the Vatican, Alexandrian, and Aldine text on the one hand, and the Complutensian, Paris, and Antwerp editions on the other, may be seen in the following table:—

VATICAN AND OTHERS.	COMPLUTENSIAN AND OTHERS.
Chap. xxx. 25-40.	Chap. xxxiii. 17-32.
„ xxxi.	„ xxxiv.
„ xxxii.	„ xxxv.
„ xxxiii.	„ xxxvi.
„ xxxiii. 13.	„ xxx. 25.
„ xxxiv.	„ xxxi.
„ xxxv.	„ xxxii.
„ xxxvi. 1-15.	„ xxxiii. 1-16.
„ xxxvi. 17-31.	„ xxxiii. 14-28.

These variations and many others, for there is hardly a verse that does not present some discrepancy in the Greek MSS., cannot have been owing entirely to transcribers' mistakes. In most cases they arose from design. Many additions have been taken from the fathers by transcribers or readers. Bendtsen[1] has tried to shew that various interpolations in the Complutensian owe their origin to Clement of Alexandria. They are

[1] Specimen exercitationum criticarum in Vet. Test. libros Apocryphos e scriptis patrum et antiquis versionibus, etc., p. 32, et seqq.

found at least in his works. The Vatican is the purest text. The Greek fathers must have had a text which differed considerably from ours; as the writings of Origen, Clement, and Chrysostom shew.

The Latin version in the Vulgate is older than Jerome, and unrevised by him. It is rude and barbarous, departing largely from the Greek text. The Greek copy from which it was made must have been disfigured by additions, omissions, alterations, and transpositions. The translator endeavoured to be literal, but could not always understand the original, and blundered accordingly. Bretschneider has adduced many proofs of its Greek origin, such as words left untranslated.[1] Cornelius à Lapide[2] and Sabatier[3] conjectured that the translator rendered from the Hebrew original. Bengel[4] compared the first and thirty-fourth chapters in Greek and Latin, to shew the probability of this view. But he is obliged to admit that the translator used the Greek as a help. De Wette does not decide;[5] and Welte[6] agrees with Bengel. There is little doubt, however, that the original was Greek, as Bretschneider proved. Probably this old Latin version dates from the beginning of the second century. The Latin fathers of the second and third centuries quote from it.

The Syriac version printed in the Polyglotts departs in many ways, both from the Greek and Latin. Some, as Bendtsen and Bertholdt, suppose that it was made from the Hebrew text. This is incorrect. It was taken from the Greek, but from an altered and corrupt recension of it. The date is uncertain.

Another Syriac version of the book in the Syro-Hexaplar codex at Milan is furnished with Origen's critical signs. If any proper examination of it has been made, it is still unprinted. The Arabic version slavishly follows the Syriac, and was evidently made from it.

The Aramæan version contains the work in a very mutilated form.

The English version was made from the Complutensian Greek, with the aid of the old Latin.

VII. AUTHORITY AND POSITION ASSIGNED TO THE BOOK.—Some have thought that the earliest use of the book is found in the New Testament, especially in James's Epistle. It is alleged that there are various allusions which shew that the earliest Christian writers were acquainted with it. The similarity, how-

[1] Liber Jesu Siracidæ Græce, p. 699, et seqq.
[2] Comment. in Ecclesiasticum, p. 20.
[3] Biblior. Sacror. vers. antiq., vol. ii., p. 390.
[4] Allgemeine Bibliothek der biblischen Literatur, vol. vii., p. 832, et seqq.
[5] Einleitung, p. 469. [6] Einleitung, p. 216.

ever, between passages in our book and the New Testament may be otherwise explained. A common oral tradition may have been the source of both; or similarity of topics led to similar modes of expression. The likeness is not very definite; and therefore some have doubted whether the sacred writers actually employed the book. The nearest approach to an apparent quotation is James i. 19, from Sir. v. 11 and iv. 29. Others are Sir. ii. 15, comp. John xiv. 23; Sir. xxix. 15, comp. Luke xvi. 9; Sir. xi. 10, comp. 1 Tim. vi. 9, 10; Sir. xxxiii. 13, comp. Rom. ix. 21; Sir. xi. 18, 19, comp. Luke xii. 19; Sir. xv. 16, comp. Matt. xix. 17; Sir. xxv. 11, comp. James iii. 2; Sir. xxxv. 11, comp. 2 Cor. ix. 7. Some of these places are irrelevant, others are pertinent. In some the writers did draw from the book, both in idea and word, though Keerl stoutly denies it.[1] Here we must carefully avoid the opposite extremes of Stier and Keerl, the former of whom finds allusions that are uncertain, while the latter denies such as are tolerably plain. Bleek takes the safe medium.[2] In Barnabas and the Apostolic Constitutions (Ep. 19, Constitut. v. 11) Sir. iv. 31 seems to have been in the writers' thoughts.

It has been said that this book is quoted in the Jewish church, even by Jose b. Jochananan (150 B.C.) and Simon b. Shetach (100 B.C.). The Jews excluded it from their canonical Scriptures. The Talmud quotes passages from it, and yet forbids it to be read, referring it, with some other books of the same kind, to the סְפָרִים חִצוֹנִים *external books* (uncanonical). The work was held in repute by the Jews, as we see from the way in which it is mentioned, and the application of its contents. Weighty authorities in the Palestinian church, such as Rab, Jochanan, Elasar, Rabba bar Mare, sometimes appeal to it in the same way as they do to the sacred writings; and at the beginning of the fourth century it was even reckoned by them among the *cethubim*. So Rab (Erubin 65 *a.*), R. Chanina (i. 1), and the Babylonian Talmud (Berachoth 48 *a.*), Rabba bar Mare (Baba Kama (i. 1), and Eliahu Rabba in Jalkut (Gen. *f.* 23 *d.*). A few unfavourable opinions of the Jews, such as those in Thos. Jadaim c. ii. and the Midrash on Coheleth xii., are of no weight against these authorities.[3] About forty sentences from Ben Sira, usually in an abbreviated form, are found in different Rabbinical books up to the fifth century A.D. This list includes anonymous citations; and contains several now wanting in the Greek and Syriac versions. All but three are

[1] Die Apokryphenfrage aufs neue beleuchtet, p. 54, et seqq.

[2] Ueber die Stellung der Apokryphen des alten Testaments im christlichen Kanon, reprinted from the Studien und Kritiken.

[3] Zunz, Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge, p. 101, et seqq.

in Hebrew. They are enumerated by Zunz. The book is not in the lists of canonical writings given by Josephus, Melito, Origen, and Jerome. It was much read in the early churches; and Athanasius states that it was put into the hands of catechumens as a moral catechism. Augustine says of the two books of Wisdom and Sirach (De doctr. Christ. ii. 8), "qui quoniam in auctoritatem recipi meruerunt, *inter propheticos numerandi sunt;*" and in another work (De Civitate Dei, xvii. 20), "eos in auctoritatem maxime occidentalis antiquitus recepit ecclesia .... sed adversus contradictores non tanta auctoritate proferuntur quæ scripta non sunt in canone Judæorum." But he afterwards retracted these ideas. Jerome expresses himself cautiously and critically, that the book should be used only for the edification of the people, and not to confirm the authority of ecclesiastical doctrines. But although the fathers usually asserted that the work was not of equal authority with those in the canon they used it in the same way as the latter. Thus Origen cites it as *Scripture.*[1] So does Ambrose:[2] Epiphanius calls it *Scripture;*[3] Cyprian, *divine Scripture;*[4] and in quoting it he uses, *the Holy Spirit*[5] says. Athanasius himself uses it in doctrinal polemics, applying to it τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος εἰρημένα in relation to xv. 9.[6] At the council of Trent, it was formally put into the canon.

VIII. COLLECTIONS OF BEN SIRA'S PROVERBS.—Ben Sira's *Alphabet* or *Book* is the title of a small book of proverbs first mentioned by R. Nathan. It contains a double series of proverbs alphabetically arranged, one in Chaldee, the other in Hebrew. The latter consists of the sayings cited in the Talmud, with a few others. The fabulous and later predominates in the former part. It was published at Constantinople, 1519, and elsewhere. Drusius also published a collection of proverbs belonging to Ben Sira, which contains genuine sayings, with others later than the Jewish author. That the Ben Sira of the Talmud and of these collections is identical with the author of Ecclesiasticus is unquestionable.[7] Bartolocci was wrong in denying it.[8] But the writer's name became famous in the gnomic literature of the Hebrews, as Solomon's did in earlier literature of the same kind; and therefore maxims which harmonised in spirit were subsequently associated with his. His name recommended them all. His own are generally superior in value and excellence. The later ones are often trifling and puerile. The dialect, too, in which they are expressed is impure, and mixed with Greek words.

[1] Homil. 9 in Ezech. [2] De Bono Mortis, 8. [3] Adversus Hæres., lib. i., p. 72.
[4] De Mortal., p. 297. [5] De Opere et Elecmos, p. 304.
[6] Epist. ad episcop. Ægypt., vol. i., p. 272.
[7] Dukes, Rabbinische Blumenlese, p. 31. [8] Bibliotheca Rabbinica, vol. i., p. 684.

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF BARUCH.

I. CONTENTS.—The first epistle of Baruch is printed in the Paris and London Polyglotts, in Syriac and Latin. It is also in P. Delagarde's Syriac Apocrypha. It is addressed to the nine tribes and a-half beyond the river Euphrates, assuring them that they need not despair or be unduly cast down by seeing their enemies prospering. Their sufferings would only be for a season. God would speedily interfere and deliver them from their distresses.

There are two chapters in the book or epistle.

II. AUTHORSHIP AND DATE.—It has been thought that it was written by a Jew in the second century before Christ. In favour of this opinion it is said that in i. 13-15 a story is told of God sending angels from heaven to destroy the forts and walls of Jerusalem, and to hide some of the vessels of the temple, lest Nebuchadnezzar should have the glory of destroying the sanctuary by his own power; that there is an admonition to adhere strictly to the law of Moses; and that there is an injunction upon the Jews to transmit the epistle to their posterity along with the law of Moses, for the purpose of being publicly read at their fasts. Such reasoning shews, it is alleged, that the work was written by a Jew; and that he lived about the middle of the second century before Christ is inferred from the readers being exhorted to be patient under sufferings from the Gentiles, to wait for the day of judgment which was very near, and from the frequent reference to a future life.

As the writer *personates* Baruch, these characteristics are required by verisimilitude. The Christian element appears but little, because it would have been incongruous. The Hagadic story about the angels destroying the walls and forts is consistent with *Christian* authorship, because we know how superstitious many Christians have been. The other particulars specified arise from the design of the writer to personate Baruch speaking to his countrymen at a certain period and in peculiar circumstances. At the close the readers are exhorted to pre-

pare themselves in this short life for that which is to come, seeing that repentance will then be impossible, and the judgment final. Here the writer shews himself a Christian. The ideas he utters are not Old Testament ones. In another place he drops the mask, viz. ii. 18, 19, where *imputation of the righteousness of the forefathers* is spoken of. There is little doubt therefore that the production is of Christian origin. And as we have no evidence of the work being a translation, it must be assigned to a Syrian Christian. Huet[1] conjectures that the author was a monk, which is probable. Fritzsche assents.[2] Welte, strangely enough, cannot see the reason why some things in it are Christian and some Jewish.[3] The author did not write before the third century after Christ.

Whiston, who translated it into English, maintains that Baruch himself wrote it.[4] This shews a strange appreciation of evidence, since the non-authenticity is plain enough. Having never been extant in Greek, it could not form a part of the Septuagint, even if it had preceded the Christian era, and been written by a Jew. The style is diffuse and rhetorical. The same idea is repeated several times by different proverb-like expressions. The alliterations and plays on words attest its Syriac originality.

[1] Demonstratio Evangelica, p. 270.
[2] Exeget. Handbuch, i., p. 175.
[3] Einleitung, p. 158.
[4] Authentic Records, Part i., pp. 25, 26.

THE SECOND EPISTLE OR BOOK OF BARUCH.

I. TITLE.—This work is commonly called *the book of Baruch*, without reference to the preceding work. In the Septuagint it is termed τὸ βιβλίον, *the book*. The inscription, however, is simply βαρούχ, after the reputed author.

II. CONTENTS.—The work properly consists of two parts—i.–iii. 8, and iii. 9–v. 9. i. 1–9 is introductory to the first; and the latter itself may be considered introductory to the second.

In the fifth year after the Chaldeans had destroyed Jerusalem, Baruch wrote in Babylon the words of this book, and read them before Jechoniah and the assembled people, with the nobles, princes, and elders. On that occasion they humbled themselves before the Lord, and collected a sum of money which they sent to Jerusalem with the silver vessels of the temple made by Zedekiah after Nebuchadnezzar had carried away Jechoniah to Babylon, requesting that the high-priest Joakim and the rest would spend the money on the sacrifices, and pray for the life of Nebuchadnezzar. The book was to be read in the temple on the fasts and solemn days (i. 1-14). This narrative is followed by a confession and prayer (i. 15–ii. 35); to which is appended a short prayer for mercy in distress and exile (iii. 1-8). Israel is then addressed directly, and admonished to understand wisdom (iii. 9–iv. 29). Jerusalem is finally exhorted to rejoice, for she will return from captivity with glory (iv. 30–v. 9).

III. UNITY.—Bertholdt has tried to shew that iii. 1–8 is distinct from chaps. i. ii., and did not proceed from the same writer.[1] His arguments were refuted by De Wette.[2] The whole of i.–iii. 8 is one piece. Bertholdt also contended that iii. 9–v. 9 belonged to a different author from him who wrote the other parts, because the language is purer and more flowing, the description more independent of older writings, and Alexandrian culture more apparent. To these and similar particulars Fritzsche thinks that sufficient attention has not been given.[3]

[1] Einleitung, vol. iv., p. 1763.
[2] Einleit., p. 474.
[3] Exeget. Handbuch, i., p. 168.

Yet they are hardly conclusive. *Some* allowance should be made for the difference of contents. The theme affects and influences the nature of the language employed. And the writer of iii. 9–v. 19 is not independent of older works any more than i.–iii. 8, because he has used Isaiah; just as Jeremiah is used in the first part. Wisdom is not spoken of after the Alexandrian manner in iii. 14, etc., but rather in the same way as in Sirach, which is Palestinian. Fritzsche adduces ὁ οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ (iii. 24); the application of δαιμόνια (iv. 7) to idols; and also the term μυθολόγοι (iii. 23) as more appropriate in the mouth of an Alexandrian; but they are small things to rest upon, and belong in our view to an Alexandrian *translator* rather than *author*. We do not see sufficient cause to separate the two parts of the book between two authors. In the latter, Alexandrian elements are not prominent, though the language is certainly better and purer Greek. At iii. 9 a new paragraph undoubtedly begins which has very little connection with the preceding, differing from it perceptibly in matter and form, yet it has the same general object, and in annexing confession and prayer to reproof the tone becomes livelier, the diction more elevated. It is certain that no one plan is developed throughout. The constituent parts are not nicely adjusted.

IV. ORIGINAL LANGUAGE.—Much difference of opinion prevails on this point. In favour of a Greek original are Grotius, Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Hävernick, and Keil; for a Hebrew one are Huet, Calmet, Goldhagen, Braun, Movers, Herzfeld, Hitzig, Ochler, Ewald, De Wette, Welte, Scholz, Bendtsen, Daehne, Reusch, Grünberg, Dereser, etc. Fritzsche and Ruetschi regard the first part as having been composed in Hebrew, the second in Greek.

The original appears to have been Hebrew, even though Jerome says that the Jews had not the book in that language,[1] and Epiphanius asserts the same thing.[2] The latter's testimony on such a point is worth nothing; and the former's resolves itself into the fact that the original had passed into oblivion in his day, having been supplanted by the Greek. We rely on the statement that the work was intended to be publicly read in the temple (i. 14) as favourable to a Hebrew original. It must have been composed in Hebrew for that purpose. Verisimilitude did not require the statement, because the author in personating Baruch could have made him write in some other way respecting the communication of the epistle to the Jews. We rely on the Hebraisms for proof of a Hebrew original—on their number and nature. They are not resolvable into the fact of a Greek-speak-

[1] Præf. in vers. Jerem. [2] De mens. et pond., c. 5.

ing Hebrew naturally making them, because they are peculiar. Thus *ἐργάζομαι* (i. 22) is applied to religious worship, from the Hebrew עָבַד. No Greek-speaking Jew would employ such a word in that sense. In i. 15, 20, ii. 6, 11, 26, occurs *ὡς ἡ ἡμέρα αὕτη* for כְּיוֹם הַזֶּה. In i. 17 we find *ὧν ἡμάρτομεν ἐναντι κυρίου*, where the *ὧν* is only an incorrect translation of אֲשֶׁר, and has no preceding or following word to which it relates. In ii. 26, *καὶ ἔθηκας τὸν οἶκον οὗ ἐπεκλήθη τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐπ' αὐτῷ*, a Hebrew original is shown, else *οὗ* would have been ᾧ. In ii. 18, *μέγεθος* is applied to greatness of trouble. This is a strange word to be so used without an adjunct. It may have been a translation of דְּכְיוּת, for which the translator had (or mistook) רַבְיוּת. In ii. 29, *βόμβησις* is an incorrect version of הָמוֹן *multitude*. *προσευχὴ τῶν τεθνηκότων Ἰσραήλ* (iii. 4), is an erroneous rendering of תפלת מתי ישראל, where the translator read מֵתֵי *dead men*, for מְתֵי *men*. The work too begins with *καὶ*, equivalent *to* וְ. In addition to these expressions it should be remarked that the writer was a Palestinian, as appears from passages like ii. 17, "for the dead that are in the graves, whose souls are taken from their bodies, will give unto the Lord neither praise nor righteousness." The conception of wisdom in iii. 9, etc., is evidently Palestinian. "Ye have forgotten the everlasting God that brought you up; and ye have grieved Jerusalem that nursed you" (iv. 8). "Hearken, O ye that dwell about Sidon," *i.e.* the congregations of Jews throughout the country of Judea. Now a Palestinian would write in Hebrew rather than Greek. It is evident that the Greek translation is free and paraphrastic. The original is not literally reflected in it. This is especially the case in the latter part.

Hävernick[1] and others seem to have adopted the idea of a Greek original because they think the work of Alexandrian origin. But it is not. Both he and Keil[2] labour hard to explain away all the Hebraisms, as well as the mistranslations which shew a Hebrew original, resolving them into the manner of a Greek-speaking Jew. They are compelled, however, to be contented with *possible* cases, such as that of *οὗ—ἐκεῖ*, ii. 13, iii. 8.

V. DATE.—The Septuagint of Jeremiah's book was used by the translator. Comp. Bar. i. 8 with Jer. xxvii. 16 (xxxiv. 13 LXX.); i. 9 with Jer. xxiv. 1; ii. 4 with Jer. xlii. 18 (Sept. xlix.); ii. 23 with Jer. xxxiii. 10, 11 (Sept. xl.); ii. 25 with Jer. xxxvi. 30 (Sept. xliii.); ii. 3 with Jer. xix. 9; ii. 20 with Jer. xxxvi. 7 (Sept. xliii.). The words *βαδίζω*, *μαννά*, for

[1] De libro Baruch apocry., 1843. [2] Einleitung, p. 729.

μαναά, ἀποστολή, χαρμοσύνη, γαυρίαμα, δεσμώτης, are common to both. In consequence of this similarity, Hitzig and Ewald assume the same translator for both books, which is a hazardous conjecture. Fritzsche,[1] who follows Hitzig, asserts that the agreement extends not merely to one or two places, but to the whole method; since words and constructions appear in Baruch which are almost peculiar to the translator of Jeremiah. The resemblance is best explained by the fact that the translator of the Septuagint version used the Greek Baruch. Less probable is Movers's view,[2] that the translator employed the Alexandrian recension of the Hebrew text. Hence the translator cannot be put earlier than the middle of the second century before Christ. The interval between him and the original author was considerable—a century and a-half at least. The latter wrote about 300 B.C. The author of Daniel made use of the Hebrew Baruch in ix. 4–19, which is taken from Bar. i. 15–ii. 17.

We have put the translator about 150 B.C. It would damage this conclusion if it could be shewn that he used Theodotion. And yet in many words and phrases he agrees with the latter. How is this to be explained except on the ground that Theodotion, who acted freely in his work, employed phrases and terms with which he was familiar? The version of Baruch supplied him with several. Yet he often deviates from Theodotion, and agrees with the LXX. in Daniel. The Septuagint of Daniel was not made so early as his. As the writer of Daniel used the Hebrew Baruch, the Greek translator of Daniel seems to have used the Greek Baruch, especially in the ninth chapter of the canonical book.

VI. AUTHENTICITY.—Though Baruch professes to have written the work, he is only introduced by a much later writer who speaks in his name. Baruch, son of Nerias, is said to have written it in Babylon. There is no doubt that Jeremiah's faithful friend is meant, not another of the same name as Jahn intimates.[3] The father's name is the same; and both wrote down the oracles of Jeremiah. Roman Catholic theologians usually maintain that Baruch was the real author. From Bellarmine down to Welte, Scholz, and Reusch, only one Protestant, the whimsical Whiston, agrees with them. It is strange that Herzfeld should approach to this view by assuming that the author wrote in the time of the captivity.[4] The Catholic view is untenable for the following reasons:—

1. The work contains historical inaccuracies. Jeremiah was

[1] Exeget. Handbuch, i., p. 173.
[2] De utriusque recensionis vaticiniorum Jeremiæ, etc., p. 6, et seqq.
[3] Einleitung, ii., p. 599, et seqq.
[4] Geschichte des V. Israel, vol. i., p. 317, et seqq.

alive in the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem; yet the epistle is dated at Babylon that same year. It is most unlikely that Baruch left Jeremiah; since the two friends had remained together in prosperity and adversity. One account makes Baruch never leave Egypt. This is the more probable one. Another represents him leaving it after the death of Jeremiah. If the latter be assumed, it is hardly possible that he could have left Egypt after Jeremiah died in the fifth year subsequent to Jerusalem's destruction, have gone to Babylon, and there written the book the same year.

According to Bar. i. 3, Jechoniah was present in the great assembly before which the epistle was read; whereas we learn from 2 Kings xxv. 27 that he was kept prisoner as long as Nebuchadnezzar lived.

Joakim is supposed to be high-priest at Jerusalem (i. 7). But we learn from 1 Chron. vi. 15 that Jehozadak filled that office the fifth year after Jerusalem was destroyed.

In i. 2 there is a mistake. The city was not burnt when Jehoiachin was carried away. If the allusion be to the destruction of the city by Nebuchadnezzar, the temple and its worship are supposed to exist still, in i. 8–10.

The particulars narrated are placed in the fifth year of the exile; yet we read, "thou art waxen old in a strange country" (iii. 10).

2. Reminiscences of later books in the canon occur in this one, supposing it to have proceeded from Baruch himself. Compare i. 15–17 with Dan. ix. 7–10, Neh. ix. 32; ii. 1, 2 with Dan. ix. 12, 13; ii. 7–19 with Dan. ix. 13–18, Neh. ix. 10.

The date of the work is given indefinitely in i. 2, "in the fifth year, and in the seventh day of the month, what time as the Chaldeans took Jerusalem and burnt it with fire." The most natural meaning of these words is, *the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar*, not *the fifth year of the captivity of Jehoiachin*. The day is given, not the month. De Wette conjectures,[1] that ἔτει should be μηνί (i. 2); but MS. authority is against the change. He also remarks, that ἐν τῷ καιρῷ should not be rendered *after the time*, but *at the time*. Both amount to the same thing.

VII. Design of the epistle.—The object of the work was to encourage, admonish, and support the suffering Jews in Palestine. In the first place the writer exhorts the congregation to humble themselves before Jehovah and repent; next he reminds them that they have the teachings of divine wisdom as the revelation of God in the world; and lastly he comforts them

[1] Einleitung, p. 473.

with the hope of Messianic deliverance. The conclusion is in the manner of the prophets, who paint the coming glory of the restored theocracy in the Messianic age in glowing colours. From the tenour of the epistle and its design, we learn that the Jews in Palestine were under a foreign yoke, probably that of Demetrius.

The Palestinian abode of the writer is pretty clear, especially from the melancholy view of death which he takes in ii. 17, iii. 19,[1] resembling that of Ps. vi. 6, lxxviii. 18, ciii. 29. In Alexandria all the Jews had attained to a clear idea of immortality at the time. But it would appear from these places that all in Palestine had not.

The suppositious Baruch was meant for an appendix to Jer. li. which concludes with, "Thus far are the words of Jeremiah." The writer ascribed his production to one whose name would procure it a better reception, and increase its influence among his oppressed countrymen. It is but an echo of old prophecy—spurious, but not without force and adaptation—yet far inferior to the feeblest works of true prophets. Hävernick prefers to connect it with Jer. xlv., as a kind of appendix; but Cappellus's opinion uniting it to the fifty-first chapter, is preferable.[2]

The translation was made in Egypt, which accounts for various expressions that savour of Alexandrianism, such as *οι μυθολόγοι* (iii. 23), *οἱ γίγάντες οἱ ὀνομαστοὶ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς* (iii. 26), *ὁ οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ* (iii. 24), a Philonian expression denoting the world.

VIII. CANONICAL AUTHORITY.—The Jews never admitted the canonicity of the book, as Jerome and Epiphanius state. It is not in any of the early lists of canonical writings given by Josephus, Melito, and others. It stands, however, in the catalogue of the canonical writings given in the fifty-fifth canon of the Council of Laodicea. From the position it occupied in the LXX., before or after the Lamentations, it was usually considered an appendix to Jeremiah, and was treated very much in the same way, having equal authority assigned with that book. Hence the words of Baruch were often quoted as Jeremiah's. Irenæus,[3] Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian[4] so cite them. In one place Clement quotes iii. 16-19 as *ἡ θεία γραφή, divine Scripture.*[5] Cyprian refers to it thus: per Jeremiam (Baruch) .... Spiritus Sanctus .... docet, *the Holy Spirit teaches by Jeremiah.*[6] Cyril

[1] See Daehne's Geschichtliche Darstellung der judisch-Alexandrinische Philosophie, zweite Abtheilung, p. 151.
[2] Notæ Criticæ, p. 564.
[3] Advers. Hæres., v. 35 (Bar. iv. 36).
[4] Contra Gnost., c. 8.
[5] Pædagogus, ii. 3, p. 161.
[6] De Oratione Dominica, p. 141, ed. Brem.

of Jerusalem reckons it and the canonical books among the *βιβλία ὁμολογούμενα* and *θεῖαι γραφαι*.[1] It is unnecessary to say that the terms thus applied to the work by the Fathers cannot be weakened or nullified by any perfunctory remark about their *general sense*. The epithets *divine Scripture*, and *the Holy Spirit teaching*, etc., are sufficiently specific to prevent Protestants from explaining them away. From a *catena* on Jeremiah, Lamentations, and Baruch, published by Ghislerius,[2] we infer that ancient writers, as Theodoret, frequently commented on the book. At the present day its canonicity is asserted only by Roman Catholics, because it was determined by the Council of Trent. Protestants put it among the apocryphal books.

IX. VERSIONS.—The principal versions are the two Latin, the Syriac, and the Arabic. The old Latin contained in the Vulgate is literal, and was made from the Greek. Sabatier has printed two different recensions of it: that in the Vulgate and another older one. The Versio Vetus, or old Latin version, was also published by Jos. Maria a Caro Tommasi, 1688 (Rome). It is not so literal as the preceding; and Sabatier gives its various readings. The Syriac is literal on the whole. According to Fritzsche, a later mixed text lies at the basis of these translations. The Arabic translation is very literal. There is also a Syriac Hexaplar version of Baruch in the well-known codex belonging to the Ambrosian Library at Milan.

The twenty-five MSS. used by Holmes and Parsons in their edition of the Greek Baruch are divided by Fritzsche into two classes, according to the nature of the text they contain.

[1] Catech., iv., p. 67, et seqq., ed. Touttée.

[2] Lugduni, 1623.

THE EPISTLE OF JEREMY.

I. CONTENTS.—An epistle of Jeremiah often stands along with the book of Baruch, as the sixth chapter of it. According to the inscription, it was sent by Jeremiah, at God's command, to the Jews who were to be led captive to Babylon by the king of the Babylonians. The cause of their captivity was the sins they had committed before God; and they were to remain in Babylon seven generations, where they would see silver, golden, and wooden gods borne upon men's shoulders. The writer then describes in a declamatory style, the folly and absurdity of idolatry (8-72). The conclusion is abrupt (73).

II. POSITION OF THE EPISTLE.—At first the epistle had no connection with Baruch. And the only relation it has to Jeremiah is that it has been made up out of Jeremiah x. 1-16 and xxix. 4-23; the contents from the one place, the form from the other. The combination of it with Baruch was accidental. Its original independence is attested by the separate inscription, different style, nature of contents, and early historical notices respecting it. All the MSS. of Baruch do not have it; and some of them put it after the Lamentations. Thus in the Codex Alexandrinus it is separated from Baruch and put after the Lamentations. Theodoret in his explanation of Baruch has omitted it.

III. AUTHENTICITY.—The letter was not written by Jeremiah, though Huet, Du Pin, Calmet, Alber, Welte, and Reusch, maintain that it was, in which case it must have been written in Hebrew, though internal evidence shews a Greek original. Some modern catholic theologians, however, have abandoned the opinion of their predecessors, and call it spurious. Even Scholz agrees with Jerome who terms it ψευδεπίγραφος.[1]

IV. ORIGINAL LANGUAGE, BIRTH-PLACE, AND DATE.—It is written in pure Hellenistic Greek. Welte maintains that it was written in Hebrew.[2] But Jahn rightly holds a Greek

[1] Praef. in Expos. Jerem.

[2] Einleitung, p. 154.

original,[1] and most critics take the same view. Unquestionably it is not a version. The warning against idolatry addressed to the Jews bespeaks a foreigner living out of Palestine. The most probable place of its origin is Egypt.[2] The writer lived in the Maccabean period.

The oldest allusion to the existence of the epistle is commonly found in 2 Maccab. ii. 2. But we cannot see the appropriateness of the supposed reference. A few words there are similar to the fourth verse of our epistle; yet it does not follow that the latter was older; or indeed that the Maccabean author had respect to the epistle of Jeremy. The one place does not fit well with the other.

V. VERSIONS.—The old Latin version commonly called the Vulgate, published by Sabatier, is literal. The Syriac is freer, which may be accounted for in part by the fact that the Greek was often misunderstood. The Arabic is still more literal than the Latin. Both these versions are in the London Polyglott. The Syriac Hexaplar codex in the Ambrosian library at Milan has not been published yet, so that the connection between it and the Greek original is unknown.

VI. AUTHORITY.—What was said of the reception of Baruch by the early church applies to this epistle also.

The additions to Daniel and the history of Susanna have been already examined at page 227 and following ones.

[1] Einleit. ii. p. 867.

[2] See Fritzsche in exeget. Handbuch i. p. 206.

THE PRAYER OF MANASSES.

I. ORIGIN AND CONTENTS.—In the thirty-third chapter of the second book of Chronicles, it is related that king Manasseh reigned fifty-five years in Jerusalem, and re-established the worship of idols which his father had abolished. In consequence of his unfaithfulness to Jehovah, the king of Assyria came against him, and took him away a prisoner to Babylon. There he repented and turned to the Lord. On this account he was restored to Jerusalem, and lived in accordance with the Divine law (2 Chron. xxxiii. 11-13). The eighteenth verse of the chapter states, that "the rest of the acts of Manasseh, *and his prayer unto his God*, and the words of the seers that spoke to him in the name of the Lord God of Israel," are in the book of the kings of Israel. It would thus appear that a Hebrew prayer of Manasseh existed in the days of the Chronist; and it is *possible* that the composition in Greek called "the prayer of Manasses," or its Latin version in the Vulgate may have been derived from the lost original.

The prayer purports to have been offered up by the king when he was a captive in Babylon. It is beautifully simple and touching. The ideas are suitable, well arranged, and natural, being such as would arise in the mind of Manasseh situated as he was. As the offspring and evidence of genuine repentance they are most appropriate. The exceptions made by Bertholdt[1] to the suitableness of some expressions put into the mouth of Manasseh in the tenth and thirteenth verses, are of no force, as Fritzsche[2] has shewn. The writer was neither deficient in skill nor careless. It may be thought perhaps, that the ideas are borrowed from Old Testament books later than Manasseh; but similarity of situation would call them forth without imitation. Imitation, therefore, need not be assumed, to their disadvantage.

II. POSITION.—Its place differs in MSS., versions, and books. The most usual is after the Psalms, as in the Codex Alexandrinus, in the Zurich MS. of the Psalms mentioned by Fritzsche, and in Ludolf's Ethiopic Psalter.

In editions of the Vulgate it is usually put at the end of the

[1] Einleitung, v. p. 2618. [2] Exeget. Handbuch i. p. 157.

New Testament, succeeded by the third and fourth books of Esdras. Reineccius and Luther placed it at the end of the Old Testament. Sometimes it is after 2 Chronicles, as in the old Latin of Sabatier.

In ancient editions of the LXX. it is wanting. But it is in the fourth volume of the London Polyglott after the Psalms; in Grabe and Breitinger, and in others. Bagsters' Septuagint omits it. Apel's edition of the apocryphal books has it after the song of the three children.

III. AUTHORSHIP AND AGE. — Internal evidence shews that the writer was a Jew well acquainted with Greek. Bertholdt[1] supposes that he belonged to Egypt, and lived in the second or third century of the Christian era. Fabricius conjectured that the prayer was written by the author of the Apostolic Constitutions.[2] It is certainly given at length in this work; but the Constitutions are of Christian, not Jewish authorship like the prayer. It is most probable that the writer lived before Christ, perhaps in the preceding century. As the production is of the same class with other ante-christian apocryphal writings, we put it in the first century B.C. The writer belonged to Egypt. There were many Jewish legends or hagadas connected with Manasseh's imprisonment and prayer. The Targum on Chronicles has some singular circumstances relating to them. Others are in the Apostolic Constitutions, John of Damascus, Anastasius, and Suidas.[3]

IV. GREEK TEXT AND VERSIONS.—The Greek text varies much in the different MSS. That given in the Apostolic Constitutions has been corrupted in various places.[4] The Latin version accompanying the Vulgate was not made by Jerome, as the language is not his. It is a revised form of the old Latin, and is a good version on the whole. There is also a Hebrew translation made from the Greek in Shalsheleth Hakkabala, with the title, *This was Manasseh's prayer when he was kept in custody in chains of iron at Babylon, translated from Greek copies by wise men of the Idumeans.*[5]

V. CANONICITY.—The composition before us was much used and quoted by the fathers of the Greek church. It was reckoned authentic by the writer of the discourse on the publican and Pharisee in the sixth volume of Chrysostom's works, by Antony the monk, Theodore Studita, Theophanes Cerameus, Georgius Syncellus, Freculfus, Suidas, and others.[6] Neither Romanists nor Protestants now regard it as canonical.

[1] Einleitung, v. p. 2622.
[2] In his edition of Sirach, Wisdom, Judith, and Tobit, p. 208, 1691.
[3] See Fabricius's Codex Pseudepigraphus, V. T., vol. i., p. 1100, et seqq.
[4] See Ueltzen's edition, pp. 36, 37.
[5] Wolfii Bibliotheca Hebræa, vol. i., p. 778.
[6] See Fabricius's Bibliotheca Græca, vol. iii., ed. Harles, p. 732.

THE FIRST BOOK OF MACCABEES.

I. NAME.—The name *Maccabees* is commonly applied to the family and posterity of the Jewish priest Mattathias, who maintained a protracted and severe struggle against the Seleucidæ, and finally effected independence of their yoke, till 37 B.C. The appellation was first applied to Judas, third son of Mattathias (1 Mac. ii. 3, iii. 1, v. 24; 2 Mac. x. 1), and is derived from מַקָּבָה Heb., מַקָּבָא Chald., *a hammer*;[1] expressing the destructive prowess of Judas. The Greek is *Μακκαβαῖος*. By another derivation, according to which it is written מַכְבִּי or מַכְבָּאִי, the word is formed from the initial letters of מִי כָמוֹךָ בָּאֵלִים יְהוָה *who among the gods is like unto thee, Jehovah?* which is said to have been the motto on the standards of the Jews in their wars. This, however, was a later usage—one which did not begin till after the destruction of the Jewish state. In that case, too, the word would have had *κκ*. The latter objection holds good against another etymology proposed by Delitzsch, מַתִּתְיָה כֹּהֵן בֶּן יוֹחָנָן.[2] The name was gradually extended till it was even applied to the Jews in Egypt persecuted by Ptolemy Philopator. The appellation *Ἀσαμωναῖος*, first applied to Simeon grandfather of Mattathias, is commoner in Josephus and the Talmud, חַשְׁמַנִּים, (perhaps from חַשְׁמַן *fat,*) *princes, nobles* (Ps. lxviii. 32).

II. CONTENTS.—The work contains a history of the Jews from the time of Antiochus Epiphanes till the death of the high-priest Simon: *i.e.*, from 175 till 135 B.C. It may be divided into four parts, according to the prominence of the four high-priests and princes who ruled over the people and led their army: Mattathias, Judas Maccabeus, Jonathan, and Simon.

1. From the commencement of Antiochus Epiphanes's reign till the death of Mattathias (i. ii.).

2. The history of Judas Maccabeus's presidency (iii.-ix. 22).

[1] Compare the name Charles *Martel*. [2] Geschichte der jüdische Poesie, p. 28.

3. The government and priesthood of Jonathan (ix. 23-xii. 53).
4. History of the high-priest Simon (xiii.-xvi.).

III. CHARACTERISTICS.—The tone and manner of the work are simple, natural, easy. The style is lucid. The period described is one of the most important in the affairs of the covenant people, who were subjected to a severe ordeal on account of their faith. The trial was protracted, threatening their very existence as a race. But Jehovah did not forsake them utterly. With His help, they maintained a heroic struggle against their persecutors, and achieved their independence. The descriptions have an artless air, without highly wrought embellishments. A deep moral earnestness, and a lively interest on behalf of the theocracy, pervade them. There is a perceptible difference between the book and the historical ones of the canon, especially those of Samuel and the Kings. It wants the religious pragmatism of the latter. Events are not presented in a supernatural point of view. The Deity is not described as working out His purposes and directly interfering with the natural course of events. It is not said that the heroes were animated by the Spirit of God. Jehovah Himself does not excite within them an unshaken courage and zeal in the contest for their national faith. That child-like religious spirit which saturates the nobler productions of the old Israelitish history, is not richly poured over the narrative; nor does the breath of divine poesy warm the contents with invigorating life. There are places, indeed, where the writer expresses his feelings in lyrical effusions, as i. 25-28, 38-40; ii. 7-13; iii. 3-9, 45. There are also passages where the heroes give utterance in speeches and prayers to their firm trust in the protection of God who had done great deeds of old toward Israel (ii. 20, etc.; iii. 18, etc., 60; iv. 8, etc.; xii. 9, 15; xvi. 3, etc.). But the writer makes no reflections on the religious aspect of events. The history is wholly objective, and unimpressed with the piety of the author, which seems confined to an abstract faith in providence. If he felt that God manifested Himself among the covenant-people by the deeds He enabled them to do, and the sufferings under which He supported them, he has carefully abstained from uttering such feelings. Hence we need not look for the miraculous. Nor do we meet with it. The only approach to a miracle is at x. 72: "Wherefore now thou shalt not be able to abide the horsemen and so great a power in the plain, where is neither stone nor flint, nor place to flee unto." Here, however, it is uncertain whether the writer wished to convey the idea that Jonathan put the enemy to flight by a remarkable interference of Jehovah on his behalf, forgetting his customary style for the moment, or followed his usual method.

In consequence of the book wanting a subjective religious

element, it has been compared with the post-exile works that bear the names of Ezra and Nehemiah, where occurrences are not presented in a supernatural light according to the old theocratic pragmatism. The comparison shews the two canonical books in a superior view, as appears from Ezra viii. 31, Neh. ii. 8, 12, 20; iv. 9; vii. 5. Though the character of the latter approaches that of the present history, they are not so cold or bare of spirituality. They are more religiously conceived and less objective.[1]

IV. HISTORICAL CREDIBILITY.—The credibility and value of the book have always been recognised. In this respect it is much superior to the second book of Maccabees. The substance is historical and true. In all essential matters the narrative is trustworthy. This is proved by the concurring statements of Greek and Roman writers respecting the Egyptian and Syrian kings with whom the Jews came in contact. Contemporary Seleucidian coins corroborate the succession of events as given in the work. In chronology the æra of the Seleucidæ is followed, which began in March 312 B.C., when Seleucus conquered Babylon. The usual exactness of his chronological details makes it highly probable that the author used written sources. This may be implied in ix. 22, where the words "they are not written" indicate "*in the sources employed.*" That he incorporated official documents wholly or in part with his history is manifest from viii. 22; xii. 5, 19; xiv. 20, 27, where the word *ἀντίγραφον, copy*, occurs. Not that he has copied his sources literally, even where he applies the word in question; for he has occasionally used them freely, reproducing them from memory or according to his own taste. Thus in xiv. 27-45, where a copy of a memorial of Simon's acts is given—a memorial engraved, according to our author, on brazen tables affixed to pillars in mount Sion—the succession of events does not agree with the history contained in the preceding part of the book. Hence he must have drawn from recollection in one of the cases—in the memorial without doubt, unless having actually read the brazen tables he had afterwards forgotten some of their contents. Grimm has shewn that the two disagree.[2] The copies of the letter of Areus king of the Lacedæmonias to Onias (xii. 20-23), and of the Spartan letter in xiv. 20-23, are not literally authentic. So also the letter of the Romans in xv. 16-21 is not exactly given, because Lucius Calpurnius Piso stands for *Cneius* C. Piso; and there is no mention of a second consul, as there should be. A careful examination of the documents given by the author will shew, that however correct in substance, their form and minute details

[1] Grimm in the Exeget. Handbuch, iii., p. xvii., et seqq.
[2] Exeget. Handbuch, iii., p. 219, et seqq.

are not always so. Rather must they be considered as free reproductions of originals which the historian did not see.

Besides official documents, the writer employed oral tradition. Some minor defects mar the credibility of the history. Thus in i. 6 he makes Alexander divide his empire on his deathbed; a fact contradicted by Curtius, and wholly improbable, though Welte tries to vindicate its truth.[1] In i. 1 Alexander is said to rule as the first king over Greece, instead of Darius. But perhaps the reading here is corrupt; for it is difficult to believe that the author could have been so ignorant. In vi. 37 it is stated that thirty-two warriors fought on the back of each elephant, which is an exaggeration. In iv. 6-23 a number of heroic deeds performed by Judas—the defeat and pursuit of the enemy, the return from the pursuit, the spoiling of the tents of Gorgias—are crowded into one day, which is impossible. In viii. 7, the Romans are said to have taken Antiochus alive; which contradicts the statement of all classical writers. It is also stated that they took from him the country of India (which he never possessed), and gave it to king Eumenes (viii. 8).[2] The description of the Roman senate in viii. 15, etc., that they committed their government *to one man* every year, who ruled over all their country, is incorrect, since there were two consuls.[3]

In some cases the extreme brevity of the history is unsatisfactory and creates obscurity, as in ix. 54-73, where the events of seven years are summarily recorded. These and other inaccuracies which might be given, do not detract much from the general truthfulness of the narratives, whose value is now generally admitted, though they once passed through a severe ordeal in G. Wernsdorf's[4] attacks upon them, which were too polemical and passionate to carry great weight. Joseph Khell[5] had the advantage of the Protestant; so that the brothers Wernsdorf were overmatched by the Jesuits Frölich[6] and Khell. Since the controversy between these critics, the work has gradually risen in general estimation, and its alleged inaccuracies have diminished, not disappeared; though Roman Catholic writers, as Welte, Scholz, etc., wish to defend the untenable standpoint of Khell—the absolute genuineness of the whole.

V. ORIGINAL LANGUAGE.—Though the work is written in a tolerably easy, flowing, Greek style, and has many pure Græcisms, the language is also Hebraising. The influence of the Septuagint version upon it is visible: comp. ix. 23 with Ps.

[1] In Herbst's Einleitung, iv., pp. 23, 24.
[2] See G. Wernsdorf's Commentatio, p. 49, et seqq. [3] Wernsdorf, p. 128.
[4] Commentatio historico-critica de fide historica librorum Maccabaicorum, 1747, 4to.
[5] Autoritas utriusque libri Maccab. canonico-historica adserta, 1749, 4to.
[6] Annales compendiarii Regum et Rerum Syriæ, etc., 1744, 4to.

xcii. 8, and xiv. 9 with Zech. viii. 4. In point of language it is superior to that of many books of the Greek version. The Greek work is a translation, not an original. Origen and Jerome testify to this fact. The former, in comparing the ecclesiastical canon with the Jewish one, says: ἔξω δέ τούτων ἐστὶ τὰ Μακκαβαϊκὰ ἅπερ ἐπιγέγραπται Σαρβὴθ Σαρβανὲ ἘΛ.[1] The inscription given here refers especially to the first book; and the name τὰ μακκαβαϊκὰ had been gradually extended to the remaining ones, which were closely connected with the first. Jerome asserts, "Maccabæorum primum librum Hebraicum reperi."[2] These weighty authorities attest a Hebrew original. Hengstenberg, however, asserts that the *Chaldee* book of Maccabees published by Bartolocci is that to which Origen and Jerome allude.[3] This is incorrect, because it is not in Chaldee but Hebrew; because it contains no more than 2¼ pages, double columns, small folio,[4] has a different title from that given by Hengstenberg, and relates Antiochus's persecution of the Jews in a very different way from the first book of Maccabees. Besides, the principal hero in it is Judas, not John. Hence the work is not "a bad imitation and disfigurement of 1 Maccabees," as Hengstenberg calls it. Kennicott[5] mentions two Bodleian MSS., and Wolf[6] speaks of a third, which belonged to Wagenseil, containing a history of the Maccabees, in Chaldee. From the Chaldee, which Kennicott believes to be the original, the history was translated into Hebrew; which version exists in various MSS. of the Machsorim (Jewish prayers and rites), and was inserted in Bartolocci's work from a Spanish Machsor. Cotton[7] states, that "in Archbishop Marsh's library at Dublin is a small Hebrew roll on parchment, without points, containing this history of Antiochus and of 'John the son of Mattathias,' of which the beginning (and probably the whole) agrees with that which has been published by Bartoloccius."

It is now impossible to tell whether the original was Hebrew or Aramæan. The former is more probable, because the author took the historical books of the Old Testament as his model; and the Greek text is best explained on the supposition of such an original. Thus we read in i. 28, καὶ ἐσείσθη ἡ γῆ ἐπὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας αὐτήν, where ἐπὶ is an incorrect rendering of אֶל or לְ; in iii. 9, ἀπολλύμενοι stands for אֹבְדִים *who had lost themselves;* in v. 33, ἀρχαί is for רָשִׁים; in iv. 24, ὅτι καλόν stands

[1] Ap. Euseb. Histor. Eccles., vi. 25. [2] Prologus Galeatus.
[3] Beiträge, vol. i., p. 290, et seqq.
[4] Bartolocci's Bibliotheca Rabbinica, vol. i., p. 383, et seqq.
[5] Dissertation the Second, pp. 534, 535. [6] Bibliotheca Hebræa, vol. i., p. 204.
[7] The five books of Maccabees in English, Introduction, p. 23.

for כִּי טוֹב, and should be *ὅτι ἀγαθόν*; *ἐγένετο ὁ ναὸς αὐτῆς ὡς ἀνὴρ ἄδοξος* (ii. 8), for בֵּיתָהּ כְּאִישׁ נִבְזֶה, a concise expression for כְּבֵית אִישׁ נִבְזֶה. Hence *ἀνήρ* should have been in the genitive case.

The Hebrew title of the original work given by Origen may be explained, שָׂרֵי בְנֵי אֵל. שָׂרַת *history of the princes of the sons of God, i.e.* of the Israelites, implying that the *Σαρ* of Origen should be *Σαρη*. Others, as Bochart, Buddeus, Ewald, etc., read שַׁרְבִּיט שַׂר בְּנֵי אֵל *sceptre of the prince of the sons of God, i.e.* of Simon, who is called prince. The latter implies that the principal part of the book is chaps. xiii.-xvi., the rest being an introduction. We adopt the second view, notwithstanding Grimm's objections.

The Greek translation, which now serves us for the original, cannot have proceeded from Theodotion, as Huet supposes.[1] Josephus, who preceded Theodotion, used it. Jahn conjectures[2] that the version was made before the beginning of the first century B.C., which is too early. It was about the middle of the first century B.C. 60.

VI. AUTHOR AND DATE.—The original writer was a Palestinian Jew, as we infer from his language being Hebrew, his accurate acquaintance with Palestine, and his intimate sympathy with the heroes whose deeds he describes. Cornelius à Lapide conjectured that he was John Hyrcanus, the son of Simon.[3] The end of the book, however, contradicts this hypothesis (xvi. 23, 24). The language there would have been less laudatory of Hyrcanus had he been the writer himself. Prideaux thought that it was either composed by Hyrcanus, or by others whom he employed.[4] Dupin fixed upon one of Mattathias's sons, who could only be Simon;[5] and if so, he could not refer to the history of his successor as already written. Scholz[6] conjectures that the author was perhaps the Judas mentioned in 2 Mac. ii. 14, "who gathered together all those things that were lost by reason of the war we had"—words which do not allude to the writing of a book, but to *the collecting of lost works.*

The time when he lived must be chiefly extracted from xvi. 23, 24: "As concerning the rest of the acts of John, and his wars, and worthy deeds which he did, and the building of the walls which he made, and his doings: Behold these are written

[1] Demonstratio Evangelica, p. 312. [2] Einleitung II., p. 956.
[3] Comment. in libros Machabæorum, Argument.
[4] Connection of the history of the Old and New Testament, part II., book 3, vol. ii., p. 186; ed. 1718.
[5] Dissertation préliminaire sur la Bible, etc., I., 21; ed. Amsterdam, 1701.
[6] Einleit., vol. ii., pp. 631, 632.

in the chronicles of his priesthood, from the time he was made high-priest after his father." Does this imply that the work was composed during the government of Hyrcanus, or after his death? Hengstenberg, Bertheau, Welte, Scholz, and Keil take the former view; Eichhorn, Bertholdt, De Wette, Ewald, and Grimm the latter. The chief argument adduced on behalf of the former is the fact that the *terminus a quo* of Hyrcanus's priesthood is given in xvi. 23, 24, not its *terminus ad quem*, whence it is inferred that he was still living. If he were dead, why was not the end of his priesthood noticed, or rather, why was not the notice of the *terminus a quo* superfluous? Surely after Hyrcanus's death no reader would understand the expression "chronicles of his priesthood" of aught else than its entire duration. This reasoning is of no force. The reference to the annals was intended to indicate that they were continued at the very point where the history of the book breaks off. The chronicles are appealed to as a public and well-known document; and they would hardly be current till they had finished with John Hyrcanus's death. The *terminus ad quem* seemed a superfluous addition, because *the chronicles of his priesthood* would be taken to include the entire length of it. Hence we believe that the book was written after Hyrcanus's death. Grimm has alluded to the circumstance that the Messianic hope is entirely in the background.[1] This presupposes a season of prosperity, such as the first years of Jannæus Alexander, when necessity did not call forth the Messianic expectation into vigorous exercise. The way in which the Romans are spoken of (viii. 1, etc.), shews that their power and oppression had not been felt. The Jews had only *heard of their fame* at the time; and the author praises their noble acts. Such pleasing illusions were afterwards dissipated. Pompey plundered Jerusalem 64 B.C. John Hyrcanus died 105 B.C. The book appeared between these dates, probably about 80 B.C.

VII. ANCIENT VERSIONS.—The old Latin version of the work was made from the Greek, before Jerome's time. It is on the whole literal and exact. So closely does it adhere to the original that the Latin idiom is often violated. Deviations, omissions, and additions are numerous, but of no importance. Some of them must be attributed to later corruption of the Latin text itself. Sabatier printed two texts of the old Latin by the side of one another. The second, which reaches as far as the end of the thirteenth chapter, was from a MS. in the library of St. Germain at Paris. It is simply the other text revised from the Greek.[2] Angelo Mai printed part of another

[1] Exeget. Handbuch, iii., p. xxv.
[2] Bibliorum sacrorum latinæ versiones antiquæ, etc., vol. ii., pp. 1013, 1014.

text (ii. 49-64), which differs considerably from the usual one.[1]

The old Syriac in the Paris and London Polyglotts is also literal. It was taken from the Greek not the Hebrew.

The Codex Vaticanus wants the three books of Maccabees; and therefore the text in the Roman edition of the LXX. was printed from other codices.

VIII. EARLY RECEPTION AMONG JEWS AND CHRISTIANS.—The earliest trace of the work is in Josephus, who incorporated its contents into his Antiquities.[2] But he has often departed from the words, in many ways, and from different causes, as Grimm has shewn.[3] He did not reckon it among the canonical books. Nor did any early Christian writer suppose it a part of the Jewish canon. Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome excluded it from that list. The last mentioned father says, that the church reads the books of Maccabees, but does not admit them among the canonical Scriptures.[4]

Notwithstanding the exclusion of the work from the Jewish canon, many of the fathers used and quoted it as Scripture. Origen must have done so, for he cites the second book of Maccabees as *Scripture* and *authoritative*.[5] He also proves from it that the departed pray to God.[6] Augustine says, that not the Jews but *the church* looks upon the Maccabees as canonical, on account of the sufferings of certain martyrs.[7] In another work he says that *the Scripture* of the Maccabees has been received by the church, not without profit, if it be read or heard soberly.[8] Jerome himself cites the books of the Maccabees; and uses them as Scripture in explaining parts of Daniel. He says, *lege Macchabæorum libros*.[9] The Councils of Hippo and Carthage (393 and 397) formally received the Maccabean books into the canon; and in modern times the Council of Trent followed their example. Luther took a very favourable view of the present work, saying "that it is not unworthy to be reckoned among the other sacred books, because it is very necessary and useful for understanding the prophet Daniel in the eleventh chapter." Grimm repeats and endorses this judgment. "It certainly," says he, "deserves a place among the hagiographa of the canon, not entirely perhaps with the same right as the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, but decidedly with a better claim than the book of Esther."[10] It

[1] Spicilegium Romanum, vol. ix. at the end, pp. 60, 61.
[2] Antiqq., xii., xiii. [3] Exeget. Handbuch, iii., p. xxvii., et seqq.
[4] Prologus Galeatus. [5] De Princip., ii. 1, p. 165; ed. Redepenning.
[6] Tom. xiii. in Joann., p. 273.
[7] De civitate Dei, xxxvi., p. 491, vol. iii. ed. Caillau.
[8] Contra Gaudentium Donat. episc., Lib. i., xxxviii., vol. xxxiii., p. 222, ed. Caillau.
[9] Comment in Danielem, cap. xi., vol. v., p. 509; ed. Frankfurt ad Moenum, 1684.
[10] Exeget. Handbuch, iii., p. xxii.

may be alleged against this opinion, that the writer himself admits the age in which he lived to have been one forsaken by the gracious assistance of the Holy Spirit (iv. 46, ix. 27, xiv. 41); but these passages refer to the absence of the *prophetic* spirit, not to the general influence of the Holy Spirit. The writer felt that the age *of the prophets* had passed. He never speaks of the Holy Spirit having withdrawn His operation from the covenant-people. Though the book is inferior in tone and contents to those named after Ezra and Nehemiah, it is certainly superior to that of Esther and more useful than Canticles.

THE SECOND BOOK OF MACCABEES.

I. CONTENTS.—The book begins with two letters addressed by the Palestinian Jews to their brethren in Egypt, relating to the ceremony of the temple-dedication (i.-ii. 18). This is followed by an abridgment of a historical work concerning the Maccabees, written by one Jason of Cyrene, with an introduction (ii. 19-32), and conclusion (xv. 37-39). The extract begins with the attempted robbery of the temple by Heliodorus at the command of Seleucus IV. Philopator; and terminates with Nicanor's death, embracing a period of fourteen years—viz., from 176 to 160 B.C. It runs parallel with the first book of Maccabees from iv. 7, but terminates earlier, since it carries the history no farther than Nicanor's defeat.

II. CHARACTER OF THE WORK.—Although the work contains historical matter, yet the history cannot be always relied upon. It has mistakes, things improbable, exaggerations, and fictitious particulars. It is not therefore *pure* history. Thus in x. 3, etc., it is related that the offering of sacrifice to God in the temple took place two years after the sacred building had been recovered; but according to 1 Maccabees iv. 52 the interruption lasted three years. Josephus and Jerome agree with the latter. In ix. the place and manner of Antiochus the Fourth's death are incorrect. The letter which he is said to have written to the Jews is a manifest fabrication (ix. 19-27). The same chapter states incorrectly that Philip, fearing the son of Antiochus, went into Egypt to Ptolemy Philometor, immediately after Epiphanes's death. In xiv. 1 it is erroneously said that Demetrius I. landed at Tripolis *with a great power and navy*. The same chapter speaks of Nicanor having been master of the elephants since Demetrius's reign in accordance with xv. 20; whereas the Roman legate Cn. Octavius, had killed the elephants shortly before Demetrius arrived in Syria. In xv. 31-35 we learn, that at the time of Nicanor's defeat and death the tower or acropolis of Jerusalem was held by the Jews; which is false. In x. 11; xi. 14, etc. etc., the narrative implies that Antiochus V. Eupator

was a man at his father's death; or able at least to take the place and act the part of king; whereas he was but a youth of nine years and the ward of Lysias. In x. 37 we read, that Timotheus is slain, whereas he reappears in xii. at the head of an army against Judas. It is possible, however, that the two Timotheuses may be different persons. Another inaccuracy is found in xi. 1-15 compared with 1 Mac. iv. 26-35. In the first, Lysias marched against the Jews soon after Judas's victory over Timotheus, in the time of Antiochus Eupator, after the rededication of the temple; according to the second, Lysias's expedition took place in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes *before* the purification of the temple. Here some Protestants, as Ussher, Petavius, Prideaux, and Grimm, with Catholic writers generally, assume two different expeditions of Lysias into Judea. But that opinion is improbable. We are disposed to identify the two expeditions, as Wernsdorf, Grotius, and Ewald do; in which case one and the same campaign is related in 1 Mac. iv.; 2 Mac. xi., xiii. Accounts of the same event became so diverse that they gave rise to the idea of two different expeditions. Grimm objects to this hypothesis, maintaining the *parallelism* of 2 Mac. xi. 1-15 and 1 Mac. iv. 26-35, not their *identity*. He admits, however, that several leading circumstances belonging to the second expedition (1 Mac. vi. and 2 Mac. xiii.) had been *transferred* to the first expedition in the tradition followed by our writer; such as *the time*, the siege of Bethsura, and the covenant of peace.[1] There are many improbabilities and exaggerations, as in the detailed account of the sufferings inflicted upon the martyrs in vi. 18–vii. 42, at which the king himself is said to have been present; the drowning of two hundred Jews by the inhabitants of Joppa (xii. 3-7): Nicanor's friendship for Judas (xiv. 24, etc.); the suicide of Razis (xiv. 37, etc.). Numbers are excessive, as in viii. 24, 30; x. 23, 31; xi. 11; xii. 19, etc., 26, 28; xv. 27. How could the Jewish army, which was but small, slay such numbers of the enemy? The miracles recorded are monstrous; for example, that which happened to Heliodorus the messenger of Seleucus, when he went to take away the treasures of the temple: "There appeared a horse with a terrible rider upon him, and adorned with a very fair covering, and he ran fiercely, and smote at Heliodorus with his fore feet: and it seemed that he that sat upon the horse had complete harness of gold. Moreover two other young men appeared before him, notable in strengh, excellent in beauty, and comely in apparel, who stood by him on either side, and scourged him continually, and gave him many sore stripes. And Heliodorus

[1] See Exeget. Handbuch zu den Apokryphen iv. p. 165.

fell suddenly unto the ground, and was compassed with great darkness, but they that were with him took him up and put him into a litter," etc. (iii. 25-27). Of the same nature is the wonder told when Antiochus undertook a second expedition against Egypt: "Through all the city, for the space almost of forty days, there were seen horsemen running in the air, in cloth of gold and armed with lances, like a band of soldiers, and troops of horsemen in array, encountering and running one against another, with shaking of shields and multitude of pikes, and drawing of swords, and casting of darts, and glittering of golden ornaments, and harness of all sorts" (v. 2, 3). We also read that a heavenly protector on horseback, "in white clothing, shaking his armour of gold," appeared as leader of the Jews against the Syrians (xi. 8, etc.); and that the prophet Jeremiah appeared to Onias in a vision, and gave Judas a sword of gold (xv. 12, etc.). Roman Catholic writers, as Welte,[1] defend these marvels on the ground that miracles are possible, and that none can prove they did not happen. But the *peculiarity* of the miracles in question, the circumstances in which they were wrought, and the objects they were meant to serve, bear the marks of impossibility on their face. Jehovah does not interfere thus on behalf of His people.

The book is inferior to the first of Maccabees in most respects. In credibility, correctness, naturalness, simplicity, it suffers greatly by comparison. Here the writer's own subjectivity appears. All is tinged with the hues of his religiousness. He does not abstain from reflections, or leave the deeds described to make their own impression on the reader. On the contrary, he dresses them in a manner which is merely the outward image of his own uncritical and superstitious pietism. His descriptions are highly wrought. The embellishments and false decorations so far mar the excellence of the history. Moralising disquisitions appear in v. 17, etc., vi. 12, etc., ix. 8, etc. The embellishments and reflections belong to the epitomiser, because they harmonise with the tone and style of prologue and epilogue, as Bertheau has observed.[2]

III. THE EPITOMISER; HIS SOURCES, AGE, AND COUNTRY.—The work professes to be an extract from five books written by Jason of Cyrene, whose age is unknown. Herzfeld indeed conjectures that he was Jason the son of Eleazar, one of the two ambassadors whom Judas Maccabæus sent to Rome to enter into a league of amity (1 Mac. viii. 17);[3] but this is improbable. How could that Jason have committed so many historical blunders, which we cannot attribute to his epitomiser? Yet

[1] Herbst's Einleitung, Heft. iv. p. 37 et seqq.
[2] De secundo Maccab. libro, p. 12. [3] Geschichte des V. Israel, vol. i., p. 445.

Keil leans towards the conjecture. The place to which Jason belonged shews that he wrote in Greek. And it is tolerably clear that he did not make use of the first book of Maccabees, whatever other documents he had. Some of the mistakes indeed observable in the abridgment, may not have been in the original history; but most were. Perhaps Jason had written, as well as oral, sources. Where he got them is unknown, in Palestine probably, though Grimm seems to doubt this.[1] In any case they were not very reliable, having passed through changes and transformations while they circulated from one to another before they got a fixed form in writing. Jason must have lived after 160 B.C. since the history is brought down to that time. And it is likely that he lived *considerably later*, because there are many mistakes, which he took from his sources uncorrected. In the accounts of occurrences errors had arisen which he could not rectify because tradition had previously given them currency.

Did the epitomiser or author of the present work employ other sources in addition to the work of Jason? Grotius conjectures that he did, from the twelfth chapter, second verse and onwards, supposing that unknown writers served for his sources there, not Jason.[2] Huet extends Jason's abridgment from iv. 7–xiii. 26;[3] and Bertholdt from iv. 1 to xii. 1.[4] It is unnecessary to shew the improbability of these conjectures, supported as they are by very feeble considerations, especially as Bertheau, Welte, and Grimm have sufficiently refuted them. In the absence of all proof to the contrary we believe that Jason's document alone served the epitomiser for his authority. If he had another why did he not mention it? The course he followed in extracting and abridging is uncertain. It was not mechanical. He acted freely and independently. The abridger left out or shortened copious accounts of events and battles in Jason's books. He introduced his own observations, and dovetailed portions which stood apart in the original where he omitted things unsuited to his purpose. Thus he seems to have passed over accounts in Jason of Judah's last deeds and fortunes; for he says at xv. 37, "And here will I make an end." Sometimes persons are introduced in a way implying a previous acquaintance with them on the part of the readers; as at viii. 30, where Timotheus and Bacchides suddenly appear.[5] The original work of Jason narrated the history of the Jews under the four Syrian kings, Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, Antiochus V.

[1] Exeget. Handbuch iv., Einleitung, p. 16. [2] Praeloq. ad 2 Maccab.
[3] Demonstratio Evangelica, vol. i., p. 462, Ed. Amsterdam, 1680.
[4] Einleitung iii., p. 1066.
[5] Grimm in Exeget. Handbuch iv. Einleitung, p. 18.

Eupator, and Demetrius I. Soter. It may even have commenced with Seleucus I. Nicator.

The author of the present work was a Hellenistic Jew. Welte, Scholz, and Keil think that he was a Palestinian. It is more probable, however, that he was an Egyptian Jew. One thing at least is certain that he wrote mainly for Egyptian Jews, to excite and nourish in them a feeling of reverence for the temple at Jerusalem and the festivals there observed. Perhaps he had been in Palestine and noticed there a religious zeal which Hellenistic countries, and his own in particular, did not exhibit. He had seen and worshipped in the temple at Jerusalem, which he speaks of as *the temple renowned all the world over* (ii. 22) or *honoured over all the world* (iii. 12). His sojourn in Palestine sufficiently explains his intimate knowledge of the country and the Jews living there, his designating Jerusalem as πόλις, and the tower of David simply as the ἀκρόπολις —circumstances which Scholz adduces for a Jerusalem-abode and Palestinian father-land.[1] Grimm supposes with great probability that he belonged to the orthodox part of the Alexandrian Jews who were opposed to the philosophical tendency represented by the author of Wisdom and Philo.[2] The hope which he expresses of the resurrection of the body (vii., xii., 44, etc., xiv. 46) does not agree with the spiritualistic immortality held by the Platonising Jews of Alexandria. He lived during the first century before Christ, long after the events narrated took place. We place him in the last half of that century, shortly before Philo. Jason may have composed his work about 100 B.C. All attempts to identify the epitomiser with Judas Maccabæus, Judas the Essene, the author of Wisdom, Philo, Josephus, are vain.[3]

IV. ORIGINAL LANGUAGE.—There is no doubt that the abridgment, as well as the original work of Jason, was composed in Greek. It bears no traces of a version from Hebrew or Chaldee. The diction is pure Hellenistic. Thus Deuteronomy xxxii. 36 is quoted from the Septuagint in vii. 6. The author had a copious vocabulary at his command, and could employ appropriate language with skill and effect. He has the genuine Greek expressions and combinations σωφροσύνη καὶ εὐταξία (iv. 37) κατήρξατο χειρῶν ἀδίκων (iv. 40) ἐντυγχάνειν τῇ βίβλῳ (vi. 12) and the same verb with other datives in ii. 25; xv. 39; καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθός (xv. 12). He loves to put similar words together, as αὐτὸς αὐτόθι (xv. 27), ἄγειν ἀγῶνα (iv. 18), ἄλλος ἀλλαχῇ (xii. 22), κ. τ. λ. The number of rarer unusual terms he employs is considerable, as δυσπέτημα (v. 20), ὁπλολογεῖν with the accusative

[1] Die Bücher der Makkabaer, u. s. w. p. 11.
[2] Exeget. Handbuch iv. Einleit., p. 21.
[3] See Welte, Einleit., p. 35, et seqq.

of a person (viii. 27, 31), κ. τ. λ. There are some Hebraisms, such as ἀποκρίνομαι, ἀδελφοί for *countrymen*, but they are few. He is fond of putting together a number of verbs without connecting conjunctions, as in xiii. 19, 22, 26; xiv. 21, etc. The style is rhetorical, artificial, affected. There is a striving after eloquence and ornament, which betrays Alexandrian tastes.[1]

V. THE TWO EPISTLES AT THE COMMENCEMENT.—We speak of *two* epistles, not *one*, though Herzfeld has recently tried to set forth the old Catholic view of Serarius—viz., that there is but a single letter in i. 1–ii. 18, as well as to uphold its authenticity.[2] Surely his usual perception deserts him here. Long ago, Wernsdorf proved both letters to be spurious. The first epistle purports to have been composed in the hundred-and-eighty-eighth year of the Seleucidæ (124 B.C.), and refers to a former writing in the hundred-and-sixty-ninth year of the Seleucidæ (143 B.C.), in the reign of Demetrius, in the extremity of troubles. The second letter has no date, but it mentions a recent deliverance from great perils; whence it has been rightly inferred that it was composed after news of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, *i.e.* 148 of the Seleucidæ, when the Jews were about to celebrate the festival of the rededication of their temple. The two letters bear no internal relation to one another; nor does the first allude to the second as De Wette supposed.[3] We cannot identify the letter given in i. 10, etc., with that mentioned in i. 7, even though the former has no date. With Canus, Bellarmine, Wernsdorf, Paulus, Bertheau, Jahn, Niebuhr, Schlünkes, and Grimm, we take the date at the commencement of the tenth verse to belong to the first epistle, not to the second. The latter begins with οἱ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις (ver. 10), and has no date; though it is plain that it belongs to the hundred-and-forty-eighth of the Seleucidæ, shortly before the purification of the temple.

Roman Catholics defend the authenticity of these epistles; and some Protestants take the same view, partially at least, such as Grotius and Valckenaer.[4] But their spuriousness is unquestionable. In the first there is a chronological blunder, for we read in the first verse: "What time as Demetrius reigned, in the hundred three-score and ninth year, we, the Jews, wrote unto you in the extremity of trouble that came upon us in those years," etc. But in that year the extremity of trouble had been long past. The Jews had revolted from Demetrius II. and espoused the part of Antiochus VI. The height of their trouble was in 161 B.C., soon after Demetrius I. began to reign, not in

[1] Grimm in the Exeget. Handbuch, Einleit. pp. 6, 7.
[2] Geschichte des V. Israel, vol. i. pp. 443, 444.
[3] Einleitung, p. 446.
[4] Diatribe de Aristobulo Judaeo, p. 38 et seqq.

143 B.C. as the letter says, when Antiochus VI. had been set up against Demetrius II. Perhaps the author of the letter thought of Demetrius I. *Soter*, under whom the Jewish troubles still continued. The chronological difficulty in the verse has been a great stumbling-block to the advocates of the authenticity, who strain every nerve to explain it away. Even Schlünkes has failed to restore it.[1] It still remains to attest the spuriousness of the letter. Besides, it is not easy to see, after all that has been said to account for it, the propriety of the Palestinian Jews asking their Egyptian brethren to keep the feast of dedication forty years after the temple had been recovered, and restored to its original purpose. Proofs that the second letter is spurious occur in itself, such as the ascription of things done by Zerubbabel and Ezra to Nehemiah (i. 18; ii. 13) and the citation of apocryphal writings as *Scripture* (ii. 4). Could the elders of Judea have been guilty of such ignorance as this? And is it likely that they would adduce such absurd legends as those respecting the holy fire, the tabernacle, the ark, and the altar of incense (ii. 1-5)?[2]

The question now arises, Did the epitomiser fabricate the letters himself? So thought Wernsdorf, who calls attention to the circumstance that the writer forgot the part he was playing and speaks of himself in the first person *singular* in xv. 37, while in ii. 23, etc., he speaks of himself in the *plural*, consistently with the assumption he wishes to convey that the Sanhedrim made the extract from Jason's work.[3] We do not agree with this view. There are contradictions between the letters and the body of the work, as between i. 11-16 and ix. 1, 7 and xv. 37. Besides, the epistles are placed in an unchronological and awkward position, at the beginning; whereas the epitomiser would probably have inserted them in the history in their proper sequence, *i.e.* at x. 1-9, had he been their author. And the diction is palpably different, being much simpler and less ornate than that in the body of the work.

The language in which they were first written is doubtful. Bertholdt[4] holds a Hebrew original of both; Ewald only of the second;[5] Schlünkes only of the first. Grimm and Keil think that both were written in Greek. We agree with Bertholdt in holding their Hebrew original; although the Hebraising character of the first is more apparent than that of the second. Such difference exists between the language and method of both

[1] Epistolæ quæ secundo Maccab. libro, cap. i. 2-9, legitur explicatio, etc., p. 24, et seqq.

[2] See Wernsdorf, p. 197, et seqq.

[3] Commentatio historico-critica de fide historica librorum Maccabaicorum, pp 65, 66.

[4] Einleitung, vol. iii., p. 1072. [5] Geschichte des V. Israel, vol. iv., p. 532.

as shews diversity of authorship. The person who inserted the whole book into the Greek version prefixed the two epistles, not the epitomiser himself, who could scarcely have failed to see the historical and chronological contradictions which they presented to his own work. The connection between ii. 19 and the letters is loose, notwithstanding the particle δέ. Hence they must have been put at the beginning of the epitome of Jason's books by a later person than the abridger.

VI. VERSIONS.—There are two ancient versions of the book, the Latin and Syriac, both in the fourth volume of the London Polyglott. The former is prior in date to Jerome. It was made from the Greek, but not literally, and departs from the original in many places, through misapprehension of the sense, later corruption, or adherence to readings which have disappeared.

The Syriac, also from the Greek, is less literal than the Latin. The translator was incompetent to his task, and often misunderstood the sense. An Ethiopic version has not been yet printed.

The Arabic second book of Maccabees in the Paris Polyglott is not a translation of the Greek book before us, though the contents run parallel with the Greek in the first sixteen chapters. Chaps. xvii.–lix. in the Arabic continue the history from the place where the Greek stops till the times of Herod the Great.

VII. CANONICITY.—The Jews did not admit the book into their canon, though the Hagadic story of the martyrdom of the mother with her seven sons in the sixth and seventh chapters was a favourite among them. Neither Philo nor Josephus refers to the work. Whether the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews alludes to it is doubtful. In xi. 35 he uses the verb ἐτυμπανίσθησαν; and τύμπανον occurs in 2 Mac. vi. 19, but he makes no quotation. We think it likely that he had seen the work, and that a faint reminiscence of its language floated before his mind when he wrote the eleventh chapter.[1] But Keerl will have it that he followed oral tradition.[2] Stier[3] finds a number of reminiscences from the book more or less definite, not only in the epistle to the Hebrews, but in most of the Gospels, in Acts, the epistle to the Ephesians, and the Apocalypse. The passages in question will not stand investigation.

The first clear reference to the book is by Clement of Alexandria,[4] who quotes it by name. And Origen, though putting it outside the canonical list, cites it as *Scripture*.[5] Jerome[6]

[1] Bleek in Studien und Kritiken Ueber die Stellung der Apokryphen, u. s. w., p. 75.
[2] Die Apokryphenfrage, p. 125.
[3] Die Apokryphen, pp. 130, 131, and his other treatise there referred to.
[4] Stromata, p. 595, ed Sylburg.
[5] De Principiis II., 1, p. 165, ed. Redepenning. [6] Præf. in Proverb.

observes, that the church reads the books of Maccabees without receiving them among the canonical Scriptures. Augustine[1] says, that *the Scripture* of the Maccabees has been received by the church not without advantage if it be soberly read or heard. He himself remarks elsewhere,[2] that the church receives the books of Maccabees as *canonical*, on account of the sufferings of certain martyrs. Most Protestants in modern times have judged unfavourably of second Maccabees. Luther did so, associating it with the book of Esther, and wishing that the two did not exist "because they judaise too much and have a great deal of heathen naughtiness."[3] Pellican[4] had an opinion not very dissimilar. The Church of Rome, however, pronounced the book canonical at the Council of Trent; and therefore Catholic theologians defend its historical credibility, exalt its value, and excuse its faults. They take the ground of apologists for it, not without the violent straining and far-fetched expedients which appear in Welte and Schlünkes, who are its ablest advocates.

[1] Contra Gaudent. I., 31.
[2] De civitate Dei, xviii. 36.
[3] Tischreden.
[4] Commentar. in libros Apocryphos, p. 332.

THE THIRD BOOK OF MACCABEES.

I. NAME.—This production is improperly called the third book of Maccabees since it does not touch upon the time of the Maccabean heroes, but describes what is of earlier date.

II. CONTENTS.—As the Egyptian king Ptolemy Philopator was returning from an expedition against Antiochus the Great by way of Jerusalem, curiosity tempted him to penetrate into the interior of the holy of holies in the temple. But at the moment of entering he fell down speechless and gave up the attempt. On his arrival in Egypt, he resolved to avenge himself upon the Jews there, and commanded that they should forfeit the privileges given them by Ptolemy Lagi, unless they agreed to be initiated into the orgies of Bacchus. As few complied he ordered all the refractory, with their wives and children, to be chained in the great circus at Alexandria, and there trampled to death by drunken elephants. At the prayer of Eleazar the priest two angels appeared in terrible form before the elephants, and were visible to all but the Jews. The affrighted elephants went backwards, and crushed the soldiers. The king caused the Jews to be released from their chains; appointed a festival; and issued an edict that none of his subjects should injure a Jew on account of his religion. He also permitted the Jews to massacre the apostates, after they had returned to their homes, which they did accordingly (chapters i.–vii.)

III. NATURE OF THE CONTENTS.—The narrative appears to be nothing but an absurd Jewish fable. Yet Cotton[1] seems to believe in its historical credibility, and censures Milman for styling it a "romantic story." That it is unhistorical is plain. How could such a multitude of Egyptian Jews have been squeezed into the hippodrome at Alexandria? Or how could they have been fettered and brought thither without the least opposition on their part? Even their names, it is said, could not

[1] The five books of Maccabees in English, Introduction, p. xix.

be registered in the space of forty days. Both paper and pens failed for the purpose. The nature of the miracles also shews the fabulousness of the story. Well therefore might Philostorgius call the work "monstrous" and full of improbabilities. The conduct of Ptolemy Philopator towards the Jews was not inhuman; nor does authentic history record anything like this in his life. The origin and object of the story can only be conjectured. Eichhorn supposes, that an interchange of persons and facts lies at its basis.[1] In Rufinus's Latin version of Josephus's second book against Apion there is an appendix relating that the Egyptian prince Ptolemy Physcon wished to take the sceptre out of the hands of his mother Cleopatra, and eventually succeeded in doing so. At first he met with strong opposition from the generalissimo of the Egyptian army, Onias, a Jew. Hence he resolved to take vengeance on all the Jews in Alexandria, whom he caused to be chained in the theatre with their wives and children in order to be trampled to death by drunken elephants. But the elephants fell upon the king's attendants; and a terrible human form threateningly forbade the king to persecute the Jews. He was also moved to this by the beloved of his heart. From that time the Alexandrian Jews kept a yearly festival to perpetuate the memory of the remarkable event. This is but another form of the story before us; and therefore it is needless to ask whether that told by Rufinus is the original, or the one in the third book of Maccabees. They are the same, substantially.

According to Eichhorn, the historical fact which lies at the basis is this, that Ptolemy Philopator wished to enter the most holy place, but his attempt was frustrated by the cunning of the priests. In revenge for the disappointment the king wished to convert the Egyptian Jews to Hellenism; and as they were opposed to a change of creed he conceived the horrible plan of putting them to death by the feet of elephants—a measure however which was not executed. But it is improbable that Ptolemy Philopator made an attempt to enter the most holy place; else the author of the book of Daniel, writing some fifty years after, and living in Palestine, could hardly have passed over such an occurrence.[2]

The occasion which gave rise to the work was the insane conduct of Caligula who commanded that his own statue should be placed in the temple. If so, the narrative is a kind of type shadowing forth the relations of the Jews to Caligula. The writer took a current tradition respecting the murderous commands of Ptolemy Physcon against the Jews, and transferred it

[1] Einleitung in die apokryphischen Schriften, u. s. w., 284, et seqq.
[2] Grimm in the Exeget. Handbuch iv., p. 220.

to Ptolemy Philopator. He wanted for his purpose a Ptolemy who should be a fit type of Caligula—one who ruled over Palestine and was both voluptuous and cruel. Such an one he found in Philopator, whose conduct in Phenicia and Coele-Syria was arbitrary.[1] The leading features ascribed in the book to Philopator shew a general likeness to Caius's conduct towards the Jews. The latter did not wish to enter the temple in person; but he commanded his image to be set up there. Ptolemy wanted to incorporate the Jews with the Egyptian people generally; under Caligula and his deputy Flaccus Avillius, the right of citizenship which the Jews had possessed at Alexandria was withdrawn. Our writer speaks of the fidelity of the Jews as subjects of the Ptolemies, and repeats the important services which they had rendered to those kings; so Philo repeatedly assures his readers that the Jews were always well disposed towards their rulers. In like manner both the present writer and Philo refer to the good opinion which the intelligent heathen entertained of the Jews, in opposition to the judgment of the common people. These and other analogies are adduced by Grimm[2] to shew the typical character of the story. It is true that many things in it have no analogies in the relations subsisting between the Jews and Caligula; but an analogy is seldom meant to be carried throughout. Something must be left for the filling up of the narrative and its verisimilitude.

IV. Object.—The work seems to have been written at a time when the Jews were persecuted. It was intended to strengthen them in their national faith—to encourage them to steadfastness and perseverance. The theocracy could not perish; though tyrants might vent their rage on the chosen people. Jehovah would assuredly punish the persecutors of His servants, whose hopes of annihilating the theocratic kingdom should be frustrated. Thus a didactic tendency belongs to the story. It was designed to convey a lesson of encouragement and comfort to the writer's down-trodden countrymen. By introducing some modifications into a current tradition, he adapted it to his purpose and made it the vehicle of his thoughts. He might have converted it into a clearer type of the circumstances amid which he wrote, and have intimated to his countrymen in a more direct way the purport of his work; but fear prevented. The times were disastrous to the Jews; and their Roman oppressors were suspicious. It was hazardous to awaken the jealousy of tyrants like Caligula.

V. Integrity.—The work opens abruptly with δέ, so that it is imperfect. The commencement has been lost. In i. 2 ἡ ἐπιβουλή

[1] Ewald's Geschichte des V. Israel, iv., p. 536. [2] Exeget. Handbuch iv. p. 218.

the treacherous design is spoken of as if it had been mentioned before; and in ii. 25 the king's drinking companions and friends are referred to with the participle προαποδεδειγμένων, *of whom we have already spoken.* Hence we conclude that the book is only part of a larger one. Keil thinks,[1] after Grimm, that the beginning only has been lost; but ii. 25 rather militates against that view, unless the introduction had spoken of Ptolemy IV.'s character and manner of life.

VI. DATE AND PLACE OF WRITING.—The contents shew that the author was an Egyptian Jew. This is confirmed by the artificial, bombastic style, and the moral reflections interspersed which characterise all the historical productions of the Jews in Egypt. It was therefore written in Greek; not under Ptolemy Philopator, as Allix supposed.[2] Daniel's three companions in the land of Babylon are referred to in vi. 6, etc., which puts the composition of the book after 160 B.C. In the prayer of Azarias in the apocryphal additions to the third chapter of Daniel we read, ὁ δὲ ἄγγελος κυρίου—ἐποίησε τὸ μέσον τῆς καμίνου ὡς πνεῦμα δρόσου διασυρίζον; so in vi. 6 occurs διάπυρον δροσίσας κάμινον. Thus the apocryphal additions to Daniel were known by the writer. Hence we are brought near the first century before Christ. Ewald supposes that the circumstances described in iv. 11, etc., about the fettered Jews being collected into the hippodrome at Alexandria is a reflex of what Herod commanded to be done at his death, viz. that the leading men of the Jews should be shut up in the hippodrome at Jericho and massacred.[3] If this be so the book was composed after the birth of Christ. Grimm places it about 39 or 40 A.D.[4] The work certainly belongs to the first century of the Christian era.

VII. STYLE AND LANGUAGE.—The diction resembles that of 2 Maccabees, with which it has many peculiarities in common. The temple at Jerusalem is frequently called τόπος, propositions are connected by δέ, instead of the simple verb ποιεῖσθαι with an accusative is used, and ἐπιφανὴς θεός is applied to God, who is said to interfere μετ' ἐπιφανείας, etc. At the same time the writer has peculiarities of his own. He has more poetical, ornate, pompous, obscure expressions; and in one instance falls upon an iambic trimeter (v. 31). His stock of words was copious; but instead of employing common and natural phrases, he had a singular love for stilted ones.[5]

VIII. VERSIONS.—No old Latin version of the work has been discovered. It never formed part of the Vulgate, and was not

[1] Einleitung, p. 695.
[2] The judgment of the ancient Jewish Church against the Unitarians, p. 67.
[3] Die Geschichte des V. Israel iv., pp. 536, 537.
[4] Exeget. Handbuch iv. p. 221.
[5] Ibid., pp. 214, 215.

received into the canon of the Roman Church. There is a Syriac version of it in the London Polyglott, which is free and full of mistakes. It has not yet been ascertained by Dillmann whether an Ethiopic version exists.

The first English version was made by Walter Lynne (1550), which was inserted with corrections in Becke's Bible (1551). A second translation was published by Whiston in his "Authentic documents" (2 vols. 1719 and 1727). A third version was made by Crutwell and added to his edition of the Bible, 1785. Cotton's version is a revision of Whiston's and is decidedly the best (1832). Luther did not translate the work. Calmet first rendered it into French and inserted it in the third volume of his "Literal Commentary on the Bible."[4]

IX. RECEPTION.—The first notice of the book is in the Apostolic canons which are assigned to the third century, and in which it is considered a *sacred* writing.[2] Eusebius excludes it and all the Maccabean books from the canon; but Theodoret quotes it without scruple.[3] The Syrian church seems to have valued it highly. Pseudo-Athanasius puts the three books of Maccabees among the antilegomena, *Μακκαβαϊκὰ βιβλία δι Πτολεμαϊκὰ*, where Grimm thinks we should read *Μακκαβαϊκὰ καὶ Πτολεμαϊκά*, the last word meaning third Maccabees from Ptolemy IV. the chief character. Philostorgius rejected the third book because of its fables.[4] The list ascribed to Nicephorus classes it among the antilegomena. In the Nomocanon of the Antiochenian Church composed by Barhebraeus *three* books of Maccabees are mentioned.[5]

[1] See Cotton on the five books of Maccabees, p. xx.
[2] Canon 85 (76) in Cotelerius's Patres Apostolici, vol. i., p. 448, ed. 1698.
[3] See Daniel xi. 7.
[4] Ap. Photium.
[5] In Mai's Scriptorum veterum nova collectio, vol. x., p. 53.

THE FOURTH BOOK OF MACCABEES.

I. TITLE.—Eusebius[1] and Jerome[2] refer to the work as a treatise *περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμοῦ on the supremacy of reason.* Philostorgius (ap. Photium) calls it *the fourth book of Maccabees.* The latter title is given to it in various MSS., as also in the Codex Alexandrinus. Along with these inscriptions the name of Josephus often occurs as the author, *e.g.*, in the Leipzig MS.

II. CONTENTS.—The writer states at the commencement that he is about to discuss a philosophical subject, viz., whether religious principle be perfect master of the passions. The whole is divided into two parts, a philosophical and a historical one. The former begins with i. 13, and continues to iii. 19 inclusive. The latter is from iii. 20–xviii. 2. The remainder xviii. 3–23 is an appendix from another hand. Chapter i. 1–12 is an introduction. The first part contains reflections on reason, wisdom, the passions; on the four cardinal virtues, justice, fortitude, temperance and prudence; and the writer arrives at the conclusion that reason controls the affections, except forgetfulness and ignorance. The second part commences with a summary of what is related in 2 Mac. iii., iv. 7–17, v., vi. 1–11, contained in iii. 21–iv. 26. Chapters v.–vii. describe Eleasar's martyrdom, adding reflections upon it; viii.–xii. give the martyrdom of the seven brothers; xiii.–xiv. 10 present reflections upon it; xiv. 11–xvi. 25 are a eulogy on the steadfastness of the mother and that of her seven sons; xvii. 1–6 relates to the death of the mother; xvii. 7–xviii. 2 refers to the nature and results of the martyrdoms described.

III. DOCTRINAL AND RELIGIOUS CHARACTER.—The sentiments contained in the work are a mixture of stoic philosophy and Mosaic legality. Thus in the manner of the Stoics, *σοφία* or *wisdom,* is defined "the knowledge of things divine and human, and of their courses" (i. 16); *νοῦς, the intellect,* is pronounced the holy director of the soul (ii. 22); *λογισμός* is called *θεῖος,* divine

[1] Hist. Ecclesiast. iii. 10, 6.

[2] Catalog. Script. Ecclesiast.

(xiii. 15); to transgress in small and great matters is equal (v. 20). In the main illustration of the book—the Maccabean martyrs—stoic insensibility to suffering is vividly depicted. Yet the stoic philosophy is not followed throughout, because the writer was a zealous Jew, strongly attached to the precepts of the Mosaic law. Thus the passions are described as created with man (ii. 21), and therefore they cannot be rooted out, but only subdued (iii. 5). The means of attaining to piety is the Jewish religion; consequently, descent from Abraham is repeatedly referred to. Judaism mingles with the author's philosophy, and narrows it. He shews no speculative ability. He does not allegorise the Old Testament history like Philo. Neither does he Platonise like Philo. His tendency is practical rather than theoretical. It is essentially Pelagian, for he never speaks of divine grace; nor does he exalt the mercy of God in saving His people. Religious principle (λογισμός) is extolled, but He who graciously imparts it, and nourishes it in man by His Spirit, is not prominent. Some ideas are peculiar, such as, "Make my blood a purification for them (thy people), and accept my life an offering instead of theirs" (vi. 29). Here Eleasar's suffering example is converted into a vicarious atonement. The author puts into the mouth of his heroes the hope of the everlasting continuance of the souls of all virtuous men in communion with God and one another (xiii. 4, etc.) immediately after the death of the body.[1]

IV. Scope.—The object of the writer was to encourage his countrymen in their attachment to the Mosaic law. Philosophical heathenism had come into collision with Mosaism; and the principles of stoicism seemed likely to gain an ascendancy over serious minds. The times were unfavourable to fidelity to the Mosaic religion. Earnest men, who inherited the faith of their Jewish forefathers, began to waver when they saw it shaken by contact with an ethical morality as rigid as its own. Amid these circumstances the author undertook to set forth before his brethren the necessity of loyalty to Mosaism, without combating the stoic morality which had come into collision with the old faith. On the contrary he harmonises the two, making use of the one to recommend and enforce the other. The reasonableness of the Mosaic law is shewn, its adaptation to the wants of humanity, its bestowment of religious principle, and its possession of that *reason* which effectually controls the passions. Whether an outward occasion gave rise to the treatise, it is impossible to tell. Grimm infers from xiv. 9 that the time when the author wrote was peaceful and free from persecution.[2] This

[1] See Grimm, Exeget. Handbuch iv., p. 288, et seq.
[2] Exeget. Handbuch iv. p. 290.

is a probable conclusion; yet he may have foreseen coming troubles, especially as the relations of the Jews towards their conquerors were not of a permanent nature. The future seemed to his far-seeing eye fraught with fearful conflicts; and, by delineating the martyrdom of heroes in the past, he might hope to promote steadfastness in the future.[1] Whatever probability there be in this hypothesis, the writer intended to inculcate fidelity to the law of Moses by setting forth the mastery of religious principle over the affections. If philosophical heathenism in the form of stoicism taught the subjection of the passions to reason, and threatened to throw Judaism into the shade; much more did Mosaism, a system accordant with reason, effect a mastery over the affections. Hence the latter is superior to all forms of heathenism, and should be loyally followed. It includes the possession of *reason*, and controls the passions. The descendants of Abraham have a faith excelling that of all other men; as is shewn by the marvellous examples of constancy and indifference to pain which the Maccabean times called forth.

V. DATE AND AUTHORSHIP.—Eusebius, Jerome, and Philostorgius ascribe the work to Josephus the historian. Several Greek MSS. and editions of Josephus's works confirm this view. Suidas and Nicetas speak of Josephus as the author; and such appears to have been the common opinion in early times. That it is incorrect needs little proof. The Jewish historian would not have made the historical mistakes which our author has fallen into, such as that Antiochus Epiphanes, beholding the bravery of the Jewish martyrs, led his army out of Palestine, and thenceforth conquered all his enemies (xvii. 22, 23); and that the same monarch presided in person at the terrible tortures inflicted on Eleasar and the seven brothers. The style and language are unlike those of Josephus, who gives a Greek termination to all proper names in the Bible; whereas the writer of fourth Maccabees makes such names indeclinable, except Ἱεροσόλυμα and Ἐλεάζαρος.

Grotius and Ewald assign the book to some other Josephus or Joseph, who was afterwards erroneously identified with the well known *Flavius* Josephus. This explains the fact that the work was uniformly attributed to the Jewish historian; but it is merely a conjecture.

Our author was acquainted with the book of Daniel in the form which it has in the Septuagint. Now it required a considerable time for that book to attain to general recognition in Palestine. A still longer period was needed for its reception by the Jews in Egypt. Hence the fourth book of Maccabees could

[1] Ewald's Geschichte des V. Israel, vol. v., p. 555.

hardly have appeared sooner than 80 B.C.[1] But there are indications of later authorship than this. We learn from xiv. 9 that it was not a time of persecution. His readers and he had *heard of* the barbarities committed by Antiochus and shuddered. They had not recently heard of the sufferings connected with the destruction of Jerusalem. If they had, he would have made some allusion to them, since the event was fraught with the most disastrous consequences to the theocratic people, and must have produced a profound impression on the minds of those who survived. That catastrophe broke the spirit of the nation for ever. In speaking of Jason we find the author saying, "So that he not only erected a gymnasium on the very citadel of our country, but also put a stop to the service of the temple" (v. 20). The phrase "our country" is an indication of national pride, and is incompatible with the past destruction of Jerusalem by the invading army of the Romans. As there is no trace of the destruction of Jerusalem being past, no reference to the fearful scenes enacted at its fall, no evidence of the impression made by its horrors on the writer's mind, no desponding doubts about the permanency of Mosaism, so there is a like absence of allusion to the sufferings endured by the Egyptian Jews from Caligula. Hence the work must be dated before the fall of Jerusalem, and even before the persecution of the Egyptian Jews by Caligula, *i.e.*, 39 or 40 B.C.[2] We place the composition at the commencement of the first century. The writer was an Alexandrian Jew; though his philosophy is not Platonic, nor his exegesis allegorical. It is true that Gfrörer finds Alexandrian allegorical-interpretation in the passages v. 26, and xvii. 6, but we are unable to assent, and agree with Daehne that they are not of that character.[3] The latter critic appeals to xv. 31 for an allusion to the allegorical acceptation of the flood current among the Alexandrians; but the comparison is one that might readily suggest itself to the writer's imagination were he even a Palestinian Jew. It appears probable to us, as it did to Ewald, that the author used 2 Maccabees. Chapter iv. is taken from 2 Mac. iii.–vi.; while chapter v. follows 2 Mac. vi. 18–vii. The author's free treatment of pieces contained in the second Maccabees does not hinder him from uttering different sentiments; though Keil seems to think that it should, when he denies the use of 2 Maccabees, substitutes tradition in its place, and appeals to the diversity of

[1] Philo und die Alexandrinische Theosophie, by Gfrörer, zweyter Theil, p. 175. et seq.

[2] Grimm, Exeget. Handbuch iv. p. 293.

[3] Geschichtliche Darstellung der jüdisch-Alexandrinischen Religions-plilosophie, 2 Abtheilung, pp. 195, 196.

representation respecting the death of the martyrs in our book (vi. 28, etc.; xvii. 20), and 2 Mac. (vii. 18, 32, etc.)[1]

VI. STYLE AND DICTION.—The work bears the form of a discourse or homily, addressed to "the children of Abraham," not a treatise. It has the marks, however, of artificiality and elaboration. The substance of it did not proceed directly from the heart, else it would have a far different effect on the reader. A genuine gush of feeling does not pervade it. The spirituality is of a forced kind, depending for its influence on appliances not needed in the case of true inspiration. The style is inflated and pompous. Direct apostrophes, far-fetched comparisons, declamatory expressions, are employed to awaken a sentimentality which ought to rise spontaneously. The whole cast of the book is rhetorical; yet there is an occasional approach to true eloquence. Dialogues and monologues, unusual figures and embellishments, are introduced to assist that which an artless description of the heroic sufferings of the Maccabean martyrs should have produced of itself, had it come from a heart fired with the living power of the divine Spirit.

The Greek diction is smooth and flowing, rich in *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα* and compound words. It strains after highly poetical and striking expressions. The sentences are evenly constructed, and fitly joined together. The optative mood frequently occurs, and in conjunction with *ὅπως* often supplies the place of an infinite mood. Examples of compounds are: *πάνσοφος, παγγέωργος, πάνδεινος, παμμίαρος, πανάγιος, παμποίκιλος*, etc. Words that occur but once are: *μονοφαγία* (i. 27), *παγγέωργος* (i. 29), *ἐπικαρπολογεῖσθαι, ἐπιῤῥωλογεῖσθαι* (ii. 9), *ἀρχιερᾶσθαι* (iv. 18), *ἀποξαίνειν* (vi. 6), *μαλακοψυχεῖν* (vi. 17), *ἀσθενόψυχος* (xv. 4), *ἐθνοπλήθος, ἐμπυριστής* (vii. 11), *δειλόψυχος* (viii. 15, xvi. 5), *μισάρετος* (xi. 4), *ὁμοζηλία* (xiii. 24), *ὀροφοιτεῖν* (xiv. 15), *κηρογονία* (xiv. 19), *ὑπερασπίστρια* (xv. 29), *ἐθνοπάτωρ* (xvi. 20), *ἑπταμήτωρ* (xvi. 24), *ἱερόψυχος* (xvii. 4), *ἰσάστερος* (xvii. 5).[2]

VII. INTEGRITY.—The greater part of the eighteenth chapter is a later appendix. But where does the appendix begin? Lowth, Havercamp, Gfrörer, and Daehne, commence with the words *ἔλεγε δὲ μήτηρ* in the sixth verse. But Grimm supposes that the original work ended with *εὐσεβὴς λογισμός* in xviii. 2; and that the remainder of the chapter proceeded from another person. This is the most probable view. It is favoured by the fact that the account given of Antiochus does not agree with what had been said of him in the seventeenth chapter (ver. 23, etc.). Here we read that he was punished on earth, while it is

[1] Einleitung, p. 697.

[2] See Grimm, Exeget. Handbuch, iv., p. 287.

implied that he was defeated in his war with the Persians; whereas it had been stated before that he conquered all his enemies on leaving Judea. The address of the mother to her sons is abruptly introduced in a way unlike that of the book. And from *ἀνθ' ὧν διὰ τὴν εὐσέβειαν* to *ἀνανεωσάμενοι* is a mere repetition of xvii. 20-22.

VIII. TEXTS AND VERSIONS.—There are two leading Greek texts of the book. One is the Alexandrian or that of the Codex Alexandrinus, which is contained in the editions of Grabe and Breitinger. It is also in Apel's (1837). The other is the *received* or *common* text which is in the Strasburg edition of the LXX. (1526), the two Basel editions (1545 and 1550), and in Josephus's works. This last text exists in its purest form in Bekker's edition of Josephus (1855, 1856, six volumes). The Alexandrian text is the more ancient and preferable one; but might be occasionally amended by the Josephus-recension. The old Latin version of Josephus's works attributed to Rufinus does not contain this book. Erasmus paraphrased it in Latin; and Combefis gave a better Latin version in his "Bibliothecæ Græcorum patrum auctarium novissimum, Pars i. (1672)." This is printed in the editions of Havercamp, Oberthür, and Dindorf. L'Estrange made a very loose paraphrase in English, in his translation of Josephus published at London, 1702, folio. The only tolerable English version is that of Cotton, 1832, which might easily be improved. A Syriac version exists in MS. in the Ambrosian library of Milan.

IX. CANONICITY.—No canonical authority was ever attributed to the book. Gregory of Nazianzum, Ambrose, Jerome, and Chrysostom were acquainted with it, and drew accounts of the Maccabean martyrs from its copious pages. Details of suffering not in 2 Mac. were sometimes taken from it by the fathers. Yet the book never obtained much repute. It appeared too near the rise of Rabbinism to be valuable to after ages.

THE FIFTH BOOK OF MACCABEES.

I. CONTENTS.—The fifth book of Maccabees, as it is called by Cotton, contains a history of Jewish affairs from Helrodorus's attempt on the treasury at Jerusalem till Herod's slaughter of his wife Mariamne, her mother, and his two sons. It consists of fifty-nine chapters.

II. ORIGINAL LANGUAGE, AGE, VERSIONS, AND CHARACTER OF THE WORK.—The work was originally written in Arabic. It was compiled from Hebrew memoirs. Prefixed to the Arabic version in the Paris Polyglott is a preface stating, "This book from the first to the sixteenth chapter inclusive is entitled, *The second book of Maccabees according to the translation of the Hebrews*, as may be seen at the end of chapter xvi. The remainder of it is entitled simply, *The second book of Maccabees*, the series of chapters being continued from the preceding portion." The turns and idioms of the Hebrew are preserved even in the Arabic. Who the compiler was, it is impossible to discover. We cannot speak highly of his acquaintance with the history of the Jews and Romans. He has some remarkable peculiarities of language, such as, "the house of God" and "the holy house" for *the temple*; "the land of the holy house" for *Judea*; "the city of the holy house" for *Jerusalem;* "the great and good God;" "the man of the west." In speaking of the dead we meet with the exclamations "to whom be peace!" and "God be merciful to them."[1] Although none of these expressions forbids the ascription of the work to a Jew, yet some at least point to one living out of Palestine. The writer was one of the dispersion, and may have belonged to the seventh or eighth century. Besides the Arabic in the Polyglott, it is said that a Syraic version exists which is yet unpublished. But we have not been able to find any clear trace of it. The alleged Syriac must be pronounced a myth.

We cannot praise either the matter or manner of the work.

[1] Cotton on the five books of Maccabees, pp. xxxii., xxxiii.

Neither Eusebius nor Jerome used it; for after citing the first book of Maccabees, which ends with the death of Simon, they continue the history of his son Hyrcanus without mentioning our work. It had not been compiled before they wrote. It makes Hyrcanus have the title *king* from the Roman senate; and the number of senators at Rome is given 320 (ch. xxii.). It describes him as having three sons (xxvi); whereas Josephus gives him five. Roman and Egyptian soldiers are usually called *Macedonians.* Mount Gerizim is commonly termed *Jezebel;* Samaria, *Sebaste;* and Sichem, *Neapolis* or *Naplous.* It is said that the Idumæans having been conquered by Hyrcanus professed the Jewish religion *till the destruction of the second house* (xxi), shewing that the work was not composed till after the temple had been destroyed by the Romans.[1] There is a curious remark in the twenty-fifth chapter, where, after speaking of the three principal sects among the Jews, the *Hasdanim* being the last, it is added, "*The author of the book* did not make mention of their rule, nor do we know it except in so far as it is discovered by their name; for they applied themselves to such practices as come near to the more eminent virtues." In like manner "the author of the book" is mentioned in two other places lv. 25, lix. 96. Who is "the author of the work?" Does the expression shew the Arabic to be only a translation distinct from the original? So Calmet supposes, who assumes that Greek was the language of the work at first. In that case the Arabic is a mere version. We cannot adopt the view in question. Traces of a version from the Greek are not distinct and marked. The compiler seems to have meant one of his written sources by the expression. These sources were first and second Maccabees, Josephus, Aristeas, the Vulgate, Hegesippus, and traditional legends. It is another form or recension of our book which exists in the work of Joseph Ben Gorion or Josippon, a legendary Jewish history commencing with Adam and full of later Roman history, which was rendered into Hebrew by an Italian Jew, and appeared in the former half of the tenth century.[2] The Jew who rendered the Arabic into Hebrew furnished it with additions of his own.[3] There are abundant proofs of ignorance, credulity, and superstition in Josippon.

The Arabic book of Maccabees exists in a more complete form in two Bodleian MSS. in which the history is carried down to the time of Titus (Nos. 782, 289). These should be collated for the purpose of giving a better text than that in the Polyglotts. It would be an interesting task to trace the differences

[1] Calmet, Dissertations qui peuvent servir, etc., vol. ii., p. 424.
[2] Zunz, Die gottesdienstlichen Vortraege der Juden, p. 146, et seqq.
[3] Graetz, Geschichte der Juden, vol. v., p. 281.

between the two recensions, the Arabic book of Maccabees and Josippon. The latter is more *hagadic*, because the Jewish translator from the Arabic added to the original, and Spanish interpolations were subsequently inserted.

Cotton has rendered the work into English from the Latin version of the Arabic in the Polyglott.

III. SOMETIMES CALLED THE FOURTH BOOK.—The work was published in the Paris Polyglott as the second book of Maccabees. Its likeness to the lost MS. of Pagninus, commencing with the same words, suggested the idea that it was the *fourth* book of Maccabees spoken of by the fathers. This MS. had been seen by Sixtus Senensis in the library of Sanctes Pagninus at Lyons; and he thought it was the long-lost fourth book of Maccabees. But the codex was destroyed by fire when the whole library of Pagninus was burned. Father La Haye also thinking it to be the fourth book reprinted the Latin version of the Paris Polyglott, in the *Biblia Maxima*, with the omission, however, of the first nineteen chapters. Calmet afterwards shewed that it was not the genuine fourth book of Maccabees. Hence it is now called the *fifth* book.

The third, fourth, and fifth books are improperly called *of the Maccabees;* the third especially so, because the time of the events related in it is anterior to the Maccabean age. If arranged in order of time, the third book would be the first; the second would retain its present place; and the first would be the third. The fourth coincides in time with part of the second, viz. chaps. vi., vii. The fifth, after describing what had been told in the second and third books, carries the history down to the advent of Christ. Cotton has arranged them in chronological order. But it is now disturbing to critics to alter the titles. They should be allowed to remain; especially as they stand pretty nearly in the order in which they were written.

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